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HISTORY OF THE POPES

THEIR CHURCH AND STATE

BY

LEOPOLD VON RANKE

Translated by E. FOWLER

WITH A SPECIAL INTRODUCTION BY

WILLIAM CLARK, M.A., I.L.D., D.C.L.

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FELLOW AND EX-PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF CANADA

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MINIATURE OF ST. LUKE viii

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INNOCENT X 98

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PAUL III 176

Photogravure from the original painting by Titian

THE HISTORY OF THE POPES

BOOK VIII

APPENDIX

THE HISTORY OF THE POPES

BOOK VIII

THE POPES ABOUT THE MIDDLE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY—LATER PERIODS

AFTER the attempt made by the Popes to renew their dominion over the world had been finally defeated, notwithstanding its partial success, their position and the character of the interest taken in their affairs underwent a general change. It is to the relations of the Roman principality, its administration, and internal development, that our attention is now chiefly to be given.

As one who descends from the lofty mountain, whence the wide and distant prospect is descried, into the valley where his view is circumscribed and held in by narrow boundaries, so do we proceed from a survey of those events affecting the history of the world at large, and in which the papacy took so important a part, to the consideration of circumstances more immediately touching the States of the Church.

It was in the time of Urban VIII that the Ecclesiastical States first attained to the completion of their territorial possessions: we will begin with this event.

Section I.—Lapse of Urbino

The Duchy of Urbino included seven towns and nearly 300 castles; it possessed a productive line of seacoast, well situated for trade, with a cheerful and salubrious mountain district rising into the Apennines.

The Dukes of Urbino had rendered themselves remarkable,

as did those of Ferrara, sometimes for their warlike achievements, sometimes for their efforts in the cause of literature, and again for the munificence and splendor of their court.[1] In the year 1570, Guidobaldo II had established four households, besides his own, for his consort, for the prince, and for the princesses. They were all very magnificent, were sedulously frequented by the nobles of the duchy, and liberally open to strangers.[2] According to ancient custom, all foreigners were hospitably entertained in the palace. The revenues of the country would not have sufficed to so large an expenditure, since they did not amount, even when the corn trade of Sinigaglia was most prosperous, to more than 100,000 scudi; but the princes were always in the military service of some foreign power, at least nominally, and the position of the country in the middle of Italy was so fortunate that the neighboring States were in constant emulation of each other for their favor, which they sought to secure by acts of good-will, military grants, and large subsidies.

It was a common remark in the country that the prince brought in more than he cost.

It is true that attempts were made here as well as elsewhere to raise the imposts, but so many difficulties arose, more particularly in Urbino itself, that, partly from good-will and partly from inability to do otherwise, the government finally contented itself with its long-established revenues. The privileges and statutes of the land remained equally unimpaired. Under the protection of this house the republic of St. Marino preserved its inoffensive freedom.[3] While in all other principalities of Italy the power of the sovereign became more widely extended and more absolute, in the Duchy of Urbino it remained within its ancient limits.

From this state of things it followed that the inhabitants clung to their dynasty with excessive attachment, and this was the more devoted, from their conviction that a union with the

[1] Bernardo Tasso has conferred a magnificent eulogy on these princes in the forty-seventh book of the "Amadigi:"

"Behold the four, for whom, with flowing vest,
Old Apennine enfolds his shaggy breast."

[2] "Relatione di Lazzaro Mocenigo, ritornato da Guidubaldo duca d' Urbino, 1570." He chooses to lodge all personages passing through his State, and by the end of the year the number is found to be very large.

[3] "It has a fancy for being a republic," remarks a report on the State of Urbino to Pope Urban VIII, respecting San Marino, and on passing over to the States of the Church it acquired an extension of its privileges.

States of the Church would inevitably bring with it the entire dissolution of their long-established relations, and the loss of their ancient freedom.

It thus became a matter of the utmost importance to the country that the line of the ducal house should be continued.

Francesco Maria, Prince of Urbino, resided for a certain time at the Court of Philip II.[4] He there formed, as it is said, a very serious attachment to a Spanish lady, and intended to make her his wife. But his father, Guidobaldo, was decidedly opposed to the marriage, and resolved to have a daughter-in-law of equal birth in his house. He compelled his son to return and give his hand to Lucrezia d' Este, Princess of Ferrara.

They might have seemed a tolerably well-assorted pair, the prince a man of ready address, accomplished in the use of arms, and not without acquirements in science, more especially as related to war; the princess endowed with intelligence, majesty, and grace. The people gave themselves up to the hope that this marriage would secure the permanency of the ducal house; the cities emulated each other in doing honor to the married pair by arches of triumph and magnificent gifts.

But the misfortune was that the prince was only twenty-five years old, while the princess was little less than forty. The father had overlooked this in his desire to palliate his refusal of the Spanish marriage—which had, nevertheless, produced no favorable impression at the Court of Philip—by an alliance so exalted, so brilliant, and so wealthy; but the marriage turned out worse than the Duke Guidobaldo could have imagined probable. After his death Lucrezia was compelled to return to Ferrara; of posterity there was no further hope.[5]

We have before described the decisive influence that Lucrezia of Este had on the fate—the extinction of the Duchy of Ferrara.

[4] In the "Amadigi" he is very agreeably described, while quite a child, as "Quel piccolo fanciul, che gli occhi alzando
Par che si specchi nell' avo e nel padre
E l' alta gloria lor quasi pensando."

(A child he was, but from his upraised eyes
Looked the high courage of long ancestries,
As if he, in his sire and grandsire's fame,
Read the high honors of his future name.)—C. F.

Mocenigo thus describes him at the period of his marriage: "He tilts gracefully, studies and understands mathematics and fortifications; he is so ardent in his exercises, as playing at ball, or hunting on foot to accustom himself to the fatigues of war, and continues this to such an extent, as to cause fears lest they should injure his health."

[5] Mathio Zane, "Relatione del Duca d' Urbino, 1574," considers Lucrezia as even then "a lady of less than moderate beauty, but she adorns herself to advantage; there is now little hope of seeing children from this marriage."

In the affairs of Urbino, also, we find her most unhappily implicated. Even at the time when Ferrara was taken into the papal possession, it seemed certain that Urbino also must lapse to the Roman See; and the rather, as in this case there were no natural heirs who might have made claim to the succession.

Yet the face of things once more assumed a different aspect. In February, 1598, Lucrezia died, and Francesco Maria was at liberty to make a second marriage.

The whole duchy was overjoyed when it came to be known soon after that their good sovereign, who had ruled them through all the years of his reign with so gentle and peaceful a hand, and whom all loved, had good hope—though now somewhat advanced in life—that his race would not be extinguished with his own life. Prayers and vows were made by all for the safe delivery of the new duchess. When the time had come, the nobles of the land, with the magistrates of the cities, assembled in Pesaro, where the princess was residing; and during her labor, the square before the palace, with all the adjoining streets, was filled with people. At length the duke appeared at a window; "God," he exclaimed with a loud voice, "God has given us a boy!" This intelligence was received with indescribable acclamations of delight. The cities built churches and endowed pious institutions, as they had pledged themselves to do by their vows.[6]

But how deceptive are hopes that are founded on men!

The prince was brought up with great care, and displayed some talent—at least for literature. The old duke had the happiness of seeing him married to a princess of Tuscany; he then withdrew to the retirement of Casteldurante, and resigned the government to his son.

But scarcely was the prince his own master, and master of the country, when he was seized by the intoxication of power. The taste for theatrical amusements was just then becoming prevalent in Italy, and the young prince was all the more violently affected by it, from the circumstance of his having conceived a passion for an actress. During the day, he amused himself after the manner of Nero, in driving chariots; in the evening he appeared himself on the stage. These excesses were

[6] "La devoluzione a Santa Chiesa degli stati di Francesco Maria II. della Rovere, ultimo duca d' Urbino, descritta dall' illmo. Sr. Antonio Donati nobile Veneziano."—Inff. Politt. (It has also been printed.)

followed by many others: the respectable citizens looked sorrowfully at each other, and scarcely knew whether to lament or rejoice, when one morning, in the year 1623, the prince, after a night of frenzied excess, was found dead in his bed.

The aged Francesco Maria was then compelled to resume the government; full of deep sorrow that he was now the last of the line of Rovere, and that his house was drawing to its end with his own life: doubly disheartened to find himself burdened with the cares of government, and utterly deprived of courage for encountering the bitter insults and injurious encroachments of the Roman See.[7]

He was at first in fear lest the Barberini should contrive to obtain possession of the daughter left him by his son, a child of a year old; and to remove her forever from their attempts he betrothed her to a prince of Tuscany, and sent her immediately into the neighboring State.

But another calamitous circumstance also occurred.

As the Emperor made claim to certain portions of the territory of Urbino, Pope Urban, desiring to secure himself, required a declaration from the duke that he held all his possessions as a fief of the Papal See. Long did Francesco Maria refuse to comply with this demand; he found such a declaration against his conscience. At length he resigned himself to the necessity of making it; "but from that time," says our authority, "he was never cheerful again—he felt his spirit oppressed by that act."

He was soon afterward obliged to endure that the governors of his fortresses and towns should take the oath of allegiance to the Pope; at length he resigned the government of the country—it was in fact the best thing he could do—without any reservation, to the authorities appointed by the pontiff.

Wearied of life, enfeebled by age, and bent with anguish of heart, after seeing all his trusted friends depart, the duke found his sole consolation in the practices of devotion. He died in the year 1631.

The dukedom was instantly taken into possession of the papacy by Taddeo Barberini, who hastened thither for that purpose. The allodial inheritance passed to Florence. The terri-

[7] P. Contarini: "The duke being already much broken by years and ill-health, his mind too depressed and prostrate."

tory of Urbino was at once subjected to the system of government prevailing in other districts belonging to the Church, and very soon there might be heard throughout the duchy those complaints that the government of priests invariably called forth.[8]

We next proceed to examine their administration in general, and will first consider the most important of its elements, that on which all others are dependent—the finances.

Section II.—Increase of Debt in the States of the Church

The public expenditure was diminished and treasure was accumulated by Sixtus V; but at the same time he increased the taxes and the revenue, on which he founded a great mass of debt.

To set rigid bounds to expenditure, and to amass money, were not things likely to be done by every man. The necessities of the Church, moreover, as well as those of the State, became more and more urgent from year to year. Recourse was sometimes had to the treasure locked up in the castle of St. Angelo, but so rigorous were the conditions attached to its application that this could only happen on very extraordinary occasions. It is a remarkable fact that the Curia found it much less difficult to raise loans than to use the money lying by in its own coffers. The popes resorted, therefore, to the former method in a manner the most reckless and precipitate.

We possess authentic statements of the relation which the revenues bore to the capital of the debt and its interest during a given number of years, and these documents present a curious subject of observation.

In the year 1587 the revenues amounted to 1,358,456 scudi, the debt to 7,500,000 scudi; about one-half of the revenue, 715,913 scudi, was assigned to pay the interest of the debt.

In 1592 the revenues had risen to 1,585,520 scudi, the debts to 12,242,620 scudi. The increase of the debt was already much greater than that of the revenue—1,088,600 scudi, that

[8] Aluise Contarini finds the inhabitants exceedingly dissatisfied in the year 1635: "The subjects complain bitterly of the change; they call the government of the priests a tyranny, saying they think of nothing but enriching and advancing themselves." See Appendix, No. 115.

is, about two-thirds of the income, were appropriated to the interest of the debt by salable offices and *luoghi di monte*.[1]

This rate of proportions was already so critical that it must have occasioned very serious anxieties; the Curia would gladly have proceeded to diminish the rate of interest, and it was proposed to take a million from the castle for the purpose of paying back the capital of those who should refuse to accept the reduced interest. The net revenue would by this means have been considerably augmented; but the bull of Sixtus V, and anxiety lest the treasure should be squandered, prevented measures of that kind from being adopted, and the government was compelled to continue the usual practice.

It might have been expected that the acquisition of a territory so productive as that of Ferrara would have presented a corresponding alleviation of the papal difficulties; yet this was not the case.

So early as the year 1599 the interest of the debt absorbed nearly three-fourths of the entire revenue.

But in the year 1605, when Paul V commenced his administration, the sum of 70,000 scudi was all that remained to the treasury of the total income, after paying the interest of the debt.[2] Cardinal Du Perron affirmed that the regular income of the pontiff would not have sufficed him for half the year, although the expenditure of the palace was very moderate.

It had thus become inevitable that debt should be heaped upon debt. We are enabled to ascertain from authentic sources how systematically Paul V availed himself of this means. He raised loans in November, 1607, twice in January, 1608, again in March, June, and July of the same year, and twice more in the month of September. This he continued through all the years of his government. These loans were not large, according to our mode of viewing such operations: the less weighty demands were met as they arose by the establishment and sale of new *luoghi di monte*, in greater or smaller numbers. These *monti* were founded now on the customs of Ancona, now

[1] Minute account of the papal finances from the first years of Clement VIII, without any particular title. "Bibliol. Barb." No. 1699, on eighty leaves.

[2] "Per sollevare la Camera Apostolica, discorso di M. Malvasia, 1606:" "The interests now paid by the Apostolic See absorb nearly all the revenues, so that the court lives in perpetual embarrassment, finding it difficult to provide for the ordinary and necessary expenditure; and when any extraordinary expense is demanded they know not where to turn themselves." See Appendix, No. 88.

on the *dogana* of Rome, or of some province, or again on an increase in the price of salt, or on the proceeds of the post. They were thus gradually extended to a very heavy amount: by Paul V alone 2,000,000 were added to the debt in *luoghi di monte*.[3]

He would, however, have found this impracticable, had he not been aided by a circumstance of a peculiar character.

Power has always attracted money. So long as the Spanish monarchy pursued its career of greatness, and extended its influence over the whole world, the Genoese, who were at that time the principal capitalists, invested their treasures in loans to the kings of Spain; nor were they deterred from thus disposing of their funds by the fact of their being subjected by Philip II to various exactions and forced reductions of interest. But as the great movement gradually abated, as the wars ceased and the expenditure of the Spaniards diminished, the Genoese withdrew their money. They next turned their attention toward Rome, which had meanwhile again assumed so powerful a position, and the treasures of Europe once more poured into the city. Under Paul V Rome was, perhaps, the most important money-market in Europe. The Roman *luoghi di monte* were resorted to with extreme avidity; as they paid considerable interest and presented sufficient security, their price increased on certain occasions to 150 per cent. However extensively they were augmented, therefore, the pontiff invariably found purchasers in abundance.

It thus happened that the debts increased perpetually. In the beginning of the pontificate of Urban VIII they had attained the amount of 18,000,000; the revenues also, by the system of the Roman Court, continued in relation with this increase, and rose accordingly in similar proportion; they were estimated at the beginning of Urban's administration, at 1,818,-104 sc. 96 baj.[4] I have not ascertained the precise sum taken from them for the payment of interest, but it must have been by far the larger portion; and on examining the different sources of revenue separately, the demands are found very frequently to exceed the income. In the year 1592 the Roman

[3] "Nota de' luoghi di monti eretti in tempo del pontificato della felice memoria di Paolo V. 1606–1618."

[4] "Entrata et uscita della Sede Apostolica del tempo di Urbano VIII." (Revenues and expenditure of the Apostolic See in the time of Urban VIII.)

excise and customs (*dogana di Roma*) brought in 162,450 scudi. In 1625 they produced 209,000 scudi; but in the first of these years 16,956 scudi had been paid into the papal treasury, while in the second the assignments on the revenue exceeded the receipts of the same by 13,260. The monopoly of salt (*salara di Roma*) had increased during that period from 27,654 to 40,000; but in 1592 a surplus had remained of 7,482 scudi; while in 1625 there was a deficiency of 2,321 sc. 98 baj.

It will be obvious that little could be effected by household economy toward the due restriction of such a system as this.

Still less under an administration such as that of Urban VIII, whose political jealousy so often impelled him to raise troops and construct fortifications.

It is true that Urbino was annexed to the States of the Church, but this acquisition produced but little, more especially in the commencement. After the loss of the allodial domains, the revenue of Urbino amounted to no more than 400,000 scudi, and to reduce this still further, the act of taking possession when important concessions were also made to the heirs, had occasioned a large expenditure.[5]

In the year 1635 Urban had raised the debt to 30,000,000 of scudi, and to procure the funds required he had imposed ten different taxes, or had augmented older imposts. But even with all this he was far from attaining his object: circumstances occurred by which he was induced to go much further; but these we shall examine with more profit after having first directed our attention to another series of facts.

Section III.—Foundation of New Families

If we inquire to what object all these revenues were applied, whither they all went, it is certainly undeniable that they were for the most part expended in furtherance of the universal efforts for the restoration of Catholicism.

Armies, such as that sent by Gregory XIV into France, and which his successors were compelled to maintain for some time after, necessarily cost the Roman See enormous sums; as did the active part taken by Clement VIII in the Turkish war, and

[5] Remark of Francesco Barberini to the nuncio in Vienna when the Emperor put forward claims founded on that acquisition.

the subsidies, such as those so often granted to the League and the house of Austria under Paul V, which Gregory XV afterward doubled, and which were transferred, at least in part, to Maximilian of Bavaria by Urban VIII.

The States of the Church also frequently required large sums for the exigencies of some extraordinary occasion: as, for example, the conquest of Ferrara, under Clement VIII; the proceedings of Paul V against Venice; and all the military preparations of Urban VIII.

To these were added the magnificent public buildings, raised at one time for the embellishment of the city, at another for the defence of the State, and in the construction of which every new pope labored in emulation of his predecessors.

There was, besides, a practice which obtained in the Roman Court, and which contributed not a little to the accumulation of this mass of debt, while it certainly was not beneficial either to Christendom, the State, or even to the city, but was solely for the advantage of the different papal families.

The custom had been established, and is indeed perfectly consistent with the relation of the priesthood to a widely extended family association—that the overplus of the ecclesiastical revenues should devolve on the kindred of the several incumbents.

The popes of the period now before us were prevented by the bulls of their predecessors from investing their relations with principalities, as had been so often attempted in earlier times; but they did not on that account dissent from the general usage of the ecclesiastical body; on the contrary, they were only the more earnest in their efforts to secure hereditary dignity to their families by conferring on them large possessions both in money and land.

They were careful, while pursuing this object, to provide themselves with arguments for their own justification. They proceeded from the principle that they were bound by no vow of poverty, and having decided that they might fairly consider the surplus proceeds of the spiritual office as their own property, they likewise inferred that they possessed the right of bestowing this superfluity on their kindred.

But far more powerful than considerations of this kind was the influence of family ties, and the natural inclination of men

to leave behind them some memorial that shall survive their death.

The first who determined the form to which all pontiffs afterward adhered was Sixtus V.

One of his grand-nephews he raised to the rank of cardinal, intrusted him with a portion of the public business, and gave him an ecclesiastical income of 100,000 scudi; the other he married to a daughter of the Sommaglia family, and made Marquis of Mentana, adding afterward to his domains the principality of Venafro and the countship of Celano in the Neapolitan territories. The house of Peretti long maintained itself in high consideration, and the name appears repeatedly in the College of Cardinals.

But the Aldobrandini became far more powerful.[1] We have seen the influence exercised by Pietro Aldobrandino during the pontificate of his uncle. In the year 1599, he had already secured 60,000 scudi yearly from church property, and how greatly must this have been afterward augmented. The possessions he inherited from Lucrezia D'Este came most effectually to his aid; he bought largely on all sides, and we find that he had funds invested in the Bank of Venice. But however extensive were the domains of Pietro, all must at length devolve on the family of his sister and her husband, Giovanni Francesco Aldobrandino. This Giovan-Francesco was also richly provided for; he was castellan of St. Angelo, governor of the Borgo, captain of the Guard, and general of the Church. His income, so early as the year 1599, was 60,000 scudi, and he often received sums of money from the Pope. I find an account, by which Clement VIII is shown to have bestowed on his kinsmen generally, during the thirteen years of his pontificate, more than 1,000,000 scudi in hard money. They became all the more wealthy from the fact that Giovan-Francesco was a clever manager. He bought the estates of Ridolfo Pio, which had previously yielded only 3,000 scudi a year, and obtained from them an income of 12,000. The marriage of his daughter Margareta with Rainuccio Farnese was not effected without enormous cost; the lady brought a dowry of 400,000

[1] Niccolò Contarini, "Storia Veneta:" "In conferring ecclesiastical benefices on his nephews Clement VIII knew no bounds, and even went far beyond his predecessor, Sixtus V, by whom this door was first thrown open, and that widely."

scudi to her husband,[2] besides other privileges and advantages, although this connection did not, as we have seen, eventually prove so close and cordial as had been hoped.

The path pursued by the Aldobrandini was taken up by the Borghese family, with an eager haste and recklessness that almost surpassed that displayed by the first-named house.

Cardinal Scipione Cafarelli Borghese possessed an influence over Paul V fully equal to that exercised by Pietro Aldobrandino over Clement VIII, and the wealth he accumulated was even greater. In the year 1612 the church benefices already conferred on him were computed to secure him an income of 150,000 scudi. The envy necessarily awakened by riches and power so extensive he sought to appease and conciliate by kindness and a courteous affability of manner, but we cannot be surprised if he did not entirely succeed in disarming its rancor.

The temporal offices were bestowed on Marc-Antonio Borghese, on whom the Pope also conferred the principality of Sulmona, in Naples, giving him besides rich palaces in Rome and the most beautiful villas in the neighborhood. He loaded his nephews with presents; we have a list of them through his whole reign down to the year 1620. They are sometimes jewels or vessels of silver, or magnificent furniture, which was taken directly from the stores of the palace and sent to the nephews; at other times carriages, rich arms, as muskets and falconets, were presented to them, but the principal thing was the round sums of hard money. These accounts make it appear that to the year 1620 they had received in ready money 689,627 sc. 31 baj.; in *luoghi di monte,* 24,600 scudi, according to their nominal value; in places, computing them at the sum their sale would have brought to the treasury, 268,176 scudi; all which amounted, as in the case of the Aldobrandini, to nearly a million.[1]

Nor did the Borghesi neglect to invest their wealth in real property. They acquired eighty estates in the Campagna of Rome; the Roman nobles suffering themselves to be tempted into the sale of their ancient hereditary domains by the large

[1] Contarini: "The Pope, while making a show of grief at being induced by his nephews to act thus against his conscience, could yet not so carefully conceal his joy in the depths and darkness of his heart but that it would burst forth."

[2] "Nota di danari, officii, e mobili donati da Papa Paolo V. a suoi parenti e concessioni fattegli," MS. See Appendix, No. 89.

prices paid them, and by the high rate of interest borne by the *luoghi di monte,* which they purchased with the money thus acquired. In many other parts of the Ecclesiastical States the Borghesi also seated themselves, the Pope facilitating their doing so by the grant of peculiar privileges. In some places, for example, they received the right of restoring exiles; in others, that of holding a market, or certain exemptions were granted to those who became their vassals. They were freed from various imposts, and even obtained a bull by virtue of which their possessions were never to be confiscated.

The Borghese became the most wealthy and powerful of all the families that had yet risen in Rome.

And by these precedents the system of nepotism was so fully established, that even a short pontificate presented the means for accumulating a magnificent fortune.[4]

It is unquestionable that Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisio, the nephew of Gregory XV, exercised a more unlimited authority than had been possessed by any previous nephew. He had the good-fortune to see the two most important offices of the Curia, those of vice-chancellor and high chamberlain, fall vacant during his administration, and both were given to him. He obtained church revenues to the amount of more than 200,000 scudi yearly. The more important employments of the temporal power fell into the hands of Don Orazio, the brother of the Pope and a Senator at Bologna, who was appointed to the generalship of the Church and many other lucrative offices. Since the Pope did not promise length of life, there was the more haste among the family to secure themselves a provision. In a short time they acquired *luoghi di monte* to the value of 800,000 scudi. The Duchy of Fiano was purchased for them of the house of Sforza, and the principality of Zagarolo from the Farnese family. Already was the young Nicolo Ludovisio entitled to claim the richest and most splendid alliance. By his first marriage, accordingly, he brought Venosa, by a second Piombino, into his house. To these fortunate circumstances the favor of the King of Spain very greatly contributed.

[4] Pietro Contarini, "Relatione di 1627:" "That which is possessed by the Peretti, Aldobrandini, Borghese, and Ludovisi families, their principalities, their enormous revenues, their most splendid fabrics, their sumptuous furniture, their wonderful ornaments and luxuries of all kinds, not only exceed what is proper to the condition of nobles and private princes, but equal and even surpass the possessions of kings themselves." See Appendix, No. III.

Emulating examples so distinguished, the Barberini now proceeded in the same course; by the side of Urban VIII there stood his elder brother Don Carlo as general of the Church, a grave and experienced man of business, of very few words, who was not to be dazzled by the first gleam of his rising fortunes, nor tempted into a display of empty pride, but who now steadily set himself before all things to the founding of a great family estate.[5] "He knows," it is remarked in a report of the year 1625, "that the possession of riches distinguishes a man from the common mass, and does not consider it seemly that he who has once stood in the position of kinsman to a pope should appear in straitened circumstances after his death." Don Carlo had three sons, Francesco, Taddeo, and Antonio, who were now at once, and of necessity, destined to acquire positions of great importance. Francesco and Antonio adopted the clerical office; the first, who by his modesty and kindliness secured the general confidence and good-will, and who had also the faculty of accommodating himself to the caprices of his uncle, obtained the leading influence in the administration; and this, although he used it on the whole with moderation, could not fail, in so long a course of years, to bring with it a large amount of riches. In the year 1625 the income of Francesco was 40,000 scudi, but so early as 1627 it had arisen to 100,000 scudi.[6] It was not altogether with his consent that Antonio was also nominated cardinal, nor did this take place without the express condition that he should take no part in the administration. Antonio was a man of feeble frame, but was aspiring, obstinate, and proud; unwilling to be eclipsed in all ways by his brother, he labored eagerly to accumulate a number of offices in his own person, and to secure large revenues; his income in the year 1635 amounted to the sum of 100,000 scudi. From the Order of Malta alone he held six commanderies, which could not have been a welcome arrangement to the knights. He accepted presents also, but at the same time he gave much away,

[5] "Relatione di quattro Ambasciatori, 1625:" "Good economy is practised in his household, and he is desirous of making money, knowing well that money increases the reputation of its possessors, nay, gold will exalt and distinguish a man advantageously in the eyes of the world." See Appendix, No. 114.

[6] Pietro Contarini, 1627: "He is a man of excellent, virtuous, and exemplary habits, and of a gentle disposition; he has given the solitary example of refusing to receive all donations or presents of whatever kind. Yet, if the Pope lives, he will be equally rich and great with any other cardinal; he must now have about 80,000 scudi from church benefices, and, with the government and legations that he holds, his income must be near 100,000 scudi." See Appendix, No. 111.

and was liberal on principle, for the purpose of securing to himself a large body of adherents among the Roman nobility. The second of these brothers, Don Taddeo, was chosen as the one who should found a family by the acquisition of heritable possessions; he obtained the dignity of the secular nephew, and, after the death of his father, became general of the Church, commander of St. Angelo, and governor of the Borgo. He was already possessed of so many estates in the year 1635 that he also enjoyed a yearly income of 100,000 scudi,[7] and was continually receiving additions to his property. Don Taddeo lived in close retirement, and the economy of his household was quite exemplary.[8] In a short time the regular yearly income of the three brothers was computed at 500,000 scudi. The most important offices were in their hands. As the younger Antonio was high chamberlain, so was the elder vice-chancellor, while the prefecture, which became vacant by the death of the Duke of Urbino, was conferred on Don Taddeo. It was affirmed that in the course of this pontificate, the incredible sum of 105,000,000 of scudi passed into the hands of the Barberini.[9] "The palaces," continues the author of this account, "that, for example, at the Quattro Fontane, a royal work, the vineyards, the pictures, the statues, the wrought silver and gold, the precious stones, that were heaped on that house, are of more amount than can be believed or expressed." To the Pope himself this enormous accumulation of wealth by his family seems occasionally to have become matter of scruple, so that in the year 1640 he formally appointed a commission to inquire into the lawfulness of so large a possession by a papal family.[10] In the first place, this commission laid down the principle that a temporal sovereignty was involved in the papacy, from the surplus revenues or savings of which the Pope might lawfully make donations to his kindred. It next proceeded to examine the relations and circumstances of this sovereignty, in order to determine to what

[7] That is to say, the revenues of his landed property amounted to the above-named sum. "By his new acquisitions, says Al. Contarini, of Palestrina, Monterotondo, and Valmontone, which the houses of Colonna and Sforza were compelled to sell by force, for the payment of their debts." The office of a general of the Church brought in 20,000 scudi. See Appendix, No. 115.

[8] See Appendix, No. 111.

[9] Conclave di Innocenzo X.: "It is computed as the result of an impartial examination of the distinct particulars that there have fallen to the Barberina family 105,000,000 scudi." The sum is so incredible, that it might be taken for an error in writing, but the same statement is found in many MSS., among others in that of the Foscarini at Vienna, and in my own.

[10] Niccolini treats of this matter. I have also seen a small treatise: "Motivi a far decidere quid possit papa donare, al 7 Luglio, 1640," by a member of this Commission.

extent the Pope might so. Having made all requisite calculations, the commission decided that the Pope might, with a safe conscience, found a patrimonial estate (*majorat*) of 80,000 scudi net revenue, together with an inheritance for the second son, and that to the daughters of the house there might be assigned a dowry of 180,000 scudi. The general of the Jesuits also, Vitelleschi, was required to give his opinion, for the Jesuits must needs have a hand in everything; and he, considering these estimates to be moderate, awarded them his approval.

In this manner new families continually arose from pontificate to pontificate, obtaining hereditary wealth and influence; they took place immediately among the high aristocracy of the country, a rank that was readily accorded to them.

It will be obvious that they were not likely to remain exempt from collisions among themselves. The conflicts between predecessors and successors which had previously taken place among the factions in the conclaves, were now exhibited among the papal families. The new race that had just attained to power, maintained the supremacy of its rank with jealous tenacity, and for the most part displayed hostility toward the family immediately preceding; nay, frequently inflicted persecutions on it. Thus, though the Aldobrandini had taken so large a part in the elevation of Paul V, they were, nevertheless, thrust aside by his kinsmen, were treated with enmity by them, and finally tried severely by costly and dangerous lawsuits.[1] They called him the Great Unthankful. The kinsmen of Paul V, in their turn, found no higher favor at the hands of the Ludovisi; while Cardinal Ludovisio himself was compelled to leave Rome on the accession of the Barberini to the supreme power.

This last-named family at once displayed an immoderate ambition in the use they made of the authority they derived from the papal power deputed to them, and which they caused to be heavily felt by the Roman nobles and Italian princes. The dignity of prefect of Rome was conferred by Urban VIII on his secular nephew, precisely because to this office certain honorary rights were attached, which seemed likely to secure to his house a perpetual precedency over all others.

[1] There is an example of this in the "Vita del Cl. Cecchini." See Appendix, No. 121.

But this mode of proceeding was at length productive of a movement, which, though not of particular consequence to the world at large, yet makes an important epoch as regards the position of the papacy, not only within the States of the Church, but also throughout Italy.

Section IV.—War of Castro

Among the papal families not actually in possession, that of the Farnese always maintained the highest rank, since they had not only secured large possessions in land, as the others had done, but had also acquired a principality of no inconsiderable importance: thus it was at all times a very difficult task for the ruling nephew to keep that house in allegiance and due subordination. When Duke Odoardo Farnese visited Rome in the year 1639 all possible honors were paid to him;[1] the Pope caused a residence to be prepared for him, appointed noblemen to attend him, and even lent him aid in his pecuniary affairs. The Barberini gave him splendid entertainments, and made him rich presents of pictures and horses. But with all these courtesies they could not wholly conciliate the duke to themselves. Odoardo Farnese was a prince of some talent, spirit, and self-reliance, but deeply imbued with the ambition of those times, which found pleasure in the exact observance of small distinctions, of which all were very jealous. He could not be persuaded to pay due respect to Don Taddeo, as prefect of Rome, nor would he concede to him the rank appropriate to that office. Even when visiting the Pope, Farnese made an offensive display of the sense he entertained of his own personal superiority, as well as of the high dignity of his house. All this gave rise to misunderstandings that were the less easy to remove, because founded on personal impressions that could not be effaced.

How the duke was to be escorted on his departure then became a weighty question. Odoardo demanded attendance similar to that received by the Grand Duke of Tuscany: the

[1] Deone, "Diario di Roma," tom. i.: "It is a misfortune of the Barberini that they do not meet a due return from those whom they benefit. The Duke of Parma was lodged and entertained by them, was caressed and served by men of noble family, and presented with rich coaches; he was assisted also by the reduction of the monte Farnese, to the gain of a great sum by Duke Odoardo, and a very heavy loss to many poor private persons. The duke was courted and feasted by both the cardinal brothers for several weeks; he had gifts of horses, pictures, and other fine things, yet he left Rome without even taking leave of them."

ruling nephew, that is to say, Cardinal Francesco Barberini, he required to escort him in person. This Francesco would not agree to do, unless the duke first paid him a formal visit of leave at the Vatican—a demand with which Odoardo did not feel himself bound to comply. Difficulties arising from his financial affairs, came in addition to this cause of disagreement, and the duke's self-love, thus doubly mortified, was violently inflamed. After taking leave of the Pope, with very few words, but in which he nevertheless mingled complaints of the nephews, he left the palace and city without a word of farewell to Cardinal Francesco, a proceeding whereby he hoped to mortify him to the heart.[2]

But the Barberini, possessing an absolute authority in the States of the Church, had the means of avenging themselves in a manner to be felt much more sensibly.

The financial system established in the State had also found admission among the princely houses constituting its aristocracy, by all of whom it was imitated; they, too, had founded *monti*, and had assigned the incomes of their estates for the payment of their creditors: as the papal revenues were assigned to the creditors of the State, the *luoghi di monte* of the nobles passed in like manner from hand to hand. But these *monti* could scarcely have found credit if they had not been placed under the inspection and control of the supreme authority. It was only with the expressed approval of the pontiff that they could be either established or modified. There was thus among the privileges of the reigning house, that of exercising an important influence over the domestic affairs of all other families by means of this supervision. Reductions of the rate of interest paid on these *monti* were of very common occurrence, because they depended solely on the good pleasure and disposition of the pontifical house.

Now the Farnesi also were loaded with a large amount of

[2] Among the many writings on both sides still remaining in manuscript, I consider the following most impartial and worthy of credit—"Risposta in forma di lettera al libro di duca di Parma, in the 45th volume of the Informationi:" "Duke Odoardo went to the Pope and made his acknowledgments, adding that he could not declare himself satisfied with the Lord Cardinal Barberino. The Pope replied briefly that he knew the disposition of his eminence toward the duke. Then, taking leave of his holiness without a word to the cardinal, he departed to his palace. Although, if he had wished to be accompanied by his eminence, he ought to have remained in the apartments of the Vatican, and taken especial leave of his eminence also, as is the custom of princes. In the morning he finally left the city without more ceremony."

debt. The *monte* Farnese Vecchio took its origin from the necessities and expenditure of Alessandro Farnese in the campaigns of Flanders; a new one had also been founded, acts of permission (*Indulti*) from the Pope, had increased the mass, and since, while new *monti*, with lower interest, had been established, the old had not been extinguished, and the different operations were conducted by different commercial houses, all jealous of each other, everything had fallen into confusion.[3]

It now happened, in addition to this, that the Barberini adopted certain measures, by which great injury was inflicted on the duke.

The two *monti* Farnesi were secured on the revenues of Castro and Ronciglione. The Siri farmers of the imposts of Castro paid 94,000 scudi to the duke, and with this sum the interest of the *monti* could still be just paid, but the proceeds would not have reached this amount, had it not been for certain concessions made to his house by Paul III. With this object, Pope Paul had turned the high-road from Sutri to Ronciglione, and had conferred on that district more extensive privileges in relation to the export of corn than were possessed by other provinces. The Barberini now determined to recall these privileges. They turned the high-road again to Sutri; and in Montalto di Maremma, where the grain from Castro had always been shipped, they published an edict prohibiting the export of corn.[4]

The result anticipated became instantly manifest. The Siri, who were already on bad terms with the duke, on account of these financial operations, and now saw they should have support from the palace, refused to fulfil their contract, they ceased to pay the interest of the *monte* Farnese. It is affirmed that they were specially instigated to this by some of the prelates, who secretly took part in their business. The creditors

[3] Deone, tom. i.: "Ultimately both States, that is, Castro and Ronciglione, were farmed to the Siri for 94,000 scudi yearly. On this revenue, the interest of both the monti Farnesi, the old and the new, was secured; the old monte was founded by Duke Alessandro, it was 54,000 scudi a year; all the money was spent in Flanders, the present Duke Odoardo added to this the sum of 300,000 scudi, a capital paying four and a half per cent., he has besides borrowed on mortgage; thus little or nothing remains for himself, so that if the corn trade be removed from those States, there will be no means for paying either the creditors of the monte or the mortgagees." See Appendix, No. 122.

[4] They defended their decree by the words of Paul's bull: "Power of exporting corn to any part of the said States of the Roman Church, depending either mediately or immediately on us;" but in the course of time a free exportation to all parts of Italy had meanwhile grown up.

of the *monte,* thus suddenly deprived of their income, pressed their claims, and sought redress from the papal government. Duke Odoardo, perceiving that he was intentionally wronged, disdained to seek for means of accommodation, but the complaints of the Montists became so earnest, so urgent, and so general that the Pope thought himself justified in taking possession of the mortgaged domains, with a view to the restoration of so large a body of Roman citizens to their lawful rights. For this purpose, Urban sent a small armed force to Castro. The affair does not seem to have proceeded altogether without opposition. "We have been compelled," he exclaims, with excessive indignation in his *Monitorium,* "we have been compelled to fire four great shots, by means of which one of the enemy was left slain."[5] On October 13, 1641, he took possession of Castro, nor was it his intention to stop there. In January, 1642, excommunication was pronounced against the duke, who had not suffered himself to be moved by that capture; he was declared to have forfeited all his fiefs, and an army took the field for the purpose of depriving him of Parma and Placentia also. The Pope would not hear a word of pacification, he affirmed that "between lord and vassal, nothing of the sort could find place; he would humble the duke"—"he had money, courage, and soldiers. God and the world would be on his side."

But by this proceeding the affair at once acquired a more general importance. The Italian States had long felt jealous of the repeated extensions given to the ecclesiastical dominions. They would not suffer Parma to be appropriated as Ferrara and Urbino had been, neither indeed had the house of Este resigned its rights to Ferrara, nor that of Medici certain claims on Urbino. All were offended by the arrogant pretensions of Don Taddeo—the Venetians doubly so, because Urban VIII but a short time before had caused an inscription

[5] This happened near a bridge: "Dictus dominus Marchio, ex quo milites numero 40 circiter, qui in eisdem ponte et vallo ad pugnandum oppositi fuerunt, amicabiliter ex eis recedere recusabant, immo hostiliter pontificio exercitui se opponebant, fuit coactus pro illorum expugnatione quatuor magnorum tormentorum ictus explodere, quorum formidine hostes perterriti, fugam tandem arripuerunt, in qua unus ipsorum interfectus remansit." (The Signor Marchio, when the soldiers, about forty in number, who had been posted to defend that bridge, refusing to retreat peaceably, continued to oppose themselves in hostile sort to the pontifical army, was compelled to dislodge them by firing four shots from great guns, whereat being frightened, the enemy at length took flight, in which one of them remained slain.)

to be obliterated from the Sala Regia, wherein they were extolled for their pretended defence of Alexander III, an act which the people of Venice held to be a great insult.[6] Political considerations of a more general character came in aid of these motives. As the Spanish predominance had formerly excited the suspicions and fears of the Italian States, so now did that of France produce the same effect. In all directions the Spanish monarchy was suffering severe losses, and the Italians feared lest a general revolution, even among themselves, might ensue, should Urban VIII, whom all considered the determined ally of the French, attain to increased power. On all these grounds they resolved to resist the advance of the pontiff; their troops assembled in the Modenese, through which territory the Barberini were thus compelled to resign the hope of making a passage for their troops; the papal forces sent against the allies took up their quarters about Ferrara.

Here then was to a certain extent repeated that contest between the French and Spanish interests which kept Europe at large in commotion; but how much feebler were the motives, the forces, and the efforts that were here engaged in a sort of strife.

The peculiarity of the position in which the conflicting parties were placed, is strikingly exemplified by an expedition undertaken with his own unaided powers by the Duke of Parma, who now found himself protected without much assistance from himself, and yet remained entirely unfettered.

Without artillery or infantry, and with only three thousand horse, Odoardo made an incursion into the States of the Church. Fort Urban, which had been erected at so great a cost, and the assembled militia which had never prepared itself to meet an armed foe, opposed no resistance to his progress; the people of Bologna shut themselves up within their walls, and Farnese marched through the country, without once obtaining a sight of the papal troops. The city of Imola having opened her gates to the duke, he paid a visit to the papal commandant, and exhorted the town to remain faithful to the Roman See, for it was not against Rome, as he affirmed, that he had taken up arms; nor even against Urban VIII, but solely against his nephews; he marched under the banner of the Gonfaloniere

[6] This circumstance will be further considered in the Appendix, No. 117.

of the Church, on which all might see the effigies of St. Peter and St. Paul, and in the name of the Church he demanded free passage for his troops. In Faenza, preparations were made for defending the gates, but when the governor perceived the enemy, he caused himself to be let down from the walls by a rope, in order to hold conference with the duke in person: the result of this interview was that the gates were opened. Things proceeded in like manner at Forli. In all these towns the inhabitants looked quietly from their windows, on the march of their enemy, as he passed through the streets. The duke proceeded across the mountains into Tuscany, and then again passed from Arezzo into the States of the Church. Castiglione da Lago and Città del Pieve opened their gates to his troops; he pressed forward without a pause, and filled the land with the terror of his name.[7] Rome, more particularly was perplexed and confounded; the Pope dreaded the fate of Clement VII, and made an attempt to arm his Romans; but it was necessary first to gather funds, and to levy contributions from house to house, which was not accomplished without much offensive discourse, and all this before a small body of cavalry could be got together. Had the Duke of Parma then made his appearance, a couple of cardinals would, without doubt, have been despatched to meet him at the Milvian Bridge (*Ponte-molle*) with instructions to grant all that he might be pleased to demand.

But neither was Odoardo Farnese a warrior. It would be difficult to conjecture by what considerations he was restrained, what reflections withheld him, or how he suffered himself to be led into negotiations from which he could expect to gain nothing. The Pope recovered his breath; with a zeal quickened by the sense of danger he fortified Rome,[8] and managed to send a new army into the field, by which the duke, whose troops were not easily kept together, was very soon driven from the States of the Church. As there was now nothing more

[7] A circumstantial relation of this enterprise will be found in Siri's "Mercurio," tom. ii. p. 1289.

[8] Deone: "They are proceeding with the fortifications, not only of the Borgo, but also of the remaining walls of Rome; three cardinals are deputed to see this done, Pallotta, Gabrielli, and Orsino, and they prance about every day from one gate to the other. All the vines are cut down on the city side of the walls, that is, they are making a road between the walls and the vines, to the great injury of the proprietors. Very soon they will be falling on the beautiful garden of the Medici, and the last morsel they possess within the walls of Rome will be lost."

to fear, Urban again imposed the most rigorous conditions, the ambassadors of the different sovereigns left Rome; and even in unwarlike Italy, preparations were once more set on foot for a trial of the national weapons.

First of all, in May, 1643, the confederate princes invaded the territory of Ferrara. The Duke of Parma laid hands on a couple of fortresses, at Bondeno and Stellata. The Venetians and Modenese joined their might and marched deeper into the land, but the Pope also had meanwhile armed himself with his best skill as aforesaid; he had set 30,000 men on foot, and got 600 horse together, and the Venetians found it advisable to consider a little, before attacking so mighty a force; they drew back, and in a short time it was the troops of the Church that were going forward, they went into the territories of Modena and to Polesine di Rovigo.[9]

The Grand Duke of Tuscany made a demonstration toward entering Perugia, but did not enter. The troops of the Pope even made incursions here and there within the territory of Tuscany.

How extraordinary is the aspect of all these movements! how totally without nerve or spirit on either side! how inefficient, how useless! Let us compare them with the conflicts proceeding at the same point of time in Germany, with the march of the Swedes from the Baltic to the neighborhood of Vienna, and from Moravia even to Jutland! And yet they were not purely Italian; foreigners served on both sides; the majority of the papal troops were Frenchmen, and the confederate army was principally German.

But the Italian war had nevertheless one result of a similar character to those more vigorously conducted; the country was exhausted and the papal treasury more particularly fell into the utmost embarrassment.[10]

Many were the expedients resorted to by Urban VIII for procuring the money he required. So early as September, 1642, the bull of Sixtus V was submitted to a new deliberation, and this ended in the resolution to take 500,000 scudi

[9] Frizzi, "Memorie per la Storia di Ferrara," v. p. 100.

[10] Riccius, "Rerum Italicarum sui temporis narrationes," Narr. xix. p. 590: "The war blazed forth and was great beyond all expectation; but though effectual at the first onset, it afterward declined; finally it profited neither party, but was pernicious to both, because of the rapine of the soldiery, and the useless efforts being found utterly vain; and the end was that it died away in mutual compliments and concessions."

from the castle.[1] It was obvious that the sum thus appropriated could not go far; the practice was then commenced of taking loans from the remainder of that treasure; that is to say, it was positively resolved that at some future time the money then abstracted should be paid back. We have already seen that personal taxation had been among the means adopted; and this method of raising funds was now frequently repeated. The Pope gave intimation to the conservators of what sums he required, whereupon the inhabitants, foreigners not excepted, were called on to contribute each his quota. But the principal dependence continued to be on the excise and customs. At first they were of such kind as to be but little felt—on bruised corn, for example, the food of poultry; but much heavier imposts soon followed, and these fell on articles of indispensable necessity, as bread and salt, wine, fire-wood.[2] It was at this time that the taxes made their second great advance, having attained in 1644 to the sum of 2,200,000 scudi. It will now be understood from previous remarks that each new impost or increase of an impost was immediately funded, a *monte* established on it, and then sold. Cardinal Cesi, a former treasurer, computed that in this manner new debts were contracted to the amount of 7,200,000 scudi, although 60,000 scudi still remained of the treasure. The entire expense of the war was stated to the Venetian ambassador in the year 1645 at more than 12,000,000 of scudi.[3]

The serious consequences to be apprehended from such a system now became daily more obvious; credit was, at length, exhausted, and all resources were gradually failing. Neither did the war proceed altogether as was desired; in a skirmish near Lagoscuro, March 17, 1644, Cardinal Antonio was in imminent danger of being made prisoner, and escaped only

[1] "Deone, 20 Sett. 1642:" "The Pope having caused legists and theologians to consider whether money might not be taken from the treasure in the castle of St. Angelo in conformity with the bull of Sixtus V, on Monday, the 22d of the month, his holiness held a consistory for that affair. . . . It was then resolved to draw 500,000 scudi, by 100,000 scudi at a time, but not until what yet remains in the coffers of the Camera shall be all spent."

[2] "Deone, 29 Nov. 1642:" "Three new taxes have been imposed; one on salt, in addition to the old one, the second on wood, and the third on the customs, being seven per cent. on merchandise brought by land, and ten per cent. on all that comes by water. This is raising them one per cent.; and three other taxes are expected to meet the present necessities; one on houses, another on mortgages, and a third on 'casali,' that is to say, farms in the country."

[3] "Relatione de quattro Ambasciatori:" "The treasury is found to be notably exhausted, and it has been affirmed by many cardinals that the Barberini spent more than 12,000,000 of gold in the last war." See Appendix, No. 125.

by the fleetness of his horse.[4] The Pope, feeling himself constantly becoming weaker, was, at length, compelled to think of peace.

The French undertook the task of mediation. The Spaniards had so little influence at the Papal Court, and had besides lost so much of their authority in all other quarters, that on this occasion they were entirely excluded.

At a former period, the Pope had often said that he knew well the purpose of the Venetians was to kill him with vexation, but that they should not succeed, for he should know how to hold out against them. Yet he now saw himself compelled to yield all they demanded, to revoke the sentence of excommunication pronounced against the Duke of Parma, and restore Castro to his possession. Urban had never imagined that he could come to this extremity, and he felt it very deeply.

He was afflicted also from another cause, the renewed fear, namely, that now assailed him, of having favored his nephews unduly; and this he dreaded to find lying heavily on his conscience, when he should stand in the presence of God. He once more called together certain theologians in whom he placed particular confidence. Cardinal Lugo, among others, with Father Lupis, a Jesuit, were summoned to hold a consultation in his presence. The conclusion they came to was that since the nephews of his holiness had made so many enemies, it was perfectly just, nay, even necessary for the honor of the Apostolic See, that they should have the means of maintaining their dignity unimpaired after the decease of the Pope and in defiance of their enemies.[5]

By these afflicting doubts, and with the bitter consciousness of having labored to no purpose, the Pope met the approaches of death. His physician has recorded the fact that at the moment when he was compelled to sign the Peace of Castro he was so completely overcome by distress of mind as to fall into a swoon, and it was then that he was seized by the malady of which he died. He prayed that heaven would avenge him on the godless princes who had forced him into war, and expired on July 29, 1644.

Thus the Papal See had scarcely been forced to retreat from

[4] Nani, "Storia Veneta," lib. xii. p. 740.

[5] Nicoletti, "Vita di Papa Urbano," tom. viii. See Appendix, No. 120; see also No. 115.

the position it had occupied at the central point of European affairs, when it suffered a defeat as regarded those of Italy, and even in the concerns of its own States, exceeding any that had been inflicted on it for a long period.

It is true that Pope Clement VIII had fallen into discord with the Farnesi, and had been obliged, at length, to grant them pardon; but he did so, because he desired to avenge himself on the Spaniards, and required the aid of the remaining Italian princes for that purpose. The position of things at the moment we speak of was very different from this. Urban VIII had put forth his utmost strength to attack the Duke of Parma, but the united forces of Italy had exhausted all the powers he could oppose to them, and compelled him to a disadvantageous peace. It was not to be denied that the papacy had once more sustained a decided defeat.

Section V.—Innocent X

The effect of this position of affairs was made manifest on the assembling of the next conclave.[1] The nephews of Urban VIII brought in eight-and-forty cardinals, creatures of their uncle; so large a faction had never before been seen. Yet it now became evident that they would not be able to secure the elevation of Sacchetti, the man whom they had chosen, the scrutinies daily presenting a more and more unfavorable result. Perceiving this, and to prevent a declared antagonist from obtaining the tiara, Francesco Barberino finally decided for Cardinal Pamfili, who was, at least, one of those created by Urban VIII, although strongly disposed to the party of Spain, and expressly objected to by the French Court. On September 16, 1644, Cardinal Pamfili was elected. He took the name of In-

[1] Again arose the disorders and violence customary during the vacancy of the papal chair. J. Nicii Erythræi, "Epist." lxviii. "ad Tyrrhenum," 3 non. Aug. 1644: "Civitas sine jure est, sine dignitate respublica. Tantus in urbe armatorum numerus cernitur quantum me alias vidisse non memini. Nulla domus est paulo locupletior quæ non militum multorum præsidio muniatur; ac si in unum omnes cogerentur, magnus ex eis exercitus confici posset. Summa in urbe armorum impunitas, summa licentia: passim cædes hominum fiunt; nil ita frequenter auditur quam, hic vel ille notus homo est interfectus." (The state is without law, the commonwealth without dignity. The number of armed men to be seen in the city is greater than I remember ever to have seen elsewhere. There is no house of any wealth but is furnished with a garrison of many soldiers; so that if all were gathered into one body, a large army might be formed from them. The utmost impunity prevails in the city for these armed bodies, the utmost license. Men are assassinated all over the city, and nothing is more commonly to be heard than that one or the other man of note has been slain.)

nocent X, in memory, as was believed, of Innocent VIII, in whose pontificate his house had come to Rome.

By the elevation of Innocent X the policy of the Roman Court once more received a change.

The confederate princes, more particularly the Medici, to whom the new Pope attributed his election, now obtained influence over that authority, against which they were but lately in arms. The inscription relating to the Venetians, which Urban had effaced, was restored.[2] Nearly all those elevated in the first promotion that ensued were friends of Spain; a new accession of strength was acquired by the whole Spanish party, which now again held the French, at least in Rome, in equal balance.

The Barberini were the first to feel this revolution of things. It is no longer possible to ascertain how much of all that was laid to their charge was well founded. They were declared to have perverted justice, and to have seized benefices belonging to others; but the chief accusation against them was that of having misappropriated the public money. The Pope resolved to call the nephew of his predecessor to account for the administration of the finances during the war of Castro.[3]

At first the Barberini believed that they could place themselves in security by means of France, and as Mazarin had risen to his eminent station, in the service, and by the assistance of their house, he did not now let them want support; they affixed the French arms to their palaces, and formally declared themselves under the protection of France. But Pope Innocent affirmed that he was there for the purpose of maintaining justice, and could not neglect to do so even though Bourbon were standing at the gates.

Antonio, who was most deeply endangered, then took flight, departing in October, 1645. Some months later Francesco left the city, as did Taddeo, with his children.

The Pope caused their palaces to be seized, their offices to

[2] "Relatione de' quattro Ambasciatori, 1645:" "The present pontiff, in the very beginning of his government, has expressed his dissent from the opinion of his predecessor, by public demonstration registered in marble, and has restored its lustre to the glories of your Excellency's ancestors." We see from this how high a tone they took as regarded that matter.

[3] "Relatione delle cose correnti, 25 Maggio, 1646:" "The Barberini, seeing themselves utterly repudiated by the new Pope, began to devise machinations in plenty, which they considered excellent; but the Pope continued to watch carefully, and insisted on having the untreasuried treasury satisfied by them."

be distributed to others, and their *luoghi di monte* sequestered. The Roman people applauded him in all these proceedings. On February 20, 1646, an assembly was gathered in the Capitol: it was the most imposing that had been seen within the memory of man, from the number of persons, distinguished by their rank and titles, who took part in it. A proposal was made for entreating the Pope to repeal, at least, that most oppressive of all the taxes imposed by Urban VIII—the tax on flour. But the connections of the Barberini resisted this proposal, in their apprehension lest the debt founded on that impost should be paid out of their property in the event of its being repealed. Donna Anna Colonna, the wife of Taddeo Barberino, caused a memorial to be read, reminding the people of the services Urban VIII had rendered the city, and of his zeal for the administration of justice: she declared it to be unseemly that an appeal should be made against the lawful taxes imposed by a pontiff of such high merit. The resolution was adopted nevertheless: Innocent proceeded to act upon it without delay, and the deficiency thereby occasioned was made good, as had been rightly anticipated, from the possessions of Don Taddeo.[4]

In the meantime, and while the family of the preceding pope was thus violently assailed and persecuted, it became a question, now the most important in every pontificate, by what means the new pontifical house was to establish itself. It is a circumstance of some weight in the general history of the papacy, that this was no longer accomplished by precisely the same method as on earlier occasions, although the scandal caused by the court was in itself much increased and aggravated.

Pope Innocent was under obligations to his sister-in-law, Donna Olympia Maidalchina, of Viterbo; and more particularly on account of the very considerable possessions that she had brought into the house of Pamfili. He accounted it, also, as a high merit in Donna Olympia, that she had refused to form any second alliance after the death of his brother.[5] His own interest more especially was promoted by this determina-

[4] The passage from the "Diario" of Deone will be found in the Appendix, No. 122.

[5] Bussi, "Storia di Viterbo," p. 331. Donna Olympia was at first much esteemed. The Venetian ambassador of the year 1645 says of her: "She is a lady of great prudence and worth; she understands the position she holds of sister-in-law to the Pope; she enjoys the esteem and affection of his holiness, and has great influence with him."

tion on her part. The management of the family possessions had been long committed to her care, and it is not therefore surprising if she now obtained influence over the administration of the papacy.

This lady soon acquired a position of the highest importance in the court; it was to her that ambassadors paid their first visit on arriving in Rome. Cardinals placed her portrait in their apartments, as is customary with the portraits of sovereigns, and foreign courts sought to conciliate her favor by presents. As the same path was taken by all who desired to obtain favors from the Curia, riches soon began to flow into her coffers; it was even reported that from all the inferior offices procured by her means she exacted a monthly contribution. In a short time she had established a great household, gave rich festivals and theatrical entertainments, travelled and bought estates. Her daughters were married into the most distinguished and wealthy families; the first to one of the Ludovisi, the second to a son of the Giustiniani. For her son Don Camillo, who was of very mean capacity, she had originally thought it expedient to select the clerical profession, and intended him to assume, at least in externals, the position of cardinal-nephew;[6] but an opportunity having presented itself for contracting a splendid marriage for him with the richest heiress in Rome, Donna Olympia Aldobrandini, who had been set at liberty by the death of her husband, he returned to the secular condition and entered into that alliance.

By this union Don Camillo was exalted to the highest happiness he could possibly desire; his wife was not only rich, but still in the bloom of life; being graceful and full of intelligence, she supplied his deficiencies by her distinguished qualifications, but she also desired to rule. Between the mother-in-law and her daughter-in-law there was not the peace of a moment, and the house of the Pope was disturbed by the contentions of two women. The newly married pair were at first obliged to depart; but they did not long endure to remain at a distance, and returned to the palace without the Pope's consent; the dissensions of the family then became manifest to all the world. Donna Olympia Maidalchina appeared, for ex-

[6] All were surprised at this from the first: "I conclude," says Deone, "that this is the work of Donna Olympia, who has desired to see her son a cardinal, and prefers a son-in-law to a daughter-in-law."

ample, on a certain occasion during the carnival, with a magnificent equipage and splendid train on the Corso; her son and his wife were standing at a window, but when their mother's carriage appeared in sight, they turned and went away. This was remarked by everyone. It became the subject of conversation to all Rome.[7] The different parties next labored to obtain influence with these dissentient relatives.

The character and disposition of Pope Innocent were unfortunately better fitted for promoting and exasperating disputes of this kind than for appeasing them.

Not that he was by any means a man of common qualities. In his earlier career, while attached to the Rota, in his office of nuncio, or as cardinal, he had proved himself to be diligent in action, blameless of life, and upright in principle; this reputation he still maintained. His industry was thought the more extraordinary, from the fact that he had completed his seventy-second year at the period of his election. It was, nevertheless, boastingly remarked that "labor does not weary him; after long exertion he is as fresh as he was before; he finds pleasure in conversing with those who seek him, and permits each person to say all that he desires to say." The cheerful temper and affable manners of Innocent presented a striking contrast to the proud reserve of Urban VIII. He made it his particular concern to maintain peace and good order in Rome, and was ambitious of establishing security of property, and insuring the safety of all his subjects by night as well as by day. No injustice or oppression from the superior to the inferior, no injury of the weak by the powerful, was tolerated during the pontificate of Innocent X.[8]

He also compelled the barons to pay their debts. The Duke of Parma had not yet satisfied his creditors, so that the Pope could not appear in Rome without having himself implored aloud to procure justice for the Montists; as there was, moreover, cause to believe that the Bishop of Castro had lost his

[7] "Diario Deone." At another time he relates as follows: "Mercordi la tarda (Ag. 1648):" "On Wednesday, in the afternoon [August, 1648], the Signora Olympia, with both her daughters, and a numerous train, passed along the Corso; everyone supposed that she was going to visit her daughter-in-law, but she passed before the house without looking at it."

[8] "Relatione di Contarini, 1648:" "He thinks only of securing the tranquillity of the Ecclesiastical States, and more particularly of Rome; so that every man may be at liberty to enjoy his possessions, and be equally safe by night as by day; nor will he permit the superior classes to oppress those beneath them."

life at the instigation of the duke's government, it was at length resolved to take decisive steps in his affairs also. The domains of the Farnesi were once more exposed to sale; solicitors and civil practitioners proceeded to Castro and took possession of the town in the name of the Montists.[9] The duke again opposed resistance, and made a second attempt to penetrate into the States of the Church, but this time he found no auxiliaries. Innocent X was not feared by the Italian princes as Urban had been; he was rather, as we have seen, their ally; Castro was taken, its defences were demolished, and the duke was compelled to resign that district to the administration of the papal treasury, which undertook to satisfy his creditors; he even assented to the decision which adjudged him to forfeit the whole domain if he failed to redeem the *monti* Farnesi within eight years. The capital amounted to about 1,700,000 scudi, the accumulated interest to 400,000 scudi. The duke seemed in no condition to raise so large a sum; the agreement, which was moreover again effected by Spanish mediation, was nearly equivalent to a forced renunciation, and did but escape it in name.

In all these transactions, Pope Innocent displays energy, prudence, and determination; but he labored under one defect which made it difficult to preserve a good understanding with him, and which rendered his life bitter even to himself; he reposed unvarying confidence in no one; good-will and displeasure alternated with him according to the impression of the moment.

This was experienced, among others, by the datary, Cecchini; after he had long enjoyed the papal favor, this officer suddenly found himself suspected, attacked, reproached, and finally superseded by his subordinate, that Mascambruno who was afterward convicted of the most extraordinary forgeries.[10]

But perplexities of a still more painful character existed in the papal family itself, which was already sufficiently divided.

[9] "Diario Deone, 16 Giugno, 1649: " "The Pope is fully determined as regards this matter, and said to me, 'We cannot pass through the streets of Rome, but we are instantly called after to the intent that we should make the Duke of Parma pay what is due from him: he has not paid for seven years; yet on this income depends the living of many widows, orphans, and pious institutions.'" It is obvious that the Pope's motives were not reprehensible.

[10] "Vita del Cl. Cecchini, scritta da lui medesimo." "Scrittura contro Monsr. Mascambruno, con laquale s' intende che s' instruisca il processo che contro il medesimo si va fabricando;" with the still more circumstantial report, "Pro R. P. D. Mascambruno," MS. Appendix, No. 121.

After the marriage of Don Camillo Pamfili, Innocent X had no longer a nephew of the clerical order, a personage who had for a long time formed an essential part of the Papal Court and household. He once felt himself moved to take particular interest in a distant kinsman of his house who had been presented to him, and resolved to confer on this young man, Don Camillo Astalli, the dignity of cardinal-nephew. He took him into his household, gave him apartments in the palace, and intrusted him with a share in the business of the State. This elevation he caused to be publicly proclaimed by the firing of cannon from the castle St. Angelo, and by other solemnities.

Yet nothing resulted from that arrangement but new misunderstandings and vexations.

The remainder of the papal family complained of being placed in the background; even the cardinals previously nominated by Innocent X were dissatisfied on perceiving a newcomer preferred to themselves;[1] but above all other persons, Donna Olympia Maidalchina was displeased; she had commended the young Astalli, and had proposed his elevation to the cardinalate, but she had by no means expected that his favor would go so far.

In the first place, she was herself sent away. The secular nephew and his wife, who was declared by a contemporary to be "as greatly exalted above ordinary women as he was sunk beneath the level of ordinary men," gained access to the palace.

But the nearly related secular nephew did not long maintain his friendly relations with the adopted ecclesiastical nephew; the elder Olympia was recalled to keep the house in order.

In a very short time she had recovered all her accustomed influence.[2]

In one of the apartments of the Villa Pamfili stand the busts of the Pope and his sister-in-law; when these are compared—when the features of the woman, full of intelligence and firm decision, are considered, together with the mild and

[1] "Diario Deone, 10 Sett. 1650:" "The rumors of the court say that the Pope has lost the benefits conferred on all his creatures, who are offended by his preference of a youth without experience, to them all, which shows that he does not trust them, or thinks them unfit for the charge." Much is said of this in a paper entitled, "Osservationi sopra la futura elettione, 1652:" "I believe that this is merely a caprice, . . . the Pope scarcely knowing Monsr. Astalli."

[2] "Vita di Papa Alessandro VII.:" "The crafty old woman has mounted in a short time from the extremity of disgrace to the height of favor."

inexpressive countenance of the Pope, it becomes at once obvious that his being governed by his sister-in-law was not only possible but inevitable.

After she had regained admission to the palace, she too refused to suffer that the advantages consequent on the position of a nephew should be imparted to any other house than her own. Since Astalli would not divide his authority with her as she desired, she did not rest until he had lost the favor of the Pope, was cast down from his eminence and sent from the palace, nor until she had herself recovered her undivided rule, and reigned absolute mistress in the house. On the other hand, won over by gifts, she now formed an intimate connection with the Barberini, who had meanwhile returned to Rome.

How grievously must all these changes from disgrace to favor, and from favor to disgrace, with the continual dissensions among those most immediately connected with him, have oppressed and disturbed the poor old Pope. Nor can the inward longings of the spirit be stilled by the declared rupture that may seem to re-establish quiet; the affections that should have consoled and gladdened his age were turned into sources of grief and distress. The aged pontiff now felt moreover that he was made the instrument for gratifying a womanly desire for authority and love of gain; he disapproved and was rendered unhappy by this state of things; gladly would he have brought it to an end, but he had not the energy and resolution required, nor did he indeed know how to do without his sister-in-law. His pontificate, which ought to have been numbered among the more fortunate, since it passed without any remarkable disaster, yet acquired an evil reputation from these irregularities in the family and the palace. Innocent was himself rendered even more capricious, self-willed, and burdensome to himself than he had been made by nature.[3]

To the last days of his life we find him occupied in despoiling and inflicting new banishments on his other relations, and in this comfortless state of things he died, January 5, 1655.

[3] Pallavicini: "In the midst of splendid appointments a fetid and loathsome object . . . he broke into various exclamations with a sort of frenzy. . . . Not a little feared, but by no means loved, he had some success and credit in his public affairs, but was most inglorious and wretched from the continually recurring scenes either of tragedy or comedy in his domestic life." See Appendix, Nos. 129, 130.

The corpse lay three days before anyone of those connected with him, on whom by the usage of the court the duty of interment devolved, had given a thought to the care of it. Donna Olympia declared that she was a poor widow, and that it was beyond her powers; no other person considered himself under any obligation to the deceased pontiff. Finally, a canon, who had once been in the papal service, but had been long dismissed, expended half a scudi, and caused the last honors to be rendered to his late master.

But we are not to suppose that these domestic contentions were merely personal in their ultimate consequences.

It is evident that the governing power of the nephews, which had exercised so complete an authority in the State, and so powerful an influence on the Church during previous pontificates, after receiving a severe shock in the latter years of Urban VIII, was now giving but slight intimations of existence and approached its fall.

Section VI.—Alexander VII and Clement IX

The succeeding conclave immediately presented an unaccustomed appearance.

The nephews of the deceased pontiff had hitherto presented themselves, with a numerous band of devoted adherents, to dominate the new election. Innocent X left no nephew who could hold the cardinals of his creation together, or unite them into a faction. None owed their elevation to Astalli, who had conducted the helm of state for a short time only, and had exercised no prevailing influence, nor did any of them feel bound to his interests. For the first time, during many centuries, the new cardinals entered the conclave with unlimited freedom of choice. They were recommended to unite of their own accord under one head, and are reported to have replied that everyone of them had a head and feet of his own; they were for the most part men of distinguished character and independent modes of thinking, united certainly among themselves (they were designated the flying squadron—*squadrone volante*),[1] but who would no longer be guided by

[1] Pallavicini names the following as confederates: Imperiale, Omodei, Borromei, Odescalco, Pio, Aquaviva, Ottobuono, Albizi, Gualtieri, and Azzolino. The name of Squadrone was given them by the Spanish ambassador.

the will of a nephew, and had resolved to act upon their own convictions and judgment.

While Innocent X yet lay on his death-bed, one of this "squadron," Cardinal Ottobuono, is said to have exclaimed, "This time we must seek an honest man." "If you want an honest man," replied another of the party, Cardinal Azzolino, "there stands one"—he pointed to Cardinal Chigi.[2] And Chigi had not only obtained the reputation of being an able man of upright intentions, but was particularly distinguished as an opponent of the abuses involved in the forms of government hitherto prevailing. But the friends he had secured were confronted by very powerful antagonists, more especially among the French. When Mazarin, driven out of France by the troubles of the Fronde, was making preparations on the German frontier, to replace himself, by force of arms, in possession of his lost power, his efforts had not been promoted by Chigi—who was then nuncio at Cologne—so effectively as he thought himself entitled to expect; from that time, therefore, Mazarin had entertained a personal animosity to Chigi. It followed from this circumstance that the election cost much labor, its conflicts were once more protracted to a very great length; finally, however, the new members of the conclave, the *squadronisti,* carried their point. On April 7, 1655, Fabio Chigi was elected. He took the name of Alexander VII.

The new pontiff was compelled, by the very principle which had suggested his elevation, to conduct his government on a system wholly different from that adopted by his more immediate predecessors; he seemed also to have determined on doing this.

For a certain period of time he would not permit his nephews to visit Rome, and boasted that he had not suffered one penny to be turned to their advantage. His confessor, Pallavicini, who was then writing the history of the Council of Trent, at once inserted a passage in his work, predicting everlasting fame to Alexander VII; and more particularly on account of this self-denial with regard to his family.[3]

[2] "If you want a man of integrity, there is one, and he pointed to Cardinal Chigi, who stood at a distance, although in the same room."—Pallavicini.

[3] In his Latin biography of Alexander VII he says: "The people, who, because of the many taxes, seemed to bear on their shoulders the families of the late pontiffs, which were laden with so much wealth, did wonderfully ap-

But it must always be a difficult thing to abandon a custom once firmly established, and the rather because it never could have gained prevalence without possessing in itself some quality that was commendable—some natural claim to existence. There are persons in every court who are always prepared to put this better aspect of a custom in the most favorable light, and who delight to cling firmly to ancient usage, however clearly obvious its abuses may be.

It was thus gradually intimated to Alexander VII, first by one, and then by another, of those surrounding him, that it was not seemly to permit the papal kinsmen to remain in the rank of private citizens in some remote town; nay, that it was, in fact, impossible, for that the people of Sienna were not to be restrained from paying princely honors to his house, whereby the Holy See might readily become involved in misunderstandings with Tuscany. There were other advisers who, not content with confirming these remarks, added further, that the pontiff would give a still better example if he received his connections at the court, and proved that he could hold them in proper restraint, than if he kept them altogether at a distance. But the most effectual impression was unquestionably produced by Oliva, the rector of the Jesuits' college, who directly declared that the Pope would be guilty of a sin if he did not summon his nephews to his side. He maintained that the foreign ambassadors never would have so much confidence in a mere minister as in a near relation of the Pope; that the holy father, being thus less perfectly supplied with intelligence, would have fewer facilities for the due administration of his office.[4]

It scarcely required so many arguments to persuade the Pope into a course toward which he could not but feel inclined. On April 24, 1656, he proposed in the Consistory the

plaud the magnanimity of Alexander VII. . . . It was an inexpressible detriment to the Holy See that benefits were so unequally distributed, and a perpetual burthen on the people."—"Relatione de' IV. Ambasciatori, 1655:" "The self-denial with which his holiness has hitherto armed himself is heroic, excluding his brother, nephews, and all who boast relationship to him, from access to Rome; and this parsimony of favor toward his family is the more meritorious, because it is not forced on him by persuasions, but is the result of his own free choice." See Appendix, Nos. 130, 132, and 135.

[4] "Scritture politiche," etc.: "One day Oliva took occasion to say to Father Luti [Father Luti had been brought up with the Pope, paid him frequent visits, and desired that the nephews should be invited], that the Pope was bound, under penalty of mortal sin, to call his nephews to Rome." He then gave his reasons as above cited.

question, whether it seemed good to the cardinals, his brethren, that he should employ his kinsmen in the service of the Papal See. No one ventured to speak against the measure, and they very soon arrived.[5] The brother of the Pope, Don Marco, obtained the most lucrative appointments, as the superintendence of the regulations respecting corn (*annona*), and the administration of justice in the Borgo. His son Flavio was declared Cardinal Padrone, and was soon in possession of ecclesiastical revenues to the amount of 100,000 scudi. Another brother of the pontiff, who had been an object of particular affection to his holiness, was no longer living; but his son, Agostino, was chosen to become the founder of a family. The richest possessions were gradually conferred on him, as for example, the incomparable Ariccia, the principality of Farnese, the palace in the Piazza Colonna, and many *luoghi di monte;* he was, besides, married to a Borghese.[6] The favors of the pontiff were indeed at length extended to more remote connections also; among others, to the Commendatore Bichi, who occasionally appears in the Candian war, and even to the Siennese in general. Things might thus have seemed to be returning entirely to their earlier condition; but this was, nevertheless, not the case.

Flavio Chigi was far from possessing an authority equal to that of Pietro Aldobrandino, or Scipione Cafarelli, or Francesco Barberino, nor did he even seek to obtain it. The exercise of power had no charms for him; he rather felt disposed to envy his secular cousin, Agostino, to whom the essential enjoyments of life had been awarded with but little toil or pains on his part.

Nay, Alexander VII himself no longer ruled with an authority approaching to the absolute and unlimited power of his predecessors.

[5] Pallavicini: "In the first days after that event, the advisers of Alexander could not appear in public without subjecting themselves to bitter taunts." See Appendix, No. 132.

[6] "Vita di Alessandro VII., 1666:" "The principality of Farnese, which is worth 100,000 scudi; La Riccia, which cost as much more; the palace in the Piazza Colonna, which will amount, when finished, to 100,000 scudi, make up a very fair endowment for Don Augustino; add to this, luoghi di monte and other offices bought for him, and there will be more than half a million of fixed property showered on one sole head, to say nothing of 25,000 scudi annual revenue enjoyed by the Commendatore Bichi, or of a good 100,000, or more, that go yearly into the purse of Cardinal Chigi." These are obviously such calculations as might be made in the current talk of the day, and to which no higher value must be attributed. See Appendix, Nos. 130 and 135.

Even during the pontificate of Urban VIII a *congregazione di stato* had been established, the office of which was, after due deliberation, to decide on the most important questions affecting the general affairs of the State; but its effect was not at that time of any great moment. Under Innocent X it obtained much higher importance. Pancirolo, secretary of that congregation, the first distinguished man who held that appointment, and by whom the foundation of its subsequent credit was laid, retained to his death the largest share in the government of Innocent X, and to his influence it was attributed that no nephew could obtain firm possession of power during that pontificate. Chigi himself was for some time invested with that dignity; it was now enjoyed by Cardinal Rospigliosi, in whose hands was vested the entire administration of foreign affairs. Next to him was Cardinal Corrado of Ferrara, who was of high authority in all matters pertaining to ecclesiastical immunities. The direction of the monastic orders was intrusted to Monsignore Fugnano, and theological questions were decided by Cardinal Pallavicini. The congregations, which had possessed but little weight under earlier popes, now again acquired consideration and independent efficiency. The opinion was already expressed and defended, that the Pope had the power of absolute and unfettered decision in spiritual affairs only; in all temporal matters, on the contrary—as for example, the declaration of war, the conclusion of peace, the alienation of territory, or the imposition of taxes—he was bound to ask counsel from the cardinals,[7] and, in fact, Pope Alexander took but little active part in the administration of the State. For two months at a time he would go to Castelgandolfo, where all business was studiously avoided; when he was in Rome, the afternoons were devoted to literature. Authors then presented themselves before the pontiff, they read their works aloud, and it was a favorite occupation of Alexander to suggest improvements. Even in the mornings it was difficult to obtain audience of him for actual business. "I served," says Giacomo Quirini, "during forty-two months with Pope Alexander, and I perceived that he had merely the name of pope, not the command of the papacy.

[7] Giac. Quirini: "The cardinals, and particularly Cardinal Albicci, held the opinion that a pontiff might dispose of indulgences; but that for peace or war, alienation of lands or imposition of taxes, he ought to have recourse to cardinals." See Appendix, No. 136.

Of those qualities by which he had been distinguished while cardinal, vivacity of intellect, power of discrimination, decision in difficult cases, and facility of expression, not a trace could be found; business was entirely set aside. He thought only of passing his life in undisturbed repose of mind.[8]

Alexander was himself occasionally conscious of the lapse of power from his hands, and disapproved it; when his understanding failed, he would attribute the blame to the interested conduct of the cardinals; he was heard to speak of it even in the delirium that preceded his death.

But since this was but the natural result of the course of things, so the same spirit continued to prevail.

Those cardinals of the "Squadrone," who had most powerfully contributed to the election of Alexander VII, and had possessed great influence through his whole administration, gave the decisive voice in the conclave succeeding his death; but with this difference, that they had now a better understanding with France. On June 20th, Rospigliosi, previously Secretary of State, was raised to the papal throne under the name of Clement IX.[9]

All voices united to declare that the new pontiff was the best and kindest man that could possibly be found. It is true that he was not so active as well-intentioned: he was compared to a tree, perfect in its branches, full of leaf, and perhaps producing blossoms, but bearing no fruit. All those moral qualities that consist in the absence of faults—purity of life, diffidence, and moderation—he possessed in an eminent degree. He was the first pope who really kept within due bounds in the promotion of his kindred. They were not directly kept at a distance; on the contrary, they were suffered to occupy the accustomed position, and even founded a new family; but this happened only because an opportunity presented itself for the marriage of a young Rospigliosi with a Pallavicina of Genoa, a very rich heiress. The advantages they obtained from their uncle were very moderate; they did not appropriate the

[8] "That head having devoted itself to the quiet of the soul, to a life of pure thought, with fixed determination renounced all kinds of business."

[9] Quirini: "By the contrivances of the 'Volanti,' who certainly had the merits of the present election, it happened that Chigi, unadvisedly and without regard to time or order, declared in the Sala Regia, when about to enter the chapel for the scrutiny, that he consented to the nomination of Rospigliosi. . . . Even before the adoration Ottoboni was declared prodatario, and Azzolini, Secretary of State." See Appendix, No. 136.

public property, with the exception of some *luoghi di monte* that were given to them; nor did they divide the management of public affairs and the power of government among themselves.

Here, then, we perceive the most important change.

Hitherto, on every new accession to the throne, the whole, or in any case the greater part, of the State officials were changed: the character and proceedings of the court were regulated accordingly. Clement IX abolished this custom; he would have no one dissatisfied; he confirmed the appointments of all whom he found in office, with the exception of a few among the highest places, and in these he placed cardinals such as Ottobuono and Azzolini—members of the "Squadrone," men who had decided the last elections, and were, besides, of great weight.[10] He was far from persecuting the relatives of previous popes, as had been usual during so many pontificates. The recommendations of Flavio Chigi availed but little less with him than with Alexander; favors were still bestowed through his hands: all things remained as they had been at the death of Alexander VII.

The countrymen of Clement, the people of Pistoja, found themselves grievously disappointed. They had been calculating on favors similar to those that had just been conferred on so many of the Siennese. We find it reported, that all the men of Pistoja then in Rome were perceived to assume a certain air of consequence, and began to swear by the word of a nobleman; how bitter, then, was their astonishment, when they found that the places they had hoped for were not even vacated, much less bestowed upon themselves.

It is true that Clement IX did not omit to distribute the bounty with which it had been customary for the popes to signalize their accession to the throne; he even carried his liberality to an unwonted length, bestowing more than six hundred thousand scudi during the first month of his pontificate. But this sum was not given to his countrymen, nor even to his family: observations were in fact made to his kinsmen

[10] Grimani, "Relatione:" "His courtiers are dissatisfied, because he has not displaced the ministers and officials, as was the practice of other pontiffs." This was blamed, because it would leave his kindred without due support after his death: "Those who have received their places from Alexander VII, though indebted to Clement for not removing them, will yet repay their obligation to the heirs of Alexander." See Appendix, No. 138.

on the neglect he displayed as regarded their interests.[1] It was divided among the cardinals, and the leading members of the Curia in general. Reports immediately prevailed to the effect that this was the result of stipulations made in the conclave, but no distinct trace of any such thing can be discovered.

This proceeding was rather in accordance with the general modification which had taken place during this period in almost every part of Europe.

There has never been a time more favorable to the aristocracy than the middle of the seventeenth century, when, throughout the whole extent of the Spanish monarchy, that power which preceding kings had withdrawn from the high nobility, had again fallen into their hands; when the constitution of England acquired, amid the most perilous conflicts and struggles, that aristocratic character which it retains even to our own times; when the French Parliaments persuaded themselves that they could perform a part similar to that taken by the English houses; when the nobility acquired a decided predominance through all the German territories—one here and there excepted, where some courageous prince overpowered all efforts for independence; when the Estates of Sweden attempted to impose insufferable restraints on the sovereign authority, and the Polish nobility attained to unfettered self-government (Autonomic). The same spirit was now becoming prevalent in Rome; a numerous, powerful, and wealthy aristocracy surrounded the papal throne; the families already established imposed restraints on those that were but newly rising; from the self-reliance and authoritative boldness of monarchy, the ecclesiastical sovereignty was passing to the deliberation, sobriety, and measured calmness of aristocratic government.

Under these circumstances, the court assumed an altered form; in that continuous influx of strangers, who had hitherto sought their advancement in Rome, in that unceasing whirl and succession of new adventurers, there ensued a remarkable calm; a fixed population had now been formed, which received accessions more rarely, and less extensively. We will here cast a glance on this population.

[1] "Calling their attention to the fact, that with this profusion of gold and silver, a long chain was being formed to keep their house in a state of poverty." —Quirini.

Section VII.—Elements of the Roman Population

Let us begin with those higher classes of whom we have just been making mention.

Among them there still flourished those old and long-renowned Roman races, the Savelli, Conti, Orsini, Colonna, and Gaetani. The Savelli yet retained their ancient jurisdiction of the Corte Savella, with the privilege of saving one criminal in every year from the punishment of death;[1] the ladies of that house maintained their immemorial custom of never leaving their palaces, or doing so only in a carefully closed carriage. The Conti prided themselves in the portraits of popes issuing from their family, that adorned their halls. The Gaetani recalled, with complacency, their connection with Boniface VIII, whose spirit, as they believed, and as others also were inclined to concede, still rested on their house. The Colonna and Orsini made it their boast, that for centuries no peace had been concluded between the princes of Christendom, in which they had not been included by name.[2] But however powerful these houses may have been in earlier times, they certainly owed their importance in those now before us to their connection with the Curia and the popes. The Orsini, although possessing the most noble domains, from which they ought to have derived a revenue of 80,000 scudi, were yet greatly impoverished by an ill-considered liberality, and required the assistance afforded by ecclesiastical offices. The contestabile, Don Filippo Colonna, had been enabled to restore order to his financial affairs, only by the permission he had obtained from Urban VIII to reduce the rate of interest on his debts, and by the ecclesiastical benefices conferred on four of his sons.[3]

For it was a custom long established, that the families newly rising should enter into the direct connection with those ancient princely houses.

[1] "Discorso del dominio temporale e spirituale del Sommo Pontefice, 1664."

[2] "Descrittione delle famiglie nobili Romano," MS., in Library of St. Mark, vi. 237 and 234.

[3] Alemaden, "Relatione di Roma:" "The eldest son is Don Frederico, Prince of Botero; the second is Don Girolamo, the delight of his father's heart, and deservedly so, for he is a nobleman full of all goodness; the third is Don Carlo, who, after various military services in Flanders and Germany, became a monk and abbot; the fourth is Don Marc Antonio, married in Sicily; the fifth Don Prospero, commendator of St. Giovanni; the sixth Don Pietro, a secular abbot, lame in person, but he labors all the more by his intellect and mind." See Appendix, No. 123.

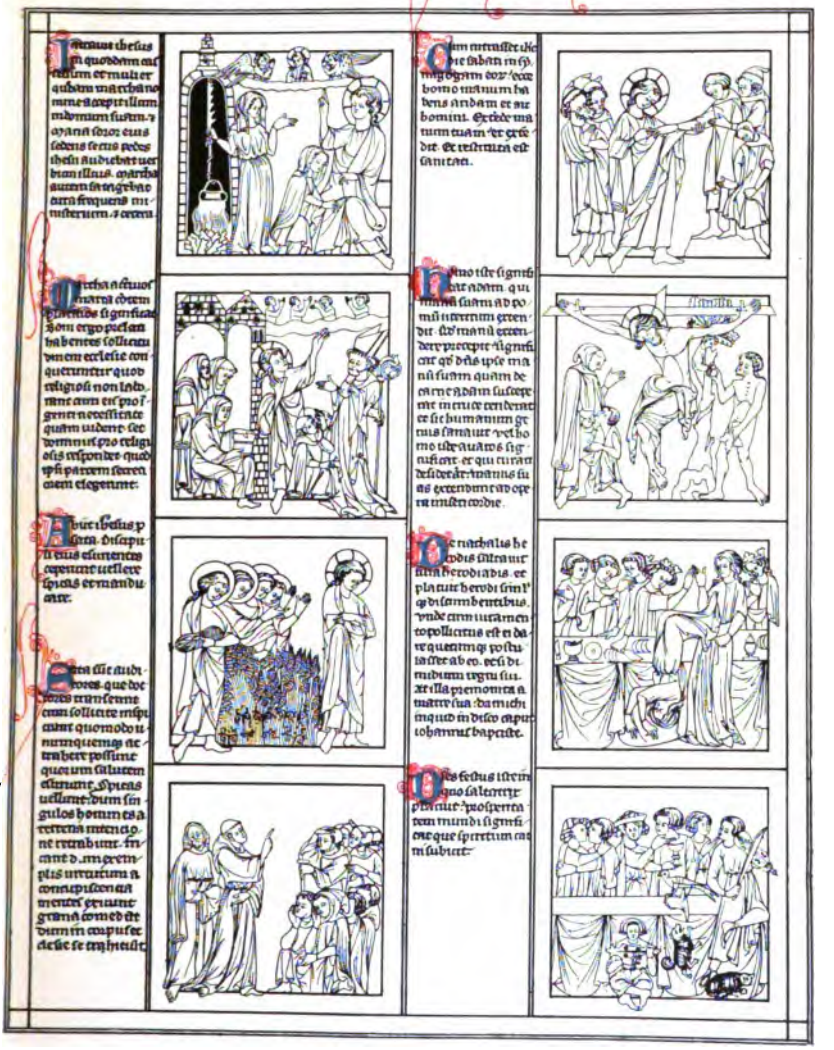
CHOICE EXAMPLES OF PALEOGRAPHY.

Fac-similes from Rare and Curious Manuscripts of the Middle Ages.

PAGE FROM A FRENCH PICTORIAL BIBLE.

Manuscript of the end of the Thirteenth Century.

This curious and artistic page is taken from a Bible written and drawn about 1290. The figures and designs were first drawn in, and the allegories at the side, which accompany each design or set of figures, were written to explain the meaning of the picture. Thus, the pictures really represent the text, and the manuscript is in the nature of an elucidation or commentary upon it.



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Under Innocent X, there existed for a considerable time, as it were, two great factions, or associations of families. The Orsini, Cesarini, Borghesi, Aldobrandini, Ludovisi, and Giustiniani were with the Pamfili; while opposed to them, was the house of Colonna and the Barberini. By the reconciliation of Donna Olympia with the Barberini, the union became general, and comprised all the families of name.

And even in this circle of families we now perceive a decided change. In earlier times, the pontifical house had always taken a highly predominant part, oppressing their predecessors, and casting them into the shade, by the acquisition of superior wealth. This was now no longer possible, partly because the older houses had become too rich, either by continual intermarriages or by good management, but chiefly because the papal treasury had been gradually exhausted. The Chigi could no longer venture to aspire at surpassing their predecessors; the Rospigliosi did not even wish to do so—they considered it quite sufficient if they could attain to being received among them.

All social communities are portrayed, or reflected, so to speak, in some intellectual product, some peculiarity of usage, some point of manner; the most remarkable product of this Roman community, and its mode of life and intercourse, was the ceremonial of the court. At no time have the forms of etiquette and ceremony been more rigorously insisted on than at the period we now treat of—a fact in harmony with the aristocratical tendencies universally prevailing. The perfection of order to which all ceremony was elaborated in Rome, may have proceeded from the claim advanced by this court to take precedence of all others, a claim it thus sought to intimate in certain external forms,[4] or perhaps in part also from the circumstance that the ambassadors of France and Spain had there contended for precedency from time immemorial. There were, besides, continual disputes in regard to rank, between the ambassadors and the higher officials of the Roman Court—the governatore, for example, or between the cardinals who had seats in the Rota and those who had none; as also between a variety of other corporate bodies of officials, and between the different races—

[4] These attempts are complained of by the French ambassador Bethune, among others, February 23, 1627. In Siri, "Memorie rec." vi. p. 262.

the Orsini and Colonna, for example. Sixtus V had vainly sought to amend this evil in the case of these two houses, by deciding that the eldest of either house should take precedence: when this was a Colonna, the Orsini did not appear; when it was an Orsino, the Colonna were not to be seen; and even to these families, the Conti and Savelli resigned the precedence with infinite reluctance, and only under perpetual protest. Distinctions of rank were marked with minute precision; when the kinsmen of the pontiff entered the papal apartments, for example, the two leaves of the folding-doors were thrown open; other barons or cardinals were compelled to content themselves with one. A singular manner of denoting respect had been introduced—a man stopped his carriage on meeting the equipage of a superior or patron. The Marchese Mattei was said to be the first who adopted this mode of doing honor, by paying it to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese; that cardinal then stopped his carriage also, and they exchanged a few words.[5] The example was soon followed by others; ambassadors received this mark of respect from their countrymen; the usage became universal, and in despite of its excessive inconvenience, it was soon considered an universal duty. It is precisely to things the most insignificant that self-love clings most fondly, and each excuses himself, by affirming that he must not act in prejudice to the rights of his connections, and those of a similar rank to his own.

We will now proceed a step lower in the social scale.

In the middle of the seventeenth century there were computed to be fifty noble families in Rome of three hundred years' standing, thirty-five of two hundred, and sixteen of one hundred years. None were permitted to claim a more ancient descent, or were generally traced to an obscure, or even a low origin.[6] The greater part of them had originally settled in the Campagna, but they had unhappily suffered themselves, as we before related, to be led into selling the principal portion of their estates to the pontifical houses, and had then invested the proceeds in the papal *monti*. This appeared, at

[5] In the Barberini Library I saw a special treatise on this subject: "Concerning the stopping of coaches by way of compliment, and how that custom was brought in."

[6] Almaden: "The greater part of the families now considered noble in Rome came from very base beginnings, not only from a notary or apothecary, which might be endurable, but even from the ill-odored art of tanning leather. Although I know the origin of all particularly, yet I do not write it, that I may not offend any."

first, to secure them no inconsiderable advantage; the papal families paid very high prices, frequently more than the value, while the interest of the *luoghi di monte,* drawn without need for exertion, produced a better revenue than could be derived from the most industrious cultivation of the land. But they were soon made to feel that their real estates had been transformed into a most fluctuating, nay, perishable capital. Alexander VII saw himself compelled to a reduction of the *monti.* Credit was shaken by this proceeding, and the value of the *luoghi* became grievously depressed. There was no family that escaped loss by this measure.

But by the side of the old families there rose up various new ones. All the cardinals and prelates of the Curia proceeded according to the Pope's example, and each in proportion to his means employed the surplus of his ecclesiastical revenue for the aggrandizement of his kindred, the foundation of a new family. There were others which had attained to eminence by judicial appointments, and many were indebted for their elevation to being employed as bankers in the affairs of the Dataria. Fifteen families of Florence, eleven from Genoa, nine Portuguese, and four French, are enumerated as having risen to more or less consideration by these means, according to their good fortune or talents; some of them, whose reputation no longer depended on the affairs of the day, became monarchs of gold; as for example, the Guicciardini and Doni, who connected themselves, under Urban VIII, with the Giustiniani, Primi, and Pallavicini.[7] But even, without affairs of this kind, families of consideration were constantly repairing to Rome, not only from Urbino, Rieti, and Bologna, but also from Parma and Florence. The establishment of the *monti* and salable offices contributed to invite many to the capital. The *luoghi di monte,* more particularly, were for a long time greatly sought for, especially the *vacabili,* which were a kind of life annuity, and therefore paid ten and a half per cent., but could, nevertheless, be most commonly transferred from older to younger persons; or even in cases where this was not done, were directly inherited, the Curia giving its sanction to this

[7] Almaden: "They have not yet passed the second generation of Roman citizenship . . . having come from Florence or Genoa about money transactions . . . such families often die in their cradles." See Appendix, No. 123.

practice without difficulty. Nor was it otherwise in regard to the salable offices. At the death of the holder they ought to have reverted to the treasury; therefore it was that the income they produced bore so high a proportion to the capital originally paid. Yet they were in fact real and simple annuities, since the holder had rarely any official duties to perform; but even when he had such duties, a transfer could usually be effected without any great difficulty. There were many offices that had never been vacated during an entire century.

The union of the public officials and montists into colleges, invested them with a sort of representative importance, and although their rights gradually became subject to grave diminutions, they nevertheless always maintained an independent position. The aristocratic principle, so remarkably mingled with the system of credit and public debt which pervaded the whole State, was also favorable to these associations. Indeed foreigners sometimes found them exceedingly overbearing.

Around these numerous families, so largely endowed, continually pressing forward, ever becoming more firmly established, and to whose profit came the greater part of the revenues of the Church, the lower classes fixed themselves in constantly increasing numbers and a more settled position.

Returns of the Roman population are still extant, and by a comparison of the different years, we find a most remarkable result exhibited, as regards the manner in which that population was formed. Not that its increase was upon the whole particularly rapid, this we are not authorized to assert. In the year 1600 the inhabitants were about 110,000; fifty-six years afterward they were somewhat above 120,000, an advance by no means extraordinary; but another circumstance here presents itself which deserves attention. At an earlier period, the population of Rome had been constantly fluctuating. Under Paul IV it had decreased from 80,000 to 50,000; in a score or two of years it had again advanced to more than 100,000. And this resulted from the fact that the court was then formed principally of unmarried men, who had no permanent abode there. But, at the time we are considering, the population became fixed into settled families. This began to be the case toward the end of the sixteenth century, but took place

more particularly during the first half of the seventeenth. The inhabitants of Rome numbered in the year

Date	Inhabitants	Families
1600	109,729	20,019
1614	115,643	21,422
1619	106,050	24,380
1628	115,374	24,429
1644	110,608	27,279
1653	118,882	29,081
1656	120,596	30,103 [8]

We perceive that the number of the inhabitants in some years exhibits a decrease, while that of the families, on the contrary, advances without interruption. During the fifty-six years we have examined, they had gained upward of 10,000; a fact the more remarkable, because the total increase of the population is not more than the same number. The crowd of unmarried men, merely coming and going, became less numerous; the mass of the population, on the contrary, acquired a stationary character. The proportion has continued the same to the present time, with the exception of slight variations, arising from the prevalence of disease at one time, and the natural tendency of population to repair the losses thus occasioned.

After the return of the popes from Avignon, and on the close of the schism, the city, which had seemed on the point of sinking into a mere village, extended itself around the Curia. But it was not until the papal families had risen to power and riches—until neither internal discords nor external enemies were any longer to be feared, and the incomes drawn from the revenues of the Church or State secured a life of enjoyment without the necessity for labor, that a numerous permanent population arose in the city. Its prosperity and possessions were always dependent on the importance of the Church and the Court, from which all wealth proceeded, whether by direct gifts or by other advantages more indirectly bestowed. All were, in fact, merely upstarts, like the pontifical families themselves.

The inhabitants already established in the city had hitherto

[8] The tables whence these numbers are taken will be found in manuscript in the Barberini Library. A later account, from 1702 to 1816, is given in "Cancellieri, del tarantismo di Roma," p. 73.

continually received accessions from new settlers, more particularly those who crowded to the capital on the elevation of each new pontiff, from his native town or province. The form now assumed by the court caused this practice to cease. It was under the influence of that universal power and efficiency to which the Roman See had attained by the restoration of Catholicism, that the capital itself had received its essential character and magnificence: then also were those Roman families founded which are flourishing to the present day. From the time when the extension of the spiritual dominion ceased, the population no longer continued to extend. It may safely be affirmed to have been a creation and product of that period.

Nay, the modern city itself may be generally said to belong—so much of it in any case as still enchains the attention of the traveller—to that same period of the Catholic revolution. Let us advert for a moment to some of its more prominent characteristics.

Section VIII.—Architectural Labors of the Popes

We have already described the magnificent architectural works completed by Sixtus V, and remarked on the views, as respected the Church and religion, which prompted these labors.

His example was followed by Clement VIII, to whom some of the most beautiful chapels in the churches of St. John and St. Peter are attributable. It was by him that the new residence in the Vatican was founded: the apartments now inhabited by the Pope and the Secretary of State were built by Clement VIII.

But it was more especially Paul V who made it his ambition to emulate the Franciscan. "Throughout the city," says a contemporary biography of this pope, "he has levelled hills, has opened extensive prospects where before were sharp corners and crooked paths; laid out large squares, and rendered them still more stately by the erection of new buildings. The water that he has brought to the city is not the mere play of a pipe; it comes rushing forth in a stream. The splendor of his palaces is rivalled by the variety of the gardens he has laid out. The interior of his private chapels glitters all over with gold and

silver; they are not so much adorned with precious stones as filled with them. The public chapels rise—each like a basilica—every basilica is like a temple: the temples are like mountains of marble." [1]

It will be observed that the works of Paul were admired and eulogized, not for their beauty or symmetry, but for their gorgeousness and colossal proportions, which are indeed their distinguishing attributes.

In Santa Maria Maggiore, he built a chapel opposite to that erected by Sixtus V, but far more splendid; it is, indeed, entirely formed of the most costly marbles.

Paul V brought the water bearing his name—the Aqua Paolina, to the Janiculum, from a distance of five and thirty miles—a course still longer than that of the Aqua Felice, brought to the city by Sixtus V. Opposite to the fountain and the Moses of Sixtus, but distant from it and with the whole city between them—the Aqua Paolina bursts forth in four powerful streams of nearly five times the volume presented by the Aqua Felice. Few fail to visit these heights of ancient renown, the site of Porsenna's attack, but now presenting vineyards, fruit-gardens, and ruins only. From this point the whole city lies open to the gaze, with the country, even to the distant hills, which evening wraps in a wondrously tinted vapor as in a transparent veil. The solitude is agreeably enlivened by the music of the rushing waters. The multitude of its fountains, and the profusion of their waters, is one of the many things by which Rome is distinguished from all other cities: the Aqua Paolina contributes most richly to this charm. The incomparable fountains of the Piazza San Pietro are filled from it; it is conducted by the Sistine bridge to the city itself. The fountains of the Farnese palace and many others, are fed from the same source.

Sixtus V had erected the cupola of St. Peter's, and Paul V undertook the general completion of the church.[2] This he accomplished on a scale of great magnitude, in accordance with the prevailing taste of that time. In the present day we should certainly prefer to have had the original plans of Bramante and Michael Angelo followed out; but the work of Paul entirely

[1] Vita Pauli V. compendiose scripta. MS. Barb. See Appendix, No. 76.

[2] Magnificentia Pauli V., seu publicæ utilitatis et splendoris opera a Paulo vel in urbe vel alibi instituta. MS. "The part of the temple erected at the sole cost and command of Paul, may be advantageously compared with those portions constructed by all previous pontiffs."

satisfied the taste of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The dimensions are, without doubt, enormous: few would assert the façade to be beautiful, but all is cheerful, appropriate, and grand. The colossal proportions of the building; the piazza, the obelisk, and all surrounding objects, when taken as a whole, produce that impression of the gigantic which was intended to be conveyed, and which fixes itself irresistibly and indelibly upon the mind.

Although the administration of the Ludovisi was but short, they have nevertheless erected an imperishable monument to themselves in the church of St. Ignatius,[3] and in their villa in the city. Nicolo Ludovisio possessed six palaces at one time, many of which he very richly adorned, and all of them were kept in good order.

We find memorials of Urban VIII, not only in various churches—St. Bibiana, St. Quirico, and St. Sebastian on the Palatine among others—but in accordance with his peculiar inclinations, still more frequently in palaces and fortifications. After having surrounded St. Angelo with ditches and ramparts, and after—as he boasts on one of his coins—he had fully armed, fortified, and completed this castle, he continued the defences according to a plan suggested by Cardinal Maculano (who was an accomplished military architect), around the Vatican and the gardens of the Belvedere, as far as the Porta Cavalleggieri. At that point other fortifications commenced, which were intended to comprise the Lungara, the Trastevere, and the Janiculum, and to extend to the priory on the Aventine. Porta Portuense, at least, is principally to be attributed to Urban VIII. It was not until he had thus enclosed himself that he felt secure; he was also careful to restore the bridge, by means of which a communication was effected between the papal residence and the fortress of St. Angelo.[4]

Pope Innocent X was likewise an assiduous builder. His works may be seen on the Capitol, the two sides of which he sought to bring into harmony; in the church of the Lateran, where he had the merit of proceeding in a manner less discordant with the ancient forms than was usual at that time;

[3] See Appendix, No. 95.

[4] From the diary of Giacinto Gigli, which was unfortunately stolen from me in Rome, the most important loss my collection has sustained. Cancellieri, on p. 55, "del tarantismo di Roma," has printed the passages belonging to this place from that work.

but principally on the Piazza Navona. It was observed that when Pope Innocent passed across the Piazza San Pietro, he never turned his eyes from the fountain which Paul V had erected there.[5] He would gladly have emulated that pontiff and adorned his favorite piazza with one yet more beautiful. Bernini applied all the resources of his art to realize this wish. An obelisk was brought to the piazza from the Circus of Caracalla, and on it Innocent placed the arms of his house—buildings were taken down to improve the form of the piazza. The church of Sant' Agnete was rebuilt from the foundations, while at no great distance arose the Palazzo Pamfili, richly adorned with statues, paintings, and splendid internal decorations of all kinds. The vigna which his family possessed beyond the Vatican was converted by Pope Innocent into one of the most beautiful of villas; a place comprising within itself whatever could best tend to make a country life agreeable.

The modern taste for uniformity is already to be observed in the buildings of Alexander VII. He destroyed many houses for the purpose of obtaining more regularity in the streets. The Salviati palace was demolished in order to form the square of the Collegio Romano, and the Piazza Colonna, where the palace of his own family was situated, was entirely transformed by his labors. He restored the Sapienza and the Propaganda; but the most remarkable memorial left by this pontiff is without doubt the range of colonnades which he erected around the upper part of the Piazza San Pietro—a colossal work of 284 columns and eighty-eight pilasters. Whatever may have been objected against this building, whether at the time or later,[6] it is yet impossible to deny that it was conceived in perfect harmony with the pervading thought of the whole edifice, or that it contributes an impression of its own to that mingled sense of immensity and serene cheerfulness which the whole place is so well calculated to inspire.

And thus was gradually formed that city, to which so count-

[5] "Diario Deone, 4 Luglio, 1648." He remarks, however, immediately: "The fountain of Pope Paul [there was then only one] will not be readily surpassed, whether as to beauty or quantity of water." See Appendix, No. 122.

[6] Sagredo: "The colonnades now in course of erection around the piazza, will be of an oval shape, and have four ranges of columns; these will form three covered porticos, with three magnificent entrances, and a corridor above, which will be adorned with another range of small columns and with statues. The Pope intends them to serve as a shelter for carriages from the sun and rain." The cost had even then attained to 900,000 scudi, which were taken from the coffers of the Fabrica di San Pietro. See Appendix, No. 133.

less a mass of strangers have since made pilgrimage. Treasures of art of every kind were at the same time accumulated within its walls. Numerous libraries were collected; not only was the Vatican, with the monasteries of the Augustines, and the Dominicans, the houses of the Jesuits and Fathers of the Oratory, furnished with them, but the palaces also possessed valuable collections, one family emulating another in the accumulation of printed books, and the gathering together of rare manuscripts. Not that the sciences were very zealously cultivated; many of the Romans studied without doubt, but in a leisurely fashion, and rather with a view to the appropriation and reproduction of what was already known, than to that of making new discoveries. Among the academies that sprang up from year to year, there was one here and there which devoted its attention to the investigation of nature, but without any particular results;[7] but all the rest—the Good-humored,[8] the Orderly, the Virginal, the Fantastics, the Uniform, or whatever other strange titles they were pleased to adopt, employed themselves with poetry and eloquence only, or with exercises of intellectual address, confined within a very narrow circle of thought, and yet consuming energies that might have produced better results. Nor were the Roman palaces adorned by works of literature only; works of art, belonging to both earlier and later periods; antiquities of various character, statues, reliefs, and inscriptions, also embellished them. At the time we are now considering, the houses of the Cesi, Giustiniani, Strozzi, and Massimi, with the gardens of the Mattei, were the most celebrated. Collections such as that of Kircher, at the Jesuits' college, were equally the object of admiration to contemporaries. It was yet rather by curiosity, or a love of antiquarian lore that those collections were prompted, than by any true sense of beauty, appreciation of form, or comprehension of the more profound relations of art or antiquity. It is remarkable that in reality men still thought and felt on those subjects as Sixtus V had done. The remains of antiquity were far from

[7] I refer more particularly to the Lincei, founded by Federigo Cesi in 1603, which did not however effect much, besides the translation of Fernandez' "Natural History of Mexico" into Italian.—Tiraboschi, "Storia della Letteratura Italiana," viii. p. 195.

[8] For so it is that we are to translate "Umoristi," according to the accounts given by Erythræus, which will be found well arranged in Fischer, "Vita Erythræi," pp. 50, 51.

receiving that respectful care and attention which have been awarded to them in later times. What could be expected, when among other privileges of the Borghesi we find that of being exempt from all punishment for whatever demolition they might choose to commit? It is difficult to believe that such things as were done in the seventeenth century, could have been permitted. The Baths of Constantine, among others, had retained a very fair degree of preservation, during the changes of so many centuries, and it might certainly have been expected that the merits of their builder, in extending the dominion of the Christian Church, might have protected them from injury, yet under Paul V they were demolished to the very foundations, and converted into a palace and gardens in the taste of those times, which were afterward exchanged for the Villa Mondragone in Frascati. Even the Temple of Peace, which was then also in tolerably good preservation, found no favor at the hands of Paul V; he conceived the strange idea of casting a colossal statue of brass of the Virgin Mary with the infant Jesus, and placing this in so elevated a position that the whole city could be overlooked by this, its protectress. All that he required for this was a pillar of extraordinary altitude, and he found such a one at length in the Temple of Peace. Without troubling himself to consider that it was there as part of a whole, and in keeping with all around, but that when placed to stand alone it would be rather strange and peculiar than beautiful or appropriate, he carried it away and loaded it with that colossus which we see it bear to the present day.

If it be admitted that all the charges brought against the Barberini may not be true, it is nevertheless certain that, on the whole, their proceedings were in this same spirit. Under Urban VIII, it was in actual contemplation to destroy that sole, undoubted, and unimpaired monument of republican times, the incomparable tomb of Cecilia Metella. It was to be demolished for the sake of the travertine which Bernini, the most celebrated sculptor and architect of that day, meant to use for the Fountain of Trevi. The proposal was made by him to the Pope, who gave permission for its execution in a brief. Already were hands laid on the tomb, when the people of Rome, who loved their antiquities, became aware of the matter and opposed a violent resistance. For the second time they rescued

this their most ancient possession; it became necessary to desist from destroying it, as the only means to avoid a tumult.[9]

All these attempts at destruction were, however, entirely consistent with the spirit prevailing. The epoch of the Catholic Restoration had developed its own peculiar ideas and impulses; these aspired to universal dominion even in art and literature. They could not comprehend, and would not even acknowledge, what was foreign to themselves, and whatever they could not subjugate they were determined to destroy.

Notwithstanding all this, Rome still continued to be the metropolis of intellectual culture, unequalled in the variety of its learning and in the practice of art; as the taste of the age comprehended and preferred it. It was still productive as regarded music. The concerted style of the cantata was at that time arising by the side of the church style. The travellers of the day were enchanted with it. "A man must have been ill-treated by nature," exclaims Spon, who visited Rome in 1674, "who does not find his full contentment in one or other of the branches to be studied here."[10] He mentions all these branches: the libraries, where the rarest works were laid open to the student; the concerts in churches and palaces, where the finest voices were daily to be heard; the many collections of ancient and modern sculpture and painting; the numberless stately buildings of every age; villas, wholly covered with bas-reliefs and inscriptions, of which he alone had copied upward of a thousand, not previously copied; the presence of so many strangers of all lands and tongues; the beauties of nature to be enjoyed in gardens worthy to make part of paradise; "and for him who delights in the practice of piety," he adds, "there is a treasure of churches, relics, and processions provided, that shall occupy him his whole life long."

There is no doubt that in other parts of Europe there was at this time an intellectual movement of grander and more liberal character; but the completeness of the Roman world, its full concentration of all life within itself, the abundance of its riches, the certain enjoyment, united to the feeling of security to be attained there, and the satisfaction derived by the faithful from the uninterrupted contemplation of the objects of their reverence, all continued to exercise a powerful attraction; ap-

[9] This is circumstantially related in Deone.

[10] Spon et Wheler, "Voyage d'Italie et de Grèce," i. p. 39.

pealing now to one class of motives, now to another, and occasionally acting on all so equally, that the predominant motive was no longer to be distinguished.

Let us seek to bring clearly to our comprehension the power of this attraction as exhibited in the most extraordinary of its examples; one too by which a decided reaction was produced on the Court of Rome.

Section IX.—Digression Concerning Queen Christina of Sweden

We have had frequent occasion to direct our attention to Sweden.

In that country, where Lutheranism had first revolutionized the whole political constitution; where the Anti-Reformation found both representatives and opponents in a manner so unusual, among personages of the highest rank; and from which the grand and final decision of the contest then dividing and occupying the world had proceeded; in this country it was, that Catholicism, under the new form it had assumed, now achieved the most unexpected of conquests; winning over to itself the daughter of the great champion of Protestants, Christina, Queen of Sweden. The mode in which this was effected is remarkable in itself; and it is particularly worthy of our observation from its relation to the subject before us.

We will first consider the position which the young Queen occupied in her own country.

After the death of Gustavus Adolphus, the question was for a moment agitated in Sweden, as it had been in 1619 in Austria, in 1640 in Portugal, and in so many other places at the same period, whether the country should not free itself altogether from the kingly power, and adopt the constitution of a republic.[1]

It is true that this proposal was rejected; the nation paid its homage to the daughter of the deceased King, but as this was a child of six years old, and there was no one of the royal house who could seize the reins of government, the authority

[1] "La Vie de la Reine Christine faite par elle-même," in Arckenholtz, "Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Christine," tom. iii. p. 41: "I have been assured that it was deliberated in certain private assemblies whether the nation should not resume its liberty, having but a child at its head, of whom it would be easy to get rid, and to constitute a republic."

of the State fell into the hands of a few nobles. The anti-monarchical tendencies of the time found acceptance and applause in Sweden; even the proceedings of the Long Parliament in England were approved there, and still more were the Swedish sympathies excited for the movements of the Fronde in France, from these last being so much more decidedly aristocratic. "I perceive clearly," Christina herself once declared in the Senate, "that the wish is here prevailing for Sweden to become an elective monarchy or an aristocracy."[2]

But this young princess was not disposed to suffer the decline of the royal authority in her person; she determined to be Queen in the full sense of the word. From the moment when she entered on the government, in the year 1644, she devoted herself to public affairs with an admirable zeal. Never would she absent herself from the meetings of the Senate; we find her suffering from fever, or are told that she had been obliged to be bled, but she was nevertheless in her place at the sittings of the Senate. Nor did she neglect to prepare herself for an efficient attendance on these sittings; state papers, many sheets in length, were carefully read through for this purpose, and their contents perfectly mastered. At night, before going to rest, and on first awakening in the mornings, it was her habit to meditate on the most difficult points of the questions under consideration.[3] She possessed the power of stating the matter in discussion with ability and precision, never permitting the side to which she was herself disposed to be perceptible. After having heard the opinions of the Senators, she gave her own, which was found to be formed on good grounds, and was for the most part adopted. The foreign ambassadors were amazed at the power she had acquired over the Senate,[4] although she

[2] A remarkable proof of this aristocratical tendency is found in the decisions respecting the constitution pronounced by the greater part of the States and "good patriots" of the year 1644, which have lately come to light.—See Geijer, "Schwedische Geschichte," iii. 357. Of the five highest offices of the State, none was to be filled but by the nomination of three candidates by the States, one of whom should be chosen. The grand marshal could only be elected from three proposed by the House of Knights itself. A Consistorium Politico-Ecclesiasticum was demanded, with a president and assessors freely chosen by the State, etc.

[3] "Paolo Casati al Papa Alessandro VII. sopra la regina di Suecia," MS.: "She has more than once assured me that she had never brought forward any measure of grave importance without having previously considered it for full two years, and that many hours of the morning after waking from the little sleep she was accustomed to take, she employed herself in considering public affairs and their consequences, even when very remote." See Appendix, No. 131.

[4] "Mémoires de ce qui est passé en Suede tirez des depesches de Mgr. Chanut," i. p. 245 (1648, Févr.): "The power she possesses in her Council is incredible, for she adds to her station of Queen much grace, credit, liberality,

was herself never satisfied with its extent. She took a large personal share in the conclusion of the Peace of Westphalia, an event of universal importance. The officers of the army, and even one of her own ambassadors to the Congress, were not favorable to the peace; even in Sweden there were many persons who disapproved the concessions made to the Catholics, especially with regard to the hereditary dominions of Austria, but the Queen was not disposed to make a further appeal to fortune; never had Sweden been so glorious or so powerful; the pride of Christina found its gratification in confirming this state of things and in restoring peace to Christendom.

And not only did she restrain the arbitrary despotism of the aristocracy with her utmost power, she even deprived them of all hope that they might at some future period attain their object. Notwithstanding her youth, she very soon brought forward the proposal for nominating her cousin, the Count-Palatine, Charles Gustavus, as successor to the crown. This was a measure which she believed the prince had never ventured to hope. It was carried through entirely by her own efforts, against the will of the Senate, which would not even take it into consideration, and against the will of the States, by whom it was adopted only from deference to her wishes; it was, in fact, altogether a thought of her own, and in defiance of all difficulties she carried it into effect. The succession was settled irrevocably.[5]

It is doubly remarkable that with all this zeal for business Christina applied herself at the same time to study with a kind of passion. Even in the years of her childhood no portion of her time was more agreeable to her than that of her lessons. This may perhaps have proceeded partly from the melancholy character of her residence with her mother, who had resigned herself entirely to grief for the loss of her husband. The young Queen looked forward daily with impatience to the moment when she should be liberated from those gloomy chambers of mourning. But she was besides possessed of extraordinary talents, more particularly for languages; she relates that she

and the power of persuading." In a copy of these "Mémoires," which appeared in 1675, there are marginal notes in the Queen's own hand. These, it is true, express the dissatisfaction of a later period, rather than exact recollection of the earlier years of her government; but in every case the statements of Chanut are modified by them.

[5] "Règne de Christine jusqu'à sa résignation," in Arckenholtz, iii. 162, notes.

learned most of those she was acquainted with alone and without any teacher;[6] this is the more remarkable, because in some of them she really possessed the facility of a native. As she grew up she became more powerfully fascinated by the charms of literature. It was at this time that learning gradually freed itself from the fetters of theological controversy, and that reputations, which were universally acknowledged, began to rise above the influence of both parties. The young Queen was ambitious of the society of celebrated men, whom she desired to attract around her person, and by whose instructions she was anxious to profit. The first to appear were certain German philologists and historians: among others, Freinsheim, at whose request she remitted the greater part of the contributions imposed on his native city of Ulm for the expenses of the war.[7]

Next followed the Netherlanders. Isaac Vossius brought the study of the Greek writers into favor; the Queen soon made herself mistress of the most important authors of antiquity, and even the fathers of the Church were not suffered to remain unknown to her. Nicolaus Heinsius boasts of having been born in the same age with this Queen as the first felicity of his life; the second, was that he had been known to her; but the third, the most decided happiness, and that which he desires all future ages to know, was that he had been not altogether displeasing to her. Christina employed him principally to procure costly manuscripts and rare books from Italy for her library; this he did conscientiously and with success. The Italians began to complain that ships were laden with the spoils of their libraries, and that all their best aids to learning were carried away from them to the remotest north.[8] In the year 1650 Salmasius appeared in Sweden. Christina had given him to understand that if he did not come to her she would be obliged to go to him: he resided in her palace for a year. At length Descartes was also induced to visit her. He had the honor of meeting her in her library every morning at five o'clock, when he is declared to have heard Christina deducing

[6] "La Vie de Christine, écrite par ellemême," p. 53: "At the age of fourteen I knew all the languages, all the sciences, and all the accomplishments that they had attempted to teach me. But since that time I have learned many others without the help of any master, and it is certain that I never had a master for learning either German, French, Italian, or Spanish." See Appendix, No. 131.

[7] "Harangue panégyrique de Freinshemius à Christine," 1647, in Arckenholtz, second appendix, p. 104.

[8] Compare Grauert, "Königin Christina und ihr Hof," pp. 379, 407.

his own ideas from Plato to his infinite astonishment. There is no doubt that in her conferences with men of learning, as in her discussions with the Senate, she gave proof of the most felicitous memory, with great readiness of apprehension and much penetration. "Her powers of intellect are in the highest degree remarkable," exclaimed Naudé, with astonishment; "she has seen everything, read everything, knows everything." [9]

The Queen of Sweden was, indeed, a wonderful production of nature and fortune: so young a woman, yet free from all vanity; she never sought to conceal that one of her shoulders was higher than the other; she had been told that her principal beauty was the rich profusion of her hair, yet she did not bestow upon it the most ordinary attention. To all the more minute cares of life she was wholly a stranger: utterly regardless of what appeared on her table, she never expressed disapprobation of any kind of food that was set before her, and drank nothing but water. She never acquired or understood any sort of womanly works, but, on the contrary, delighted to be told that at her birth she had been supposed to be a boy, and that, even in her earliest infancy, she betrayed no terror at the firing of guns, but clapped her hands, and proved herself to be a true soldier's child. She was a very bold horsewoman; with one foot in the stirrup, she scarcely waited to be in her saddle before she started at speed. In the chase, she would bring down her game with the first shot. She studied Tacitus and Plato, and not unfrequently expounded the meaning of those authors more clearly than philologists by profession. In despite of her youth, she was capable of forming a sound and independent opinion even on matters of state, and this she would then support and carry through among Senators grown gray in experience of the world. She threw the fresh spirit of a native perspicuity and quickness into all her undertakings. Above all, she was profoundly sensible of the high importance she derived from her birth, and impressed with the necessity of governing with her own hand. Never did she refer any ambassador to her Minister, nor would she ever per-

[9] "Naudé à Gassendi, 19 Oct. 1652: "The Queen, of whom I may say without flattery that in the conferences which she frequently holds with Messieurs Bochart, Bourdelot, Du Fresne, and myself she maintains her part better than any one of the company, and if I tell you that her genius is altogether extraordinary I shall utter no falsehood, for she has seen everything, she has read everything, she knows everything."

mit a subject of hers to wear a foreign order, not choosing to endure, as she said herself, that one of her flock should be marked by the hand of a stranger. She could assume a deportment, when the occasion demanded, by which generals, who have made Germany tremble, were struck mute and confounded. Had a new war broken out, she would infallibly have placed herself at the head of the troops.

Dispositions such as these, with so imperious a character, made the very thought of marrying, of resigning to another the right of ruling her personal proceedings, altogether unendurable to her. The obligations that she might have had to form such an alliance for the sake of her country, she believed herself to have removed by deciding the succession. After she had been crowned, she declared that she would rather die than consent to marry.[10]

But could so forced a position be maintained? Was there not something in it overstrained, extravagant? Without doubt it was utterly wanting in that equipoise needful to a healthy state of existence, the tranquillity of a natural being, content with itself. It was not a real love of business that made Christina throw herself into it with so much ardor; ambition and the pride of sovereignty impelled her forward, but she found no pleasure in it; neither did she love her country; she had no sympathies with its customs, its pleasures, its constitution, whether civil or ecclesiastical, or even its past history. The ceremonies of state, the long harangues to which she was bound to listen, the official duties which compelled her to take personal share in some great ceremonial observance, were abhorrent to her; the range of cultivation and learning within which her countrymen were content to confine themselves, appeared to her contemptible. If she had not possessed the Swedish throne from childhood, this might perhaps have seemed to her an object worthy of her ambition: but since she had been Queen so long as she could remember, all those aspirations of the mind by which the destiny of man is prepared and fashioned, took a direction estranged from her native land. A desire for the unknown and extraordinary began to take possession of her

[10] "I should without doubt have married," she says further in her own biography, p. 57, "if I had not felt myself possessed of the strength to dispense with the pleasures of domestic life;" and we may believe this assertion the more readily, as this work is a kind of confession.

mind; fantastic ideas gained the mastery; she was restrained by none of the ordinary considerations, nor did she set herself to resist the chance impulses of the moment, by opposing to them the force and dignity of a moral self-government suited to her position. The truth is that Christina, though bold, high-minded, energetic, and courageous, was also extravagant, ungovernable, intentionally unfeminine, and by no means amiable. Her conduct was even unfilial, not only toward her mother, but toward the sacred memory of her father also, which she never spared, when occasion presented itself for a biting sarcasm. It seems, indeed, as if at times she knew not what she said.[1] The exalted station she held could not secure her from the natural effects of so perverse a demeanor; they recoiled by necessity on herself, and contentment with herself, attachment to her home, or love of her country, became utterly impossible.

It now followed that this dissatisfaction of spirit evinced itself most particularly in regard to religious matters, and the mode of manifestation was as follows.

In the "Recollections" of Christina there are references to her tutor, Dr. Johann Matthiæ; she dwells on his memory with especial predilection; his simple, pure, and gentle spirit had enchained her affections from the first moment of his attendance on her, and he was her earliest confidant even in the most trifling matters.[2] When it had become obvious that neither of the existing ecclesiastical parties would overcome the other, some few right-minded men at once arose in various places to advocate the expediency of uniting them. Matthiæ was one of those who had conceived this purpose, and he published a book wherein he discussed the question of forming the two Protestant churches into one body. The Queen was decidedly favorable to the measure, she announced her intention of establishing a theological academy, which should labor for the reconciliation of the two confessions. But the unbridled zeal of certain inflexible Lutherans was immediately aroused in opposition, the work of Matthiæ was indignantly attacked by a superintendent of Calmar, and the Estates also took part against it. The bishops called on the Council of State to keep watch

[1] It is impossible to deduce any other conclusion from her conversation with her mother; see Chanut, 365, May, 1654.

[2] "Very capable," she says in her autobiography, "of well instructing a child such as I was, because he possessed an uprightness, discretion, and gentleness that made him loved and esteemed."

over the national religion, and the Grand Chancellor repaired to the Queen with representations so pressing as to bring tears of vexation to her eyes.[3]

She may now, perhaps, have believed herself to be certain that all this eagerness of zeal was not purely disinterested on the part of her Lutherans; she thought they were attempting to delude her into some preconceived purpose of their own by the views of God's will that they placed before her. The representations of the Divine Being thus forced on her appeared to her conceptions altogether unworthy of His nature.[4]

The prolixity of those discourses to which she was compelled by the national ordinances to listen had been long most wearisome to the young Queen—they now became intolerable. She frequently betrayed her impatience—moving her chair, or playing with her little dog; but the merciless preachers were but the more firmly resolved to continue their lectures, and detain her all the longer for these marks of weariness.

The disposition of mind inevitably produced by these vexations, which gradually estranged her from the established religion of her country, was confirmed by the arrival of learned foreigners. Some of these were Catholics, others—Isaac Vossius for example—gave occasion for the suspicion of infidelity; while Bourdelot, who possessed the greatest influence with her, having treated her ably and successfully in a dangerous illness, and was well fitted for a court, made a jest of everything—national histories and religions not excepted. He was full of information, possessed extraordinary powers of entertaining, and was entirely devoid of pedantry, but was, therewithal, considered a direct Deist.

Gradually the young princess fell into inextricable doubts. She began to think all positive religions were but inventions of men; that an argument stated against one was equally valid against all others, and that it was, in fact, a matter of perfect indifference to which a man belonged.

Meanwhile she did not proceed to absolute irreligion; there were still certain convictions which she firmly retained. In

[3] "Letter from Axel Oxenstierna, 2 May, 1647," in Arckenholtz, iv. App. n. 21, but particularly one from Count Brahe, Arckenholtz, iv. p. 229. The work of Matthiæ is, "Idea boni ordinis in ecclesia Christi."

[4] "I thought," she says, in one of the notes given by Goldenblad, "that men were making thee speak according to their own wishes, and that they desired to deceive and frighten me, that they might govern me after their own pleasure." In Arckenholtz, tom. iii. p. 209.

the royal solitude of her throne she must have found it impossible to dispense with thoughts of God; nay, she even believed that her station placed her a step nearer to the Divine Presence. "Thou knowest," she exclaims, "how often I have prayed to Thee, in a language unknown to vulgar spirits, for grace to enlighten me, and have vowed to obey Thee, though I should thereby sacrifice life and fortune." This idea she soon associated with others of those peculiar to her character. "I renounced all other love," she says, "and devoted myself to this alone."

But could it be that God had left mankind without the true religion? She was particularly impressed by a remark of Cicero to the effect that the true religion could be but one, and that all others must be false.[5]

But then came the question—which was the true religion?

We are not now to examine the arguments, or proofs, that convinced her. She repeatedly declared that she had not discovered any essential error of doctrine in Protestantism, but as her disinclination to that creed had sprung from an original feeling not clearly traceable to its cause, but which circumstances had heightened to intensity, so did she now throw herself with an inclination quite as inexplicable, but with full sympathy, into the pale of Catholicism.

She was nine years old when the doctrines of the Catholic Church were for the first time expounded with precision in her hearing; among other things, the fact that the unmarried state was considered meritorious in that Church, was alluded to. "Ah," remarked the child, "how fine that is! It is of that religion that I will be."

For this she was gravely reprimanded, but she only persisted the more obstinately in her assertion.

At a later period other impressions of a congenial nature were added. "When one is a Catholic," she would remark, "one has the consolation of believing as so many noble spirits have believed for sixteen hundred years, of belonging to a religion attested by millions of martyrs, confirmed by millions of miracles. Above all," she would add, "which has produced so many admirable virgins, who have risen above the frailties of their sex, and consecrated their lives to God."

[5] Pallavicini, "Vita Alessandri VII." For the passage, see the Appendix, No. 130.

The Constitution of Sweden is based on the Protestant faith. It is on this that the glory, the power, and the political position of that country are founded. This religion was imposed on the Queen as a necessity, but, untouched by its spirit, and revolted by one thousand accidental circumstances, she determinately broke loose from its hold; the opposite doctrines, of which she had but an obscure perception, attracted her. That the Popes should be invested with infallible authority appeared to her an institution in accordance with the goodness of God; she daily attached herself to the Catholic system with a more decided strength of purpose. It seemed as if she thus satisfied the desire for self-devotion natural to woman, and as if, in her heart, faith had sprung to existence, as does love in so many others—from an unconscious emotion which must be concealed, lest it be condemned by the world, but which only becomes the more deeply rooted, and which makes the happiness of the womanly heart prepared to sacrifice all for its sake.

It is at least certain that Christina, in seeking to approach the Court of Rome, had recourse to a mysterious artifice, such as, in all other cases, are resorted to only in affairs of love or ambition; she formed, as it were, an intrigue to become a Catholic. In this she proved herself a true woman.

The first person to whom she made known her inclination for Catholicism was a Jesuit, Antonio Macedo, confessor to the Portuguese ambassador Pinto Pereira.[6] Pereira spoke no language but Portuguese, and was always accompanied by his confessor as interpreter. The Queen found a peculiar pleasure in leading the interpreter to a controversy on religious subjects during the audiences she gave the ambassador (who believed them to be occupied in the discussion of state affairs only), and thus, in the presence of a third person, who understood nothing of what was passing, confiding to Macedo her most secret thoughts and most daring speculations.[7]

[6] The author of her conversion is sometimes said to have been a certain Gottfried Franken; but according to the account given in Arckenholtz, i. 465, the first thought of sending Franken to Stockholm was not entertained until after the return of Salmasius in 1651. Macedo was at the Swedish Court in 1650; his claim is therefore undeniable.

[7] Pallavicini: "Arctius idcirco sermones et colloquia miscuit, non tunc solum quum ad eam Macedus ab legato mittebatur, set etiam ipso præsente, qui nihil intelligens animadvertebat tamen longiores inter eos esse sermones quam res ferrent ab se interpreti propositæ et sibi ab interprete relatæ." "Conversations and conferences were therefore closely mingled, not then alone when Macedo was sent to her from the ambassador, but also when the latter was present, who, though he understood nothing, yet perceived that the words between them were more than were borne out by the things proposed by him to the interpreter, and repeated by the interpreter to him."

Suddenly, Macedo disappeared from Stockholm. The Queen pretended to have him sought for—pursued, while she had, in fact, herself despatched him to Rome, for the purpose of explaining her wishes to the General of the Jesuits, and entreating him to send her some of the most trusted members of his order.

In February, 1652, the Jesuits demanded arrived in Stockholm accordingly; they were two young men who represented themselves to be Italian noblemen engaged in travel, and in this character were admitted to her table. The Queen at once suspected their true errand, and while they walked immediately before her to the dining-hall, she observed to one of them, in a low voice, that perchance he had letters for her. He replied, without turning his head, that he had; with one rapid word she then warned him to keep silence. After dinner she sent her most trusted servant, Johann Holm, for the letters, and the following morning the same servant conducted the Jesuits themselves, in the most profound secrecy, to the palace.[8]

Thus, to the royal dwelling of Gustavus Adolphus, there now came ambassadors from Rome, for the purpose of holding conference with his daughter, in regard to her joining the Catholic Church. The charm of this affair to Christina was principally in the certainty that no one had the slightest suspicion of her proceedings.

The two Jesuits, at first, proposed to commence with the rules prescribed by the Catechism, but they soon perceived that in this case such a method was totally inapplicable. The Queen proposed very different questions from any that had there been anticipated or prepared for; as for example, whether there were any true difference between good and evil, or was all determined by the utility or injurious character of the action; how the doubts arising with regard to the existence of a Providence were to be set at rest; whether the soul of man were really immortal; whether it were not most advisable to adhere in external forms to the religion of one's native land, and to live according to the laws of reason. The Jesuits do not tell us what replies they gave to these questions; they believed that during their conference, thoughts were suggested to them, such as never had entered their minds before, and which they

[8] "Relatione di Paolo Casati al Papa Alessandro VII." The extract will be found in the Appendix, No. 131.

had immediately afterward lost and forgotten. The Queen, they think, was under the immediate operation of the Holy Spirit; the truth being that she was under the influence of a decided predisposition which supplied whatever might be wanting in every argument, and even added force to conviction itself. They most frequently recurred to that primary assumption that the world cannot be left without the true religion, and to this they added the assertion that of all existing religions the Catholic is the most reasonable. "Our chief endeavor," say the Jesuits, "was to prove that the points of our holy religion which are raised above reason are in no wise opposed to reason."

The principal difficulty was the invocation of saints and the veneration of images and relics. "But her Majesty," they proceed to tell us, "apprehended with most ready penetration the whole force of the arguments which we laid before her; otherwise, we should have consumed much time." She conversed with them also on the difficulties that must arise, in the event of her determining to become a Catholic, in bringing the matter to bear; these sometimes appeared likely to prove insurmountable, and one day when she again saw the Jesuits she declared to them that they would do well to return home, that the attempt they were making was impracticable, and that besides she thought she could never become wholly Catholic at heart. The good fathers were amazed, they used every argument that seemed likely to keep her firm to her previous purpose, placed God and eternity before her, and affirmed her doubts to be but suggestions and assaults of Satan. It is entirely characteristic of Christina that she was at this moment more fully resolved on her conversion than at any earlier conference. "What would you say?" she asked suddenly, "if I were nearer to becoming a Catholic than you suppose?" "I cannot describe the feeling," says the Jesuit narrator, "that we experienced—we seemed like men raised from the dead. The Queen asked whether the Pope could not grant permission to receive the Lord's Supper once in the year according to the Lutheran rite. We replied that he could not. 'Then,' said she, 'there is no help; I must resign the crown.'"

There were, indeed, other causes which made her thoughts tend daily more and more in that direction.

The affairs of the country did not always proceed as she

would have had them. Opposed to the powerful aristocracy, which always held firmly together, the Queen, with her immediate circle, drawn from so many lands, with the successor to the throne that she had forced upon the people, and with that Count Magnus de la Gardie, to whom she had given her confidence, but whom the old Swedish nobility would never acknowledge as their equal in point of birth, formed a party that was almost considered a foreign one. Her unbounded liberality had exhausted the finances, and the moment seemed approaching when all the resources of the country must fail.

As early as October, 1651, she made known to the Estates her intention of abdicating; this was precisely at the time when she had despatched Antonio Macedo to Rome; she allowed herself, nevertheless, to be dissuaded for that time from her purpose; the Grand Chancellor represented to her that the financial pressure ought not to be permitted to influence her decision, assuring her that due care should be taken to prevent the splendor of the crown from suffering diminution.[9] She perceived, too, that her proceedings would not have so heroic an appearance in the eyes of the world as she had at first imagined. When soon afterward, Prince Frederick, of Hesse, was proposing a similar step, she expressly advised him to the contrary, not altogether on religious grounds; she did but remind him, that whoever changed his creed, is hated by those whom he deserts, and despised by the party he joins.[10] But these considerations gradually ceased to have any effect on herself. It was in vain that she endeavored, by frequent nominations, to make herself a party in the national Council, which she enlarged from twenty-eight to thirty-nine members. The credit and importance of the Oxenstierna family, which had for a time been obscured, regained all their lustre by means of its connections, by the force of habit, and especially by the talents, which in that house appeared to be hereditary. On many important questions, as for example, the adjustment of affairs with Brandenburg, the Queen remained in the minority. Count Magnus de la Gardie, too, was deprived of her confidence and favor.

[9] Puffendorf, "Rerum Suecicarum," lib. xxiii. p. 477.

[10] "Lettre de Christine au Prince Fréderic, Landgrave de Hesse," in Arckenholtz, i. p. 218: "Can you be ignorant of the hatred incurred by all who change their religion from those whom they leave, and are there not many illustrious examples to convince you that they are contemned by those to whom they join themselves?"

The want of money really began to be felt, and there was sometimes not sufficient for the daily expenses of the household.[1] Again, she asked herself, would it not be better to stipulate for a yearly revenue, wherewith she might live in a foreign land, after the desires of her own heart, and without being subjected to the interference and remonstrances of bigoted preachers, who could see nothing in her actions or their motives but a rash and romantic eccentricity, or an apostasy from the religion and customs of her native land? Business was already become distasteful to her, and she felt oppressed when her secretaries approached her; already she had become dissatisfied with all other society, but that of the Spanish ambassador, Don Antonio Pimentel, who took part in all her social occupations and amusements, as in the meetings of that "Order of the Amaranth," which she founded, and whose members were required to pledge themselves to a sort of celibacy. Don Antonio was acquainted with her tendency toward Catholicism, of which he gave intimation to his sovereign, who promised to receive the Swedish princess into his dominions, and offered to arrange all preliminaries with the Pope, for her reception into the Catholic Church.[2] The Jesuits with whom she had been in conference, had meanwhile returned to Rome, where they had already made certain preparations for that event.

Christina was now no longer to be dissuaded from her purpose by any mode of argument. Her letter to the French ambassador Chanut shows clearly how little she reckoned on approval of the step she was about to take; but she declares that this would give her no concern; she would be happy, strong in herself, without fear before God and man, and from the haven she had sought should look forth on the sufferings of those who were still beaten about by the storms of life. Her sole care now was to secure her revenues in such a manner that they could never be taken from her.

[1] "Motives by which it is believed that the Queen of Sweden was induced to resign her crown." In Arckenholtz, App., No. 47, probably by Raym. Montecuculi.

[2] Pallavicini, "Vita Alexandri VII.": "Aulæ Hispanicæ administri, cum primum rem proposuit Malines [who had been sent thither], omnino voluissent ab regina regnum retineri, ob emolumenta quæ tum in religionem tum in regem Catholicum redundassent; sed cognito id fieri non posse nisi læsâ religione, placuit regi patronum esse facti tam generosi." "The Ministers of the Spanish Court, when Malines first proposed this thing, would by all means have had the Queen retain the kingdom, both because of the advantage to be gained by religion and by his Catholic Majesty; but when it was known that this could not be done, but with offence to religion, the King was pleased to become the patron of so high-minded an act."

The ceremony of abdication was completed on June 24, 1654, and notwithstanding the many causes of dissatisfaction presented by the government of the Queen, yet all classes, from the first to the lowest, were profoundly affected at sight of this renunciation of her country by the last scion of the race of Vasa. The aged Count Brahe refused to take that crown from her head which he had placed there three years before; he considered the bond between prince and subject to be indissoluble, and held the proceedings before him to be unlawful.[3] The Queen was hereby compelled to lift the crown from her head; it was only from her hand that he would receive it. Stripped of the insignia of royalty, in a plain white dress, Christina then received the parting homage of her Estates. After the rest, appeared the speaker of the estates of peasants; he knelt down before the Queen, shook her hand and kissed it repeatedly, tears burst from his eyes, he wiped them away with his handkerchief, and without having said one word he turned his back on her Majesty and walked away to his place.[4]

Her thoughts, meanwhile, and all her purposes were directed toward foreign lands—not one moment would she remain in a country of which she had resigned the supreme authority to another. She had already sent forward her more costly movables, and while the fleet intended for her conveyance to Wismar was in preparation she seized the first favorable moment, disguised herself, and escaped from the oppressive supervision exercised over her by her late subjects, departing with a few trusted attendants only for Hamburg.

And now commenced her travels through Europe.

On arriving in Brussels, she made private profession of the Catholic faith, and afterward repeated it publicly at Innspruck. Invited by the prospect of the Pope's benediction, she hastened to Italy. Her crown and sceptre she offered to the Virgin Mary at Loretto. The Venetian ambassadors were amazed at the preparations made in all the cities of the Roman States for giving her a magnificent reception. Pope Alexander, whose ambition was gratified by the circumstance of so brilliant a conversion having been made during his pontificate, exhausted the

[3] "It was in opposition to the will of God, to the common right of nations, and to the oath by which she was bound to the realm of Sweden and to her subjects—he was no honest man who had given her Majesty such counsel."—"Life of Count Peter Brahe," in Schlözer's "Schwedische Biographie," ii. p. 409.

[4] Whitelocke's "Narrative."

apostolic treasury to celebrate the occurrence with due solemnity. It was not as a penitent, but in triumph, that the royal convert entered Rome.[5] In the first years of her new condition we find her frequently travelling;[6] we meet her often in Germany, some few times in France, and once even in Sweden. She did not always remain so entirely estranged from political interests as she may at first perhaps have intended. She once entered into very earnest negotiations, and not without a certain prospect of success, for obtaining the crown of Poland, the possession of which would at least not prevent her remaining Catholic.

Another time she drew on herself the suspicion of intending to attack Naples in the interest of France. The necessity of looking to the receipt of her pension, which was often but little to be depended on, rarely permitted her to enjoy undisturbed tranquillity. The fact that, though possessing no crown, she yet laid claim to the uncontrolled liberty of action and full prerogatives of a crowned head, more especially as she understood these rights, was, on some occasions, productive of very serious consequences. Who could excuse the merciless sentence she pronounced at Fontainebleau in her own cause, on Monaldeschi, a member of her household, and which she permitted the accusers and personal enemies of the sufferer to carry into execution? She gave him one hour only to prepare for death.[7] The treachery against her with which the unhappy man was charged she chose to interpret as high-treason, and considered it beneath her dignity to place him before any tribunal, whatever it might be. "To acknowledge no superior," she exclaimed, "is worth more than to govern the whole world." She despised even public opinion. The execution of Monaldeschi had excited universal abhorrence in Rome, where the contentions of her household were better known to the public than to herself; but this did not prevent her from hastening to return thither. Where, indeed, could she have lived except in Rome? With any of the temporal sovereigns, whose claims were of a similar character to her own, she would have fallen

[5] "Relatione de' quattro Ambasciatori:" "Pope Innocent suspected that her reception would cost him dear, which delayed her arrival in Rome; the good Pope contented himself with saving his money, and left the entire glory of accomplishing that grand ceremony to his successor. In respect of that, on our arrival we found the whole court busily occupied with it, and on our return all the cities of the Roman States were emulating each other and absorbed in the attempt each to make a finer show of welcome than the other."

[6] See Appendix, No. 130.

[7] See Pallavicini, Appendix, No. 130.

into ceaseless strife and collision; even with the popes, with Alexander VII himself, whose name she added to her own on her conversion, she was very frequently involved in the most bitter contentions.

But her character became milder by slow degrees; her habits more tranquil and better regulated. She obtained some mastery over herself, suffered certain considerations of what was due to others to prevail, and consented to acknowledge the necessities incident to the peculiarities of her chosen residence, and where it is indeed certain that the ecclesiastical sovereignty allowed most ample field to controversial privileges and personal independence. She took a constantly increasing part in the splendor, the life, and the business of the Curia, becoming indeed eventually altogether identified with its interests. The collections she had brought with her from Sweden, she now enlarged by so liberal an expenditure, and with so much taste, judgment, and success, that she surpassed even the native families, and elevated the pursuit from a mere gratification of curiosity to a higher and more significant importance both for learning and art. Men such as Spanheim and Havercamp thought the illustration of her coins and medals an object not unworthy of their labors, and Sante Bartolo devoted his practised hand to her cameos. The Correggios of Christina's collection have always been the richest ornament of every gallery into which the changes of time have carried them. The manuscripts of her choice have contributed in no small degree to maintain the reputation of the Vatican library, into which they were subsequently incorporated. Acquisitions and possessions of this kind filled up the hours of her daily life with an enjoyment that was at least harmless. She also took interest and an active part in scientific pursuits; and it is much to her credit that she received the poor exiled Borelli, who was compelled to resort in his old age to teaching as a means of subsistence. The Queen supported him with her utmost power, and caused his renowned and still unsurpassed work on the mechanics of animal motion, by which physiological science has been so importantly influenced and advanced, to be printed at her own cost. Nay, I think we may even venture to affirm that she herself, when her character and intellect had been improved and matured, exerted a powerfully efficient and enduring in-

fluence on the period, more particularly on Italian literature. The labyrinth of perverted metaphor, inflated extravagance, labored conceit, and vapid triviality into which Italian poetry and eloquence had then wandered is well known. Christina was too highly cultivated and too solidly endowed to be ensnared by such a fashion; it was her utter aversion. In the year 1680 she founded an academy in her own residence for the discussion of literary and political subjects; and the first rule of this institution was that its members should carefully abstain from the turgid style, overloaded with false ornament, which prevailed at the time, and be guided only by sound sense and the models of the Augustan and Medicean ages.[8] When we now meet with the works of this academy, in the Albani library of Rome, the impression they produce on us is sufficiently singular: essays by Italian abbati, with emendations from the hand of a Northern Queen: yet was this association not without its import and significance. From the Queen's academy proceeded such men as Alessandro Guidi, who had previously been addicted to the style then used, but after some time passed in the society of Christina he not only resolved to abandon it, but even formed a league with some of his friends for the purpose of laboring to abolish it altogether.

The Arcadia, an academy to which the merit of completing this good work is attributed, arose out of the society assembled around the Swedish Queen. On the whole it must needs be admitted that in the midst of the various influences pressing around her, Christina preserved a noble independence of mind. To the necessity for evincing that ostentatious piety usually expected from converts, or which they impose on themselves, she would by no means subject herself. Entirely Catholic as she was, and though continually repeating her conviction of the Pope's infallibility, and of the necessity of believing all doctrines enjoined either by himself or the Church, she had never-

[8] "Constituzioni dell' academia reale," in Arckenholtz, iv. p. 28, § 28: "In this academy, the purity, gravity, and majesty of the Tuscan language are the principal objects of study: the members are enjoined to follow, so far as they can, the masters of true eloquence, belonging to the ages of Augustus and Leo X; wherefore banishment is decreed against all the turgid amplifications of the modern style, metaphors, transpositions, figures, etc." Another paragraph (11) forbids all eulogies of the Queen, a prohibition most necessary at that time. In the fourth volume of Nicoletti's "Life of Urban VIII" there is a description of this academy, the chief point of which is that the principal members, Angelo della Noce, Giuseppe Suarez, Giovanni Francesco Albani (afterward Pope), Stefano Gradi, Ottavio Falconieri, and Stefano Pignatelli, had all been residents in the house of Cardinal Francesco Barberino.

theless an extreme detestation of bigots, and utterly abhorred the direction of father confessors, who were at that time the exclusive rulers of all social and domestic life. She would not be prevented from enjoying the amusements of the carnival, concerts, dramatic entertainments, or whatever else might be offered by the habits of her life in Rome; above all, she refused to be withheld from the internal movement of an intellectual and animated society. She acknowledged a love of satire, and took pleasure in Pasquin. We find her constantly mingled in the intrigues of the court, the dissensions of the papal houses, and the factions of the cardinals. She attached herself to the party of the Squadronisti, of which her friend Azzolini was the chief.

Others besides the Queen regarded Azzolini as the most able member of the Curia, but she considered him to be the most god-like and spiritual-minded of men. She held him to be altogether incomparable; the only person in existence whom she could place above her venerable Grand Chancellor, Axel Oxenstierna. She desired to erect a monument to Azzolini in her memoirs, but unhappily a small part only of this work is known to the public; a fact the more to be regretted, because this portion gives proof of earnestness and truthful uprightness of purpose in her dealings with herself, with a freedom and firmness of mind before which all calumny is silenced. The apothegms and detached thoughts which are the results of her leisure hours, and which have come down to us, form an equally remarkable production.[9] They betoken great knowledge of the world, an acquaintance with the workings of the passions such as could be attained by experience only, with the most refined and subtle remarks on them; but also the most positive dispositions toward the real and essential, with a vital conviction of the power of self-direction residing in the mind, and of its high nobility. A just appreciation of earthly things is also manifest; they are estimated neither by too high nor too low a standard; and the work further displays a spirit that seeks only to satisfy God and itself. That great movement of the mind which developed itself toward the end of the seven-

[9] We have them in two different portions, varying somewhat from each other. The first is in the appendix to the second volume of Arckenholtz, and is called "Ouvrage de loisir de Christine reine de Suède;" the second is in the appendix to the fourth volume of Arckenholtz, and is entitled "Sentiments et dits mémorables de Christine."

teenth century in all the departments of human activity, and which opened a new era, was effective also in the person of this princess. Her residence in one of the central points of European civilization, and the leisure of private life, if not absolutely necessary, were yet doubtless extremely favorable to the production of this result. She attached herself to the mode of life thus presented to her with a passionate love, and even thought it impossible to live if she did not breathe the atmosphere of Rome.

Section X.—Administration of the Roman States and Church

There was at that time scarcely another place in the whole world where so much social refinement existed as in the Court of Rome—the efforts for promoting literature and art were so manifold, the abundance of its intellectual enjoyments was so great and various, and life in general was so completely filled with interests, at once absorbing the sympathies and calling forth the powers of the mind. The government made its authority but little felt. The ruling families had in fact divided all power and splendor among themselves; even the spiritual claims of the papacy could no longer be enforced in their full rigor; they were already encountered by a sensible resistance from the spirit of the times. The age was rather one of enjoyment than of self-abnegation; the personal advantages of all kinds that men had won from time combined with the prevalence of intellectual pursuits to form a luxurious and harmonious tranquillity.

But then arose the question, of how the Church and State were to be governed under the existing state of things.

For there was no doubt that the court, or rather the prelacy, which properly included only the acting and efficient members of the Curia, had the administration of both in their own hands.

The institution of the prelature acquired its modern form as early as the pontificate of Alexander VII. To become *referendario di segnatura,* a step on which all promotion depended, a man must be doctor of laws, must have studied three years under an advocate, must be of a certain age, possess a certain amount of income, and present a character free from reproach. The age was first fixed at twenty-five years, the income at 1,000 scudi per annum. Alexander introduced the change (some-

what aristocratical in its character) to twenty-one, instead of twenty-five years, but required that proof should be offered of annual income amounting to not less than 1,500 scudi. Whoever fulfilled these conditions was admitted by the *prefetto di segnatura,* and charged with the statement of two causes before the assembled *segnatura.*[1] It was thus that he took possession, or was installed, after which he was eligible to all other offices: from the government of a town or district he rose to a nunciatura, or vice-legation, or was perhaps appointed to a seat in the rota, or the congregations; then followed the cardinalate and appointments to legations. Spiritual and temporal power were united in the administration even of the highest offices. When the legate arrived in any town, certain spiritual privileges, previously enjoyed by the bishop, were suspended; the legate bestowed the benediction on the people in like manner with the Pope. The members of the Curia were in continual alternation between spiritual and temporal offices.

We will first direct our attention to their temporal occupations in the administration of the State.

All things depended on the necessities of the government, and the demands made on the people; that is to say, on the state of the finances.

We have seen how ruinous an impulse was received by the system of loans under Urban VIII, more especially from the war of Castro; but loans had still been effected, the *luoghi di monte* maintained a high price, and the popes proceeded without restraint or cessation along the beaten way.

Innocent X found 182,103¾ to be the number of the *luoghi di monte* in 1644; in 1655 he left it amounting to 264,129½; so that the capital which these amounts indicate had been increased from 18,000,000 to more than 26,000,000. Although he had discharged some debts of another kind with this sum, and had redeemed some few loans, there was nevertheless a large increase of the general debt; the amount was computed at his death to be 48,000,000 scudi. He had been so fortunate as to derive a surplus revenue from the taxes imposed by Urban VIII, and on this he founded the new *monti.*

When Alexander VII succeeded to the government, it was

[1] "Discorso del dominio temporale e spirituale del S. Pontefice Romano," 1664. MS.

manifest that increased taxation was impracticable. Loans had now become so much a matter of course that they were altogether indispensable. Alexander resolved to seek a new source of aid from the reduction of the interests.

The *vacabili,* which paid ten and a half per cent., stood at 150: these he determined to call in; and although he paid for them at the current price, he yet gained a great advantage, the treasury generally borrowing at four per cent., so that if they were even paid off with borrowed money, yet in future the interest to be paid would be six per cent., instead of ten and a half per cent.

Thereupon Alexander conceived the idea of reducing all the *non-vacabili* bearing more than four per cent. to that rate of interest.[2] But as on this occasion he paid no regard to the current price, which was 116, but paid to the *luoghi* simply the 100 required by the strict letter of his agreement, he gained from this transaction also a very important advantage. All these amounts of interest were secured, as we have seen, upon the taxes, and it may have been the original intention of Pope Alexander to repeal the most oppressive of these imposts; but as the earlier modes of management were persisted in, this intention was found impossible of accomplishment. A reduction in the price of salt was soon followed by an increase of the tax on flour; the whole sum of the pontiff's gains was absorbed in the expenses of government, or by the papal family. If we compute the savings effected by the reductions of the interest, we shall find them amount to about 140,000 scudi, the new application of which sum, as interest, would involve an augmentation of the debt by about 3,000,000 scudi.

Nor could Clement IX carry forward the administration by any other method than that of new loans; but he soon beheld himself reduced to such an extremity that he was finally compelled to lay hands on the proceeds of the *dataria,* which had always hitherto been spared, and on which the daily maintenance

[2] Pallavicini, "Vita di Alessandro VII.": "Since no other country of Italy afforded interest so large and well secured, it had come to pass by degrees that the monti had risen in the market from 100 scudi to 116. But now the treasury, availing itself of its right, as any private individual might have done, restores the original price of 100, the immensity of the sum (he reckons it at 26,000,000) not permitting the Pope to use his accustomed liberality, as he did in the monti vacabili; indeed, the rank of the proprietors and their riches were such as not to require this; which would have aggravated the sufferings of the poor, on whose shoulders all the public burdens rest." See Appendix, No. 135.

of the Papal Court depended. With this he founded 13,200 new *luoghi di monte.* In the year 1670 the debts of the Papal Court had reached to nearly 52,000,000 scudi.

From this state of things it followed, in the first place, that, however willing to grant relief, the Curia could effect none but the most inconsiderable and transient reductions of those burdens which, on an unproductive country, and one that took no share in the commercial efforts of the world, were felt to be extremely oppressive.

Another complaint was that the *monti* were obtained by foreigners who received the interest without contributing anything to the taxes. It was computed that 600,000 scudi were yearly sent to Genoa only, on this account. The country was thus become the debtor of a foreign people, a condition that could not be favorable to the healthy development of its powers.

But a further and still more deeply important consequence was perceived to result from this system of finance.

How could these holders of annuities, the moneyed interest, fail to obtain an undue influence over the State and its administration?

The great mercantile houses accordingly became possessed of a direct participation in the business of the State; some great commercial house was always associated with the treasurer, and here all moneys were received and paid out. The coffers of the State were, in fact, at all times in the hands of merchants, who were also farmers of the revenue and treasurers of the provinces. We have seen the many offices that were salable; these they had the means of making their own. It required, moreover, a considerable fortune to secure advancement in the Curia. In the year 1665 we find the most important offices of the government held by Florentines and Genoese: the proceedings of the court were directed in so mercantile a spirit that promotion gradually came to depend much less on merit than the possession of money. "A merchant with his purse in his hand," exclaims Grimani, "has always the preference in the end. The court is crowded with hirelings whose sole desire is for gain: these men feel as traders, not as statesmen, and cherish only the meanest and most sordid thoughts." [8]

[8] Antonio Grimani: "By the sale of nearly all the principal offices, the court has now become filled with traders and mercenaries; men who ought, by their merit and suitable qualities, to be possessed of those offices remaining in the

And this was all the more important from the fact that there was no longer any independence in the country. Bologna was the only place that now opposed any effectual resistance; but this city occasionally persisted in disobedience until the Curia once thought of building a citadel there. It is true that other communities sometimes offered opposition to particular demands of the court: thus, the inhabitants of Fermo once refused to suffer the corn, which they believed to be required for their own use, to be carried out of their territory;[4] in Perugia the people would not consent to pay their arrears of taxes: but these commotions were easily put down by the commissaries-general of the court, who then imposed a still more rigorous system of subordination, until, in process of time, the administration of the communal property also was subjected to the disposal of the Curia.

A remarkable example of the course pursued by this administration is presented by the institution of the *annona*.

The principle generally acted on through the sixteenth century being to oppose obstacles to the export of the first necessaries of life, the popes also took measures for that purpose, more particularly with a view to the prevention of a rise in the price of bread. The powers intrusted to the prefect of the corn-laws (*prefetto dell' annona*), to whom this branch of the executive was committed, were originally very closely restricted; they were first enlarged by Gregory XIII. Not only was it forbidden to export the corn gathered in from the States of the Church to a foreign country, without the permission of the prefect, it was made unlawful to convey it even from one district of the States to another; and this permission was only to be obtained when corn could be bought on the first of March at a certain price—its amount being fixed by Clement VIII at six scudi the rubbio, and by Paul V at five and a half scudi. A special tariff was established for bread, and this was regulated by the variations in the price of corn.[5]

background; and this is indeed a notable evil—one which lowers the credit of the Roman Court for grandeur—these mercenary officials having their minds occupied solely with low and mechanical objects, rather mercantile than political."

[4] "Memoriale presentato alla Santità di N. Sre. Papa Innocentio dalli deputati della città di Fermo per il tumulto ivi segnito alli 6 di Luglio," 1648, MS. See Bisaccioni, "Historia delle Guerre Civili," p. 271, where Fermo appears together with England, France, Poland, and Naples.

[5] In the work of Nicola Maria Nicolaj, "Memorie, leggi et osservationi sulle campagne, e sull' annone di Roma," 1803, will be found (vol. ii.) the long list of papal ordinances put forth on this subject.

But it was now found that the wants of Rome increased from year to year. The number of inhabitants became greater, while the cultivation of the Campagna was falling to decay. The decline of agriculture in the Campagna, and the ruin of that district, must be referred principally to the first half of the seventeenth century, and, if I am not mistaken, may be attributed chiefly to two causes; first, to that alienation of the smaller estates to the great families which then occurred, for the land requires the most careful cultivation, and of a kind rarely given except by the small proprietor, who devotes himself and his whole income to that purpose; and secondly, to the increasing deterioration of the air. Gregory XIII had desired to extend the cultivation of corn, and to this end had caused the low-lying lands near the sea to be cleared of their trees and underwood. Sixtus V was equally anxious to destroy the lurking-places of the banditti, and had stripped the hills of their forests with that view.[6] Neither the one nor the other could now be turned to any account; the deleterious quality of the air became more obvious from year to year—its influence extended more widely and contributed to desolate the Campagna, of which the produce continually decreased.

The disproportion thus occasioned between the demand and supply induced Urban VIII to render the superintendence more rigid, and to extend the powers of the prefect. By one of his earliest enactments (*constitutionen*) he absolutely prohibited the exportation of corn, cattle, or oil, not only from the States generally, but from one province to anther; he also empowered the prefect to fix the price of corn on the Campofiore, according to the produce of each harvest, and to prescribe the weight of the bread to the bakers in a suitable proportion.

By these enactments the prefect was rendered all-powerful, nor did he long hesitate to use the authority thus conferred on him for the benefit of himself and his friends. He obtained a direct monopoly of corn, oil, meat, and all other principal necessaries of life. That the cheapness of these articles was much promoted by this state of things, we are not prepared to affirm. Even the privilege of exportation was conceded to persons favored by the prefect; the effect felt by the general purchaser

[6] "Relatione dello stato di Roma presente, or Almaden." See Appendix, No. 123.

was principally the oppression and vexation of the trammels imposed on all buying or selling. It was immediately remarked that agriculture declined more and more.[7]

It was at this time that complaints respecting the universal ruin of the Ecclesiastical States may be said to have commenced; nor have they ever ceased to be heard from those days. "In our journeys through the land," observe the Venetian ambassadors of the year 1621, in whose report I find the first remarks on this subject, "we have seen great poverty among the peasantry and common people, with little comfort, not to say great privations among all other classes—a result of the manner of government, and more particularly of the scantiness of commerce. Bologna and Ferrara derive a certain degree of splendor from their palaces and nobility; Ancona still retains some traffic with Ragusa and Turkey; but all the other towns have sunk grievously low." Toward the year 1650, an opinion was everywhere entertained that an ecclesiastical government was ruinous to its subjects. The inhabitants, also, already began to bewail themselves bitterly.[8] "The imposts of the Barberini," exclaims a contemporary biographer, "have exhausted the country; the avarice of Donna Olimpia has drained the court; an amelioration was hoped for from the virtues of Alexander VII, but all Sienna has poured itself over the States of the Church, and is exhausting the last remnant of their strength."[9] Still the country obtained no remission from the demands made on it.

This administration was once compared, even by one of the cardinals, to a horse worn out by a long course, but which, spurred on afresh, makes further efforts to proceed, until he falls, utterly exhausted, by the wayside. This moment of complete exhaustion seemed now to have come.

The worst spirit that can possibly possess the officials of a

[7] Pietro Contarini, 1627: "The pontiff having withdrawn the concessions made by several of his predecessors, . . . now by selling them he derives a large profit: he does not wish to have foreign corn, or too low a price for grain: agriculture is daily more and more abandoned, because of the profits being little or none that people draw from it." See Appendix, No. III.

[8] "Diario," Deone, tom. iv. 1649, 21 Ag.: "It is a duty to favor the Church, yet we see all that passes into her hands turns to the public injury; as, for example, its lands soon become uninhabited, and its possessions ill-cultivated, which may be seen in Ferrara, Urbino, Nepe, Nettuno, and all other places which have passed under the dominion of the Church."

[9] "Vita di Alessandro VII.:" "Spolpato e quasi in teschio ridotto dalle gabelle Barberine lo stato ecclesiastico e smunta la corte dall' ingordigia di Olimpia confidavano generoso ristoro della bontà di Alessandro." (See the text.)

government had long been too clearly manifest in Rome; each one appeared to consider the commonwealth as a something to be made subservient to his own personal advancement—often as a means for the mere gratification of avarice.

With how frightful a power did corruption take possession of the land!

At the Court of Innocent X Donna Olimpia provided applicants with offices on condition of receiving from them a monthly acknowledgment in money.[10] And well would it have been had she been the only person who did so! But the sister-in-law of the datary Cecchino, Donna Clementia, proceeded in a similar manner; Christmas, in particular, was the great harvest-time for presents. The refusal of Don Camillo Astalli to share these gifts on one occasion with Donna Olimpia, to whom he had given hopes that he would do so, excited her most violent anger, and was the first cause of his downfall. To what frauds and forgeries did bribery conduct Mascambruno! It was his habit to affix false summaries to the decrees that he laid before the Pope, and as his holiness read only the summaries, he signed things of which he had not the slightest suspicion, and which covered the Roman Court with infamy.[1] One cannot but feel pained and revolted when reading the remark that Don Mario, the brother of Alexander VII, became rich for this cause, among others, that the jurisdiction of the Borgo was in his hands.

For, unhappily, even the administration of justice was infected with this grievous plague.

We possess a statement of the abuses which had crept into the tribunal of the Rota, and which was laid before Alexander VII by a man who had practised in it during twenty-eight years.[2] He computes that there was no auditor of the Rota who did not receive presents at Christmas to the amount of 500 scudi. Those who could not gain access to the person of the auditor still found means to approach his relations, his assistants, or his servants.

[10] See Appendix, No. 126.

[1] Pallavicini seeks to excuse this on the grounds that the proceedings of the dataria were written "in the French character, as has remained the custom from the time when the Papal See held its court in Avignon," and which the Pope did not readily or willingly read. See Appendix, Nos. 125, 126.

[2] "Disordini che occorrono nel supremo tribunale della rota nella corte Romana e gli ordini con i quali si potrebbe riformare, scrittura fatta da un avvocato da presentarsi alla Sta. de N. Sre. Alessandro VII.," MS. Rang. at Vienna, No. 23.

And no less injurious were the effects produced by the secret injunctions and influence of the court and the great. The very judges were sometimes known to apologize to the parties for the unjust judgment pronounced, declaring that justice was restrained by force.

How corrupt an administration of the laws was this! There were four months of vacation, and even the remainder of the year was passed in a life of idleness and amusement. Judgments were most unduly delayed, yet, when given, presented every mark of precipitation: appeals were altogether useless. It is true that the affair was in such case transferred to other members of the court, but what could secure these last from being equally subject to the influences by which the former judge had been corrupted? The courts of appeal were, moreover, biassed in their decisions by the judgment previously given.

These were evils that extended from the supreme court of judicature to the very lowest of the tribunals, and equally affected the course of justice and general government in the provinces.[8]

In a document which is still extant we find these circumstances represented by Cardinal Sacchetti, in the most earnest manner to Alexander VII:—the oppression of the poor—who found none to help them—by the powerful; the perversion of justice by the intrigues of cardinals, princes, and dependents of the palace; the delay of business, which was sometimes prolonged for years, though it might have been concluded in a few days—nay, even tens of years; the violence and tyranny experienced by anyone who ventured to appeal from an inferior official to one above him; the executions and forfeitures imposed for the enforcement of the levies—measures of cruelty calculated only to make the sovereign odious to his people while his servants enriched themselves. "Oppressions, most holy father," he exclaims, "exceeding those inflicted on the Israelites in Egypt! People, not conquered by the sword, but subjected to the Holy See, either by their free accord, or the donations of princes, are more inhumanly treated than the slaves in

[8] Disordini: "By the unjust decisions of this supreme tribunal [of the Rota], justice is corrupted in all the inferior courts, at least in the Ecclesiastical States, the judges being careful to decide in accordance with the previous false judgment."

Syria or Africa. Who can witness these things without tears of sorrow!"[4]

Such was the condition of the Ecclesiastical States even as early as the middle of the seventeenth century.

And now could it be reasonably expected that the administration of the Church should remain free from abuses of a similar kind?

That administration depended on the court, equally with the civil government, and received its impulse from the same spirit.

It is true that certain restrictions were imposed on the Curia, with respect to this department. In France, for example, important prerogatives were possessed by the crown; in Germany the chapters preserved their independence; in Italy and Spain, on the contrary, the hands of the Curia were unfettered, and its lucrative privileges were accordingly exercised in the most unscrupulous manner.

The Roman Court possessed the right of nomination to all the less important ecclesiastical employments and benefices. In Italy it appointed even to the highest. The sums that flowed into the coffers of the *dataria,* from Spain, are of an amount almost incredible; their principal sources were the installation to appointments, the *spolia,* and the revenues of vacant benefices. Yet the Curia, considered in regard to its own body, drew still greater advantage, perhaps from its relations with the Italian States; the richest bishoprics and abbeys, with a large number of priories, commanderies, and other benefices, went immediately to the profit of its members.

And it would have been well had the evil rested there!

But to the rights, which of themselves were of very questionable character, there were added the most ruinous abuses. I will mention one only—but that, indeed, was perhaps the worst. The practice was introduced, and by the middle of the nineteenth century was in full operation, that every benefice

[4] "Lettre du Cardinal Sacchetti écrite peu avant sa mort au Pape Alexandre VII en 1663, copie tirée des 'Manuscritti della regina di Suezia,'" in Arckenholtz, "Mémoires," tom. iv. App. No. xxxii.: a very instructive document, corroborated by very many others; as, for example, by a "Scrittura sopra il governo di Roma," of the same time (Altieri library). "The people having no more silver or copper, or linen, or furniture, to satisfy the rapacity of the commissaries, will be next obliged to sell themselves as slaves to pay the burdens laid on by the Camera." See Appendix, No. 145.

conferred by the Curia was burdened with a pension to one or other of the members of that body.

This practice was expressly prohibited in Spain, and there too, as the benefices themselves were to be conferred on natives exclusively, so pensions were to be granted only to them; but a device was invented in Rome for evading these enactments. The pension was made out in the name of a native or naturalized Spaniard; but this latter bound himself by a civil contract to pay a stipulated yearly amount into some Roman bank or commercial house, for the actual recipient of the pension. In Italy these considerations and contrivances were not even required, and the bishoprics were often loaded with intolerable burdens. In the year 1663 Monsignore de Angelis, Bishop of Urbino, complained that all he had remaining to his own share from that rich bishopric, was sixty scudi yearly; and that he had already sent in his resignation, which the court refused to accept. The conditions annexed to the bishoprics of Ancona and Pesaro were so oppressive that for years they were left unoccupied, because none could be found to accept them with those impositions. In the year 1667 twenty-eight bishops and archbishops were counted in Naples, all of whom were ejected from their offices because they did not pay the pensions imposed on them. From the bishoprics this corruption descended to the parochial benefices: the richest parishes frequently yielded their incumbents but a very slender subsistence; even the poor country curates in some places had their very fees charged with burdens.[5] Many were so much discouraged that they resigned their cures, but in time new candidates always presented themselves; nay, they sometimes outbade each other, vieing which should offer the Curia the largest pension.

But how deplorable a state of depravity in the government do these things betray! The least evil that could result from

[5] The sarcastic Basadona (see Appendix, No. 134) remarks: "To make an end, we may fairly describe every benefice, capable of bearing a pension, as loaded like the ass of Apuleius, which, unable to bear its burden, thought of throwing itself on the earth; but, seeing its fallen companion immediately flayed by the carters, he held it good to support the insupportable load." All contemporary writers agree in the description of the evil. The practice of resigning the benefice to another while retaining a portion of the revenue, was also again introduced. Deone, "Diario, 7 Genn. 1645," after alluding to the archbishopric of Bologna, transferred to Albregati by Cardinal Colonna, continues to the effect that "by this example the door is opened for admitting the practice of transferrence; and, accordingly, this morning, the transfer of the church of Ravenna by Cardinal Capponi to his nephew Monsr. Tungianni is made known; he reserves a pension to himself, which at his death goes in good part to Cardinal Pamfilio."

such a system was the entire corruption of the parochial clergy, and the utter neglect of their flocks.

Much wiser had been the decision of the Protestant Church in having from the first abolished all superfluities, and subjected itself to order and rule.

It is beyond doubt that the wealth of the Catholic Church, and the worldly rank attached to ecclesiastical dignities, induced the higher aristocracy to devote themselves to her service. It was even a maxim with Pope Alexander to bestow church preferment chiefly on men of good birth: he entertained the extraordinary idea that as earthly princes are fond of seeing themselves surrounded by servants of high descent, so must it be pleasing to God that his service should be undertaken by men exalted in rank above their fellows. Yet it was certainly not by such principles that the Church had raised herself in earlier ages, nor had she been restored by such in later times. The monasteries and congregations, which had contributed so largely to the restoration of Catholicism, were at this time suffered to fall into contempt. The papal families had little value for any person who was bound by conventual obligations, if it were only because men thus occupied could not be constantly paying court to themselves. Whenever there was a competition, the candidate obtaining the place was almost always of the secular clergy, even though his merits and talents were inferior to those of the monastic clergy. "The opinion seems to prevail," says Grimani, "that the episcopal office, or the purple, would be degraded by being conferred on the brother of a convent." He even thinks he perceives that the regular clergy no longer dare confidently to show themselves at court, where they were frequently exposed to mockery and insult. It already began to be remarked that none but men of the lowest origin were now disposed to enter the monasteries. "Even a bankrupt shopkeeper," he exclaims, "considers himself too good to wear the cowl."[6]

Since the monasteries thus lost their intrinsic importance, it can occasion no surprise that they soon began to be considered altogether superfluous; but it is a very remarkable fact that this

[6] Grimani further adds: "Every desire for study and all care for the defence of religion are entirely suppressed. That the number of learned and exemplary monks should diminish so rapidly may ere long be detrimental to the court itself, whence it is my opinion that the popes would do well to take measures for the restoration of the regular clergy to their former credit, by giving them important charges from time to time: eminent men would thus be induced again to enter the orders." See Appendix, No. 138.

opinion first found expression in Rome itself—that the necessity for restricting monastic institutions was first asserted in that court. As early as the year 1649 a bull was published by Innocent X forbidding new admissions into any of the regular orders until the incomes of the several convents had been computed, and the number of persons that each could maintain was determined.[7] A bull issued on October 15, 1652, is still more important. In this the Pope complained that there were many small convents, wherein the offices could not be duly performed, either by day or night, nor spiritual exercises practised, nor seclusion properly maintained; he declared these places to be mere receptacles for licentiousness and crime, affirmed that their number had now increased beyond all measure, and suppressed them all at one blow, with the observation that it was necessary to separate the tares from the wheat.[8] The plan was very soon suggested (and again it was first proposed in Rome) of alleviating the financial necessities, even of foreign States, by the confiscation, not of separate convents only, but of entire monastic orders. When Alexander VII was requested by the Venetians, shortly after his accession, to support them in the war of Candia against the Turks, he proposed to them of himself the suppression of several orders in their own territories. The Venetians were averse to this plan, because these orders still afforded a provision for the poorer *nobili;* but the Pope accomplished his purpose. He maintained that the existence of these convents was rather an offence than edification to the faithful, and compared his mode of proceeding to that of the gardener, who removes all useless branches from the vine to render it more fruitful.[9]

Yet it could not be asserted that among those who now received promotion any remarkably splendid talents were found. There was, on the contrary, a general complaint throughout the seventeenth century, of the dearth of distinguished men.[10] Men

[7] Our diary, January 1, 1650 (Deone), describes the impression produced by this "constitution": "As this cause does not affect the Capuchins and other reformed orders who possess no revenues, it is feared that the prohibition may be perpetual; and I believe it will be so, until the number of regular clergy, which is now excessive, shall be reduced to moderation, and the commonwealth be no longer oppressed by them."

[8] "Constitutio super extinctione et suppressione parvorum conventuum, eorumque reductione ad statum secularem, et bonorum applicatione, et prohibitione erigendi nova loca regularia in Italia et insulis adjacentibus." —Idibus, October, 1652.

[9] "Relatione de' iv. Ambasciatori, 1656." See Appendix, No. 129.

[10] Grimani: "When due regulations are neglected, all things deteriorate; . . . the court is at present barren in

of eminent powers were, indeed, very frequently excluded from the prelacy, because they were too poor to comply with the regulations established for their admission.[1] Advancement depended almost entirely on the favor of the papal families; and this was only to be obtained by an excessive adulation and servility that could not be favorable to a free development of the nobler qualities of the intellect. This state of things affected the whole body of the clergy.

It is certainly a remarkable fact that in the most important branches of theological study, there scarcely appeared a single original Italian author, whether as regarded exposition of scripture, on which subject nothing was presented but repetitions of works belonging to the sixteenth century, or as relating to morals—although that subject of inquiry was much cultivated elsewhere—nor even in relation to dogmatic theology. In the congregations, foreigners alone appeared on the arena in the disputations concerning the means of grace; in those of a later period also, concerning free-will and faith, Italians took but little part. After Girolamo da Narni, no distinguished preacher appeared even in Rome itself. In the journal before referred to, and kept by a very strict Catholic, from 1640 to 1650, this fact is remarked with astonishment. "With the commencement of Lent," he observes, "comedies ceased to be performed in theatres and houses, beginning in the pulpits of the churches. The holy office of the preacher is employed to secure celebrity, or made subservient to the purposes of the flatterer. Metaphysics are brought forward, of which the speaker knows very little, and his hearers nothing whatever. In place of teaching and admonition, encomiums are pronounced, solely for the furtherance of the speaker's promotion. As regards the choice of the preacher also, everything now depends on connection and favor, and no longer on the merit of the man."

To sum up the whole, that mighty internal impulse by which the court, Church, and State were formerly governed, and from which they had received their strictly religious character, was now extinguished. The tendency toward restoration and con-

the highest degree of men possessing worth or talent." See Appendix, No. 138.

[1] "Relatione di Roma sotto Clemente IX.": "Since the custom is prevalent that high offices are conferred on the prelates only, and that the prelacy is granted to none but those who have revenues to support its dignity, the consequence has followed that really able men are for the most part excluded." See Appendix, No. 136.

quest had passed away; other motives were now predominant, urging only to the struggle for power and pleasure. The spiritual element again received its tone from worldly impulses.

And here the question naturally presents itself, what direction was taken under these circumstances, by that society, which had been so peculiarly founded on the principles of Catholic restoration? We allude to the order of Jesuits.

Section XI.—The Jesuits in the Middle of the Seventeenth Century

The most important change that had taken place in the constitution of the Society of Jesus, consisted in the fact that the "professed" members had become advanced to the possession of power.

Of the "professed," those who took the four vows, there were at first very few. Living apart from the colleges, and subsisting on alms, they had confined themselves to the exercise of spiritual authority. Appointments requiring the activity of men of the world, such as those of rectors and provincials, with the general management of the colleges, had formerly been in the hands of the coadjutors. But all this was now entirely changed. The "professed" themselves attained to places in the administration; they took part in the revenues of the colleges and became rectors or provincials.[1]

The most immediate consequence of this alteration was that those severe practices of private devotion which had been maintained in their fervor, principally by the rigid separation of the "houses of the professed," now gradually declined; even at the first reception of a member into the society, it was no longer possible to examine with the minuteness first practised, into his capacity or vocation for an ascetic life. Vitelleschi, in particular, gave admission to many who were certainly without any vocation. The highest station was the object now aimed at, the rank by which its possessors at once secured ecclesiastical dig-

[1] In a collection of papers entitled "Scritture politiche, morali e satiriche sopra le massime, institui e governo della compagnia di Gesu" (MS., Rome) will be found a circumstantial treatise of nearly 400 pages, "Discorso sopra la religione de' padri Gesuiti e loro modo di governare," written between 1681 and 1686, apparently by a person deeply initiated, from which the following notices are for the most part taken. See Appendix, No. 150.

nity and secular power. But this combination was moreover shown to be highly prejudicial in its effects generally; formerly the coadjutors and professed had exercised superintendence over each other; but temporal importance and spiritual claims were now united in the same persons. Men of the meanest endowments considered themselves of high ability, because no one now ventured to gainsay them. Having attained exclusive dominion, they began quietly and at their ease to enjoy those large possessions which the colleges had acquired in the course of time, and to think principally of the means by which their wealth might be increased. The actual direction of business, and the duties, whether of churches or schools, were abandoned to the younger members.[2] Even as regarded the general of the order, the professed assumed a deportment of extreme independence. That the alteration was a great and essential one, is made obvious, among other things, by the characters and fortunes of the generals, the sort of men chosen as supreme rulers, and the mode in which these chiefs were treated.

How different was Mutio Vitelleschi from his predecessor, the calm, self-ruling, crafty, and inflexible Aquaviva! Vitelleschi was by nature mild, indulgent, and conciliatory; his intimates called him the angel of peace; and he found consolation on his death-bed from the conviction that he had never injured anyone. These were admirable qualities of a most amiable man, but did not suffice to fit him for the government of an order so widely extended, active, and powerful. He was unable to enforce strictness of discipline, even with regard to dress, still less could he oppose an effectual resistance to the demands of determined ambition. It was during his administration, from 1615 to 1645, that the change above referred to was effected.

His immediate successors proceeded in a similar spirit. Vincenzo Caraffa (1649) was a man of the utmost piety and humility;[3] he even rejected all personal attendance, and was in all re-

[2] "Discorso:" "There are many to make a show, but few to work. The poor are not visited, the lands are not cultivated. . . . Excepting a few, mostly young men, who attend the schools, all the others, whether professors, or procurators, or rectors, or preachers, scarcely have a particle of labor."

[3] "Diario, Deone, 12 Giugno, 1649:" "On Tuesday morning died the general of the Jesuits: a man of few acquirements, but of a sanctity of life rarely witnessed. With regard to his own person, he would not have a carriage in his service, nor permit himself to be treated differently from the meanest of the order, whether in food or clothing; and as to other matters, he would have had the Jesuit fathers live as became those bound by vows of religion, not mingling in politics nor frequenting courts; but in seeking to secure that object, he found insurmountable difficulties, and these were the cause of his death."

the Roman See boast of any great obedience from the order at this time in other respects. In the missions more particularly, the papal enactments were almost invariably treated with total disregard.

Again, it was one of the most essential principles of the order, that all worldly connections should be renounced, and that each member should devote himself exclusively to his spiritual duties. The rule that all who entered the order should abandon every temporal possession had been strictly enforced in former times; but now the act of renunciation was either delayed for a time or was performed under certain conditions only, on the ground that the members were at all times liable to expulsion; and, at length, the custom obtained of each member making a transfer of his property to the society itself, but with the clear understanding that this was in favor of the particular college to which he had attached himself, and even in such sort that he frequently retained the management of his possessions in his own hands, though under a different title.[6] Nay, the members of the colleges having sometimes more leisure than their relations, who were engaged in active life, undertook the agency of their affairs, collected their revenues, and conducted their lawsuits.[7]

Nor did this mercantile spirit long confine itself to individuals; it became manifest among the colleges, even in their corporate character. All were anxious to secure themselves in the possession of wealth, and as the large donations of earlier times had ceased, they sought to effect this by commercial pursuits. The Jesuits held that there was no material difference between the practice of agriculture, to which the more primitive monks had devoted themselves, and the labors of commerce, in which they were engaged. The *Collegio Romano* possessed a manufactory of cloth at Macerata, and though at first they produced

[6] "Vincentii Caraffæ epistola de mediis conservandi primævum spiritum societatis:" "Definitis pro arbitrio dantis domibus sive collegiis in quibus aut sedem sibi fixurus est aut jam animo fixerit; . . . anxie agunt ut quæ societati reliquerunt, ipsimet per se administrent." "Having had it settled in what houses or colleges they will fix their seat, or having chosen it in their own minds, . . . they labor strenuously to obtain for themselves the administration of what they have resigned to the society."

[7] "Epistola Goswini Nickel de amore et studio perfectæ paupertatis:" "Illud intolerabile, si et lites inferant et ad tribunalia confligant et violentas pecuniarum repetitiones faciant, aut palam negotiantur ad quæstum, . . . specie quidem primo aspectu etiam honesta, caritate in consanguineos, decepti." "Things have become intolerable, for they commence lawsuits and contend before the tribunals, making violent and repeated demands for money; they also trade openly for the sake of gain, . . . deluded by what at the first view seems indeed to be upright, namely, the love of their kindred."

it only for their own use, yet they soon proceeded to the supply of all other colleges in the provinces, and ultimately to that of the public in general, for which last purpose they attended the fairs. From the close connection existing between the different colleges there resulted a system of banking business, and the Portuguese ambassador in Rome was empowered to draw on the Jesuits of Portugal. Their commercial transactions were particularly prosperous in the colonies. The trading connections of the order extended, as it were, a network over both continents, having Lisbon for its central point.

This was a spirit that, when once called into action, could not fail to affect the whole internal economy of the society.

The members still retained the profession of their first essential principle, that instruction should always be given gratuitously; but they received presents when the pupil entered, and on occasion of certain festivals, occurring at least twice in the year.[8] The preference was given to pupils of rich families; and it followed, as a necessary consequence, that these young people, conscious of a certain independence, would no longer endure the severity of the ancient discipline. A Jesuit who raised his stick against a pupil received a stab from a poniard in reply; and a young man in Gubbio who thought himself too harshly treated by the father *prefetto,* assassinated the latter in return. Even in Rome, the commotions of the Jesuits' college were a continual theme of conversation for the city and the palace. The masters were on one occasion imprisoned for an entire day by their pupils, and it was at length indispensable that the rector should be dismissed, in compliance with their demands. These things may be regarded as symptoms of a general conflict between the ancient order of things and new tendencies. The latter finally prevailed. The Jesuits could no longer maintain that influence by which they had formerly governed the minds of men.

Nor, indeed, was it now their purpose to subjugate the world, or to imbue it with the spirit of religion; their own spirit had, on the contrary, succumbed before the influence of the world.

[8] "Discorso:" "Offerings are made at least twice a year—at Christmas, that is, and on their own patron saint's days; and these amount to a considerable sum. Then the money of these offerings, or whatever is employed for plate, pictures, tapestry, chalices, and other such valuables, all go to these same colleges. It sometimes happens that the local rectors use them indifferently, whence arise infinite offences; but they care little or nothing for the complaints of their own scholars."

The Jesuits now labored only to render themselves indispensable to their fellow-men, by whatever means this might be effected.

And to secure this purpose, not only the rules of their institution, but even the doctrines of religion and the precepts of morality were modified and perverted. The office of confession, by means of which they maintained so immediate an influence over the most secret recesses of social and domestic life, received a direction from these fathers which will be memorable to all times.

On this subject we have unquestionable proof from authentic documents. The Jesuits have themselves expounded in many elaborate works the principles by which they were guided in confession and absolution, and what they recommended to others. These are in general essentially the same with those they have so frequently been accused of prescribing. Let us endeavor to comprehend at least the leading principles from which they proceeded to make the whole domain of the confessional their own.

It is manifest that in the confessional everything must infallibly depend on the conception formed of transgression and of sin.

The Jesuits define sin to be a voluntary departure from the commands of God.[9]

But wherein, we inquire further, does this volition consist? Their answer is, in a clear perception and understanding of the sin, as sin, and in the perfect consent of the will.[10]

They adopted this principle from the ambition of propounding something new, and further impelled by their wish to be prepared for all the usages of common life; with scholastic subtlety, and with a widely comprehensive consideration of all cases that could occur, they carried this principle out, even to its most revolting consequences. According to their doctrine,

[9] Definition by Fr. Toledo: "Voluntarius recessus a regula divina."

[10] Busembaum, "Medulla theologiæ moralis," lib. v. c. ii. dub. iii., expresses himself thus: "Tria requiruntur ad peccatum mortale (quod gratiam et amicitiam cum Deo solvit), quorum si unum desit, fit veniale (quod ob suam levitatem gratiam et amicitiam non tollit): 1. Ex parte intellectus, plena advertentia et deliberatio: 2. Ex parte voluntatis, perfectus consensus: 3. Gravitas materiæ." "Three things are required to constitute mortal sin (that which separates us from the grace and friendship of God), of which three, if one be wanting, the sin becomes venial (that which because of its lightness does not take from us God's grace and friendship): 1. On the part of the intellect, full perception and deliberation; 2. On the part of the will, active consent; 3. Importance of the thing itself."

it is sufficient if we do not will the commission of sin, as sin. We have the better ground of hope for pardon, the less we thought of God during the commission of our evil deed, and the more violent the passion was by which we were impelled to its commission. The force of habit, nay, even a bad example, suffice to exculpate the sinner, inasmuch as they restrict the freedom of the will. How closely are the limits of transgression thus narrowed! For certainly no man will love sin merely for its own sake. But they also acknowledged grounds of exculpation of a different character. Duelling, for example, is without doubt prohibited by the Church; yet the Jesuits consider, that if a man were in danger of being accused of cowardice because he refused to fight a duel, or of losing his office, or the favor of his sovereign, then he was not to be condemned though he should fight.[1] To take a false oath is in itself a deadly sin, but the man who only swears outwardly, say the Jesuits, without inwardly intending to do so, is not bound by his oath: he does not swear, he only jests.[2]

These doctrines are to be found in books that make positive profession of moderate views. But now that these times are gone by, we should profit but little by a more minute search for the still wider deviations from rectitude of a subtlety whose reasonings were subversive of all morality, and in which one teacher sought to surpass another, as in a contest for literary pre-eminence. But it cannot be denied that the most perverse tenets of certain among their doctors became extremely dangerous in connection with another principle of the Jesuits—their doctrine of Probability. They maintained that in doubtful cases a man might follow an opinion of the soundness of which he was not himself convinced, provided always that the said opinion were defended by some author of repute.[3] They not only considered it allowable to be guided by the most indulgent teachers, but they even recommended that practice.

[1] "Privandus alioqui ob suspicionem ignaviæ, dignitate, officio vel favore principis." (See text.) Busembaum, lib. iii. tract. iv. cap. i. dub. v. art. i. n. 6.

[2] "Qui exterius tantum juravit, sine animo jurandi, non obligatur, nisi forte ratione scandali, cum non juraverit sed luserit." "He who has but sworn externally, without swearing with his mind, is not bound, except perhaps on account of the scandal, since he has not sworn, but jested." Lib. iii. tract. ii. cap. ii. dub. iv. n. 8.

[3] Em. Sa., "Aphorismi Confessariorum s. v. dubium": "Potest quis facere quod probabili ratione vel auctoritate putat licere, etimasi oppositum tutius sit: sufficit autem opinio alicujus gravis autoris." "Anyone may do what on probable grounds or authority he thinks lawful, although to do the contrary may be safer: but the opinion of some grave author is sufficient."

INNOCENT THE TENTH.

Photogravure from the original painting by Velasquez.

Scruples of conscience were to be disregarded; nay, the proper method of freeing one's self from their influence was to follow the most tolerant opinions, even though they might be less safe.[4] How completely were the profound and secret monitions of self-government and self-judgment thus lowered into a more external act! In the directing manuals of the Jesuits all possible contingencies of life are treated of, much in the method usually adopted for systems of civil law, and appreciated according to the degrees of their veniality. A man has but to look out the cases supposed in these books, and, without any conviction on his own part, to regulate himself according to their directions, and he is then certain of absolution before God and the Church; a slight turn of the thoughts sufficed to exonerate from all guilt. The Jesuits themselves, with a certain sort of honesty, sometimes express surprise on perceiving how light and easy their tenets render the yoke of Christ.

Section XII.—The Jansenists

All life must have been utterly extinct in the Catholic Church had not an opposition instantly arisen against doctrines so pernicious, and against every cause producing, as well as every consequence resulting from, them.

Already were the greater part of the remaining orders on bad terms with the Jesuits—the Dominicans, because of their dissent from Thomas Aquinas; the Franciscans and Capuchins, on account of the exclusive authority which they arrogated to themselves in the missions of Asia, beyond the Ganges. They were not unfrequently assailed by the bishops, whose powers they restricted; and were occasionally attacked by the parish priests, whose duties they encroached upon. In the universities also—at least in those of France and the Netherlands—they frequently provoked antagonists. But all these things formed no effective resistance, which could, indeed, arise only from a more vigorous spirit, and more profound convictions.

For after all, the moral laws of the Jesuits were entirely con-

[4] **Busembaum**, lib. i. c. iii.: "Remedia conscientiæ scrupulosæ sunt, 1. Scrupulos contemnere; 4. Assufacere se ad sequendas sententias mitiores et minus etiam certas." "The remedies for scruples are: 1. To despise such scruples; 4. To accustom yourself to follow the more indulgent opinions, and even when they may be less sure."

INNOCENT THE TENTH.

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sistent with their dogmatical tenets. In the former, as in the latter, they allowed ample scope to the freedom of the will.

It was, however, precisely against this point that the most important opposition ever experienced by the Jesuits as a body was directed. It arose and was developed in the following manner:

During those years when the whole theological world of the Catholic Church was held in a state of incessant warfare by the controversies respecting the Means of Grace, two young men were studying at Louvain—Cornelius Jansen of Holland, and Jean du Verger of Gascony, both of whom had adopted, with equally profound conviction, those more rigid doctrines which had indeed never been wholly departed from in that university, and both conceived an extreme antipathy to the Jesuits. Du Verger was the superior in rank and fortune, and took his friend with him to Bayonne. They here plunged themselves into a deep and constantly repeated study of the works of St. Augustine, conceiving for the doctrines of that father of the Church, in relation to grace and free will, an enthusiasm which determined the course of their whole future lives.[1]

Jansenius, who became professor in the University of Louvain, and Bishop of Ypres, attached himself more particularly to theoretical asceticism, as a means of reviving the spirit of these doctrines, while Du Verger, who obtained the abbacy of St. Cyran, pursued the same object by a path equally ascetic, and more practical.

Yet the book entitled "Augustinus," in which Jansenius has circumstantially and systematically expounded his convictions, is of great value, not only because it so boldly attacks the Jesuits both in their doctrines and moral tendencies, but also because it does this throughout the work, in a manner tending to restore their original vitality of thought to the doctrines of grace, sin, and remission.

Jansenius proceeds from the principle that the will of man is not free, being fettered and held in bondage by the desire after earthly things. Of its own strength it is not able to raise itself from this condition; grace must first come to the

[1] "Synopsis vitæ Jansenii," prefixed to the "Augustinus": "He then proceeded into Gascony, where, in the society of, and studious intercourse with, very learned men, he made great progress in the comprehension of the holy fathers, and more particularly of St. Augustine, as is frequently testified."

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aid of the will—grace, which is not so much the forgiveness of sins, as the deliverance of the soul from the bonds of earthly desires.[2]

And here his own peculiar views are immediately presented. He considers grace to be made manifest in the higher and purer happiness obtained by the soul from heavenly things. He declares the effectual grace of the Saviour to be no other than a spiritual delight, by which the will is moved to desire and to perform what God has decreed. It is the involuntary impulse communicated by God to the will, and by means of which man finds happiness in good, and labors to obtain it.[3] He repeatedly inculcates the truth, that good is to be sought, not from fear of punishment, but from love of righteousness.

And from this point he proceeds to the higher question of what is this righteousness?

He answers: God himself.

For man must not think of God as if he were a corporeal being, nor under any form whatever—not even under that of light. God must be thought of and loved as the eternal truth—as the source whence all wisdom and truth proceeds—as righteousness, not in its acceptation of a quality or attribute of the soul, but in its predominance as an idea, a supreme inviolable rule. The rules of our actions proceed from the eternal law; they are a reflection from its light: whoever loves righteousness, loves God himself.[4]

Man does not become good from the fact of his directing his efforts to the acquirement of any particular virtue; it is by fixing his eyes firmly on the one unchangeable supreme good, which is truth, which is God himself. Virtue is the love of God.

And in this love it is that the freedom of the will consists; its inexpressible sweetness extinguishes the pleasure derived

[2] Corn. Jansenii "Augustinus," tom. iii. lib. i. c. ii.: "The liberation of the will is not the forgiveness of sin, but a certain delightful freedom from the bonds of earthly wishes; enslaved by which, the soul is in chains, until, by a celestial sweetness infused by grace, it is borne over to the love of the supreme good." It is thus that Pascal also understands this doctrine: "God changes the heart of man by a celestial sweetness which he pours over it."—Provincial Letters, xviii. tom. iii. p. 413.

[3] Tom. iii. lib. iv. c. i.

[4] "Regulæ vivendi et quasi lumina virtutum immutabilia et sempiterna non sunt aliud quam lex æterna, quæ in ipsa Dei æterna veritate splendet, quam proinde diligendo non aliud diligit nisi ipsum Deum seu veritatem et justitiam ejus incommutabilem, a qua promanat et ex cujus refulgentis lucis fulget quidquid velut justum et rectum approbamus." "The rules of living, and, as it were, the inscrutable and sempiternal lights of the virtues, are no other than that eternal law which shines in the truth itself of the eternal God; whence it follows, that loving these, a man loves no other than God himself, or his unchangeable truth and justice, from which there proceeds, and out of whose refulgence there shines, whatever we desire as just and approve as right."

from earthly gratifications: there then ensues a voluntary and ineffably blessed necessity not to sin, but to lead a good life.[5] That is the true free will—a will freed from evil and replete with good.

It is to be remarked, and is worthy of admiration, that throughout this work the development of the doctrinal views is followed out with a high degree of philosophical clearness, even in the midst of zealous and hostile polemical discussion. The essential groundwork of the book is at once moral and religious, speculative, and practical. To the mere external forms and self-seeking of the Jesuit doctrines, it opposes an upright and strict internal discipline, the ideal of an activity whose primary origin, as well as its ultimate expression, is love to God.

And while Jansenius was still occupied with the preparation of this work, his friend was already seeking first to show forth in his own life the ideas on which it was founded, and then to extend their influence practically on all within his reach.

St. Cyran, for so was Du Verger now called, had established for himself a learned and ascetic hermitage, even in the midst of Paris. By an unwearied study of the Holy Scriptures and fathers of the Church, he labored to imbue his own mind with their spirit. That peculiarity of doctrine, in which he agreed with Jansenius, immediately conducted him of necessity to the sacrament of penance. The penitential ordinances of the Church did not suffice him; he was indeed heard to say that the Church had been purer in her earlier ages, as streams are clearer near their source, but that too many of the truths of the gospel were now obscured.[6] His own demands, on the contrary, had the appearance of extreme rigor. To practise deep humility and long endurance, to depend wholly on God, utterly to renounce the world,[7] to devote every thought, every effort, the whole being, to the love of God—this alone appeared to him to be Christianity. So profound was his conception of the necessity of an inward change, that, according to his views, grace must precede repentance. "When it is the will of God to save a soul, the work is commenced from within; when the heart is once changed, then is true repentance first experienced: all else

[5] Tom. iii. lib. vii. c. ix.: "A most happy, immutable, and necessary will not to sin, but to live rightly."

[6] Extracts from his trial in Reuchlin, "Geschichte von Portroyal," i. p. 451.

[7] "To humble one's self, to suffer, and to depend wholly on God—this makes up the whole Christian life."

follows. Absolution can do no more than indicate the first beam of grace. As a physician must observe and be guided by the movements and internal operations of nature only, so must the physician of the soul proceed according to the workings of grace." He often repeats the declaration that he had himself passed through the whole course—from temptation and sin, to contrition, prayer, and exaltation. There were few to whom he communicated his thoughts, and when he did so, it was with few words and the most serene tranquillity of expression; but since his whole soul was filled with the truth of what he uttered, and as he always awaited the proper occasion and a befitting frame of mind, both in himself and others, so the impressions he produced were irresistible, his hearers felt themselves affected by an involuntary change, tears sometimes burst from their eyes before they could think of repressing them.[8] Many distinguished men soon attached themselves to his tenets and became his decided proselytes. Among their number was Arnauld d'Andilly, who lived in close intimacy with Richelieu and Anne of Austria, and was employed in the most important offices, together with his nephew Le Maître, who was at that time admired as the most eloquent orator of the Parliament, and who had before him a career of the utmost brilliancy, yet he now at once retired to the closest seclusion in a hermitage at no great distance from Paris. Angelique Arnauld, whom we have already named, with her nuns of Portroyal, attached themselves to St. Cyran, with all that unlimited devotion which pious women are wont to feel for their prophet.

Jansenius died before he had seen his book printed. St. Cyran was thrown into prison immediately after the first conversions he had effected, by Richelieu, who had a natural antipathy to so effective an activity in such a cause; but these misfortunes did not prevent the diffusion of their doctrines.

The book of Jansenius gradually produced a general and profound impression, as well by its intrinsic merits, as by the boldness of its polemic character.[9] St. Cyran actively continued to effect conversions even from his prison. The undeserved suf-

[8] "Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Portroyal, par M. Fontaine," i. p. 225. Racine, "Histoire de Portroyal," p. 134.

[9] Gerberon, "Histoire du Jansénisme," i. 63: "The theologians of Paris applied themselves so zealously to the study of St. Augustine of Ypres, in whom they recognized him of Hippo, . . . that in a short time nothing was heard among those divines but the names of St. Augustine and of Jansenius."

ferings inflicted on him, and which he bore with the utmost resignation, exalted him in the public regard, so that when he regained his liberty on the death of Richelieu, he was looked upon as a saint—a John the Baptist. It is true that his death followed a few months afterward, October 11, 1643, but he had founded a school, wherein the doctrines of himself and his friend were regarded as the gospel. "His disciples," remarks one of their body, "go forth like young eagles from under his wings; heirs of his virtue and piety, what they had received from him, they transmitted to others; Elijah has left behind him many an Elisha who continues to prosecute his work."

If we attempt to define the relation in which the Jansenists stood to the predominant Church parties in general, we at once perceive a close analogy to Protestantism, and are strongly reminded of the early Protestants. They insisted with equal zeal on pure holiness of life, and labored with similar earnestness to impart a new and more perfect form to their system of faith, by rejecting the interpolations of the schoolmen. But these things are by no means sufficient, in my opinion, to warrant our declaring them a kind of unconscious Protestants. The grand distinction, considered historically, consists herein that they voluntarily admitted a principle to which Protestantism from the first refused to be reconciled. They remained firmly devoted to those most eminent fathers of the Latin Church, whose authority had been rejected in Germany from the year 1523, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, and St. Gregory; nay, they even added certain fathers of the Greek Church, and above all St. Chrysostom, in whose works they believed they possessed a pure and unaltered tradition, from which, down to St. Bernard, no deviation had been made. He too, they maintain, held fast by it, but after that "last of the fathers," the intrusion of Aristotelian tenets had obscured its light. This then was very far from that energetic zeal with which the Protestants went directly and immediately up to the doctrines of Holy Writ; the perceptions of the Jansenists were satisfied with those primary formations which served as the groundwork of the later system. They remained convinced that the visible Church, notwithstanding her momentary obscurations and disfigurements, is still one with Christ, not one in spirit only, but one in body also—infallible, immortal, and imperishable. They adhered most earnestly to

the episcopal hierarchy, living in the belief that St. Augustine had been inspired by God to communicate to the world in its utmost fulness the doctrine of grace, which constitutes the life and essence of the new covenant. They consider that in his person Christian theology received its completion. This they desire to comprehend to its very root, to examine and understand even to its innermost centre, and not to take, as some have formerly done, the Pelagian opinions for those of St. Augustine—so far the Jansenists. But Luther, though also first awakened by St. Augustine, had then directly returned to the true source of instruction, the Scriptures—the Word of God; while in contrast to this, Catholicism clung firmly to the entire system, as it had been formed in the course of ages. The Jansenists sought to enforce the creed of St. Augustine, as that which first comprehended all that had preceded, and laid the basis for all that was to follow. The Protestants rejected tradition, the Catholics held it fast. Jansenism endeavored to purify it, to restore it to its original character, thereby hoping to regenerate both doctrine and life.

There was already gathered about Le Maître, in the hermitage of Portroyal des Champs, to which he had retired, a society of persons by no means inconsiderable, who were all devoted to these doctrines. It is not to be denied that this company was at first somewhat closely limited, consisting principally of members and friends of the Arnauld family. Le Maître had drawn four of his brothers around him—their mother, from whom they had received their religious tendencies, was an Arnauld. The oldest friend of St. Cyran, and the person to whom he bequeathed his heart, was Arnauld d'Andilly, and he also finally joined this society. His youngest brother, Antoine Arnauld, produced the first considerable work written in its favor. They were followed by many other connections and friends. The convent of Portroyal, in Paris, was likewise almost exclusively in the hands of this family. Andilly relates that his mother, who also finally retired thither, beheld herself surrounded by twelve daughters and grand-daughters.[10] We are here reminded, that it was principally by the agency of the elder Antoine Arnauld, from whom all these descended, that the Jesuits were expelled from Paris in the year 1594—their banishment

[10] "Mémoires d'Arnauld d'Andilly," i. p. 341.

was the result of his powerful and brilliant pleading against them. Aversion to that order seemed as it were hereditary in the Arnauld family.

But this narrow circle of friends was very soon largely extended.

They were joined by many who were attracted by no other sympathy than that of similar opinions. A very influential preacher of Paris—Singlin, an adherent of St. Cyran, was particularly active in the cause. There was in Singlin the remarkable peculiarity that while he could not express himself without positive difficulty in the common affairs of life, he had no sooner ascended the pulpit than he displayed the most overpowering eloquence.[1] Those whom he saw most earnestly attached to himself he sent to Portroyal, where they received a cordial welcome. These persons were, for the most part, young clergymen and scholars; wealthy merchants; physicians, who had already attained a good position; persons of the most distinguished families, and members of different religious orders; but all, men who were led to take this step by an inward impulse, were governed by no unworthy motive, and were guided only by their fixed and unbiassed convictions.

In this retirement, which resembled a convent held together voluntarily, and fettered by no vows, many religious exercises were zealously performed. The churches were sedulously visited; prayer was frequently offered, whether in society or in private; agricultural labors were undertaken, and certain handicrafts were engaged in by some of the members, but the principal occupation of the place was literature. The company of Portroyal was at the same time a sort of literary academy.

While the Jesuits heaped up learning in unwieldy folios, or lost themselves in the perverse scholasticism of an artificial system, applied both to morals and theology, the Jansenists addressed themselves to the nation.

They began by translating the Holy Scriptures, the Fathers of the Church, and Latin prayer-books. In these labors they were happily careful to avoid the old Frankish forms which had previously disfigured works of this character, and expressed themselves with an attractive clearness. An educational institution, which they established at Portroyal, gave them occasion

[1] "Mémoires de Fontaine," ii. p. 283.

to compose school-books, in ancient and modern languages, logic, and geometry. These works, proceeding from a more liberal mode of viewing the object to be attained, presented new methods, the merits of which were universally acknowledged.[2] Works of a different character were also produced at intervals; as for example, controversial writings, the acuteness and precision of which reduced their enemies to silence; with others of the most profound piety, such, for example, as the "Heures de Portroyal," which were received with an eager welcome, and even after the lapse of a century, were as much valued and sought for as on the first day. From this society proceeded men of scientific eminence, such as Pascal; of high distinction in poetry, such as Racine; or of the most comprehensive range in learning, such as Tillemont. They extended their efforts, as we see, very far beyond the circle of theology and asceticism marked out by Jansenius and Du Verger. We shall not proceed too far if we assert that this community of men, animated by the most noble purposes, endowed with the highest intellect, and who by their own unassisted efforts, and in their intercourse with each other, produced a new method of conveying knowledge, and originated a new tone of expression, had exercised an extensive and beneficial influence on the literature of France, and through that medium on the whole of Europe. To Portroyal, the literary splendor of the age of Louis XIV may in some measure be safely attributed.

How was it possible that the spirit by which all these labors were prompted, and from which such results were obtained, should fail to make itself a path through the whole nation? The members of Portroyal found adherents in all quarters, but more particularly among the parochial clergy, to whom the confessional system of the Jesuits had long been an object of abhorrence. Occasionally also it appeared probable, as under Cardinal Retz, for example, that they would also penetrate among the superior clergy; and some of the members did obtain important offices. We find them ere long, not in France and the Netherlands only—they possessed adherents in Spain also; and during the pontificate of Innocent X a Jansenist divine might be heard publicly preaching from the pulpits of Rome.[3]

[2] "Notice de Petitot," prefixed to the "Memoirs" of Andilly. In other respects this work is surprisingly full of party spirit.

[3] Deone, tom. iv.: "There was cited before the holy office Monsieur Honorato Herzan (Hersent), doctor of the Sor-

There the question above all others most interesting now was, in what light these opinions would be regarded by the Roman See.

Section XIII.—Position of the Roman Court with Regard to the Two Parties

There was in fact a revival, though under somewhat altered circumstances, of that contest which, forty years earlier, neither Clement VIII nor Paul V had ventured to decide.

I know not whether Urban VIII or Innocent X would have been more determined, had there not unhappily appeared a passage in the work of Jansenius at which the Roman See took grave offence on other grounds.

In his third book, "On the State of Innocence," Jansenius adverts to a position laid down by St. Augustine, which he could not but admit to have been condemned by the Court of Rome. For a moment he hesitates as to whom he shall follow, the father of the Church or the Pope. After some deliberation, however, he remarks,[1] that the Roman See sometimes condemned a doctrine merely for the sake of peace, without therefore intending to declare such doctrine absolutely false; he then positively determines in favor of the tenet of St. Augustine.

His antagonists naturally availed themselves of this passage. They pointed it out as an attack on the papal infallibility, and Urban VIII was induced to express his disapprobation of a book which, to the disparagement of the apostolic dignity, contained principles already condemned by former pontiffs.

He nevertheless effected very little by this declaration of opinion. The Jansenist tenets extended themselves none the less effectually. France was the scene of a general schism; the adversaries of Portroyal considered it necessary to elicit another

bonne in Paris, to answer for the sermon that he preached in San Luigi on the day of the festa, in which he maintained and defended the opinion of Jansenius, upholding him to be the only expositor of St. Augustine; not, indeed, specifying him, but so pointing him out that he was understood by all present. He retired to the house of the French ambassador, and thence departed to Paris. His book is prohibited, and the master of the sacred palace has had some trouble for permitting it to be printed: he excuses himself by saying that it was dedicated to the Pope and was in the French tongue, which he does not understand. But the book contained opinions favorable to the Jansenists and opposed to the Jesuits."

[1] "De statu naturæ puræ," iii. c. xxii. p. 403. "But if, he adds, it could then have been shown that this and some other propositions had been drawn from Augustine, the coryphæus of all doctors, never, as I believe, would such an edict have proceeded from the Apostolic See."

and more decided condemnation from the Roman See. For that purpose they embodied the essential doctrines of Jansenius, as they understood them, into five propositions, and required Pope Innocent X to pronounce upon them his apostolic judgment.[2]

A formal investigation was consequently entered upon at the Court of Rome; a congregation of four cardinals was formed, under whose supervision thirteen theological consultors proceeded to the examination.

Now these propositions were so framed, that at the first glance they seemed to present pure heterodoxy, but when examined with greater care, might be explained, at least in part, to convey an orthodox meaning.[3] There instantly arose a diversity of opinion among the consultors. From among them, two Dominicans, a Minorite, Luca Wadding, and the general of the Augustine order, thought the condemnation unadvisable, but the remaining nine were in favor of it.[4] Everything now depended on the question of whether the Pope would take part with the majority.

The subject was altogether repulsive to Innocent X. He detested all abstruse theological investigations, even in themselves; but he perceived, moreover, that in whatever sense he might declare himself as to those now pending, none but the most injurious consequences could ensue. Notwithstanding the opinion pronounced by so large a maority, the pontiff could not resolve on giving his decision. "When he came to the edge of the chasm," says Pallavicini, "and measured the greatness of the leap with his eyes, he held back, and was not to be moved to any further advance."

But these scruples were not shared by the whole court. Immediately beside the Pope stood a Secretary of State, Cardinal Chigi, who was continually urging him to a decision. While at Cologne, Chigi had met with and read this book, of which that very passage had even then so powerfully awakened his orthodox indignation that he had cast it in fury from his hands. His aversion had been further strengthened by some of the monastic orders of Germany; he had taken a very earnest part in the

[2] Pallavicini, "Vita di Alessandro VII.": "To the end that, being well informed, he should declare what ought to be permitted or prohibited in regard to the five principal propositions of the said author."

[3] Racine, "Abrégé de l'histoire ecclésiastique," tom. xi. p. 15.

[4] Pallavicini, who was himself among the consultors, supplies us with these details. Of the Pope he says, "The character of his intellect is most averse to these scholastic subtleties."

Congregation of Cardinals appointed to examine the work, and had largely contributed to bring about the adverse result. He now pressed the Pope to remain no longer silent; to do so, he maintained, would now be called a sanction of the propositions; he ought not to suffer that the doctrine of the pope's infallibility should fall into discredit. It was unquestionably one of the highest vocations of the Apostolic See to give a decision when the faithful were in doubt.[5]

We have already seen that Innocent was a man who permitted himself to be guided by sudden impressions. In a luckless hour he was overcome by the representation made to him of the danger to which the papal infallibility was exposed. He was the more inclined to think this warning an inspiration from above, because it was given on the day of St. Athanasius. On July 1st he published his bull; and in this he condemned the five propositions as heretical, blasphemous, and accursed. He declared that by this means he hoped to restore the peace of the Church. There was no wish that lay nearer his heart than that of seeing the bark of the Church sail onward as in tranquil waters, and arrive in the haven of salvation.[6]

But how entirely different was the result to prove from what the pontiff had desired!

The Jansenists denied that the propositions were to be found in the book of Jansenius; and much more earnestly, that they understood them in the sense in which they had been condemned.

The false position in which the Roman Court had placed itself, was now first made manifest. The French bishops were urgent in Rome for a declaration that those propositions were really condemned in the sense given to them by Jansenius. Chigi, who had meanwhile ascended the throne under the name of Alexander VII, was the less prepared to refuse this, since he had himself taken so active a part in securing their condemnation. He declared therefore, formally and in unequivocal terms, "that the five propositions were assuredly extracted from the book of Jansenius, and were condemned in the sense that he had given to them."[7]

[5] Communications of Pallavicini.

[6] In Cocquel. v. iii. 248. We discover from Pallavicini that this bull was prepared partly by Chigi, but principally by Albizi, an assessor of the Inquisition.

[7] "Quinque illas propositiones ex libro præmemorati Cornelii Jansenii, episcopi Iprensis, cui titulus Augustinus excerptas ac in sensu ab eodem Jansenio intento damnatas fuisse declaramus et definimus." "Those five propositions we declare to have been extracted from the book of the aforesaid Cornelius Jansenius, Bishop of Ypres, entitled 'Au-

But even against this attack, the Jansenists had prepared their arms. They replied that a declaration of such a character exceeded the limits of the papal power; that the infallibility of the Pope did not extend to a judgment respecting facts.

A question as to the limits of the papal authority was thus added to the dispute already pending in regard to doctrine. In their undeniable opposition to the Papal See, the Jansenists yet found means to maintain themselves in the position of good Catholics.

And now this party also was too firmly established to be set aside, dispositions were occasionally made toward effecting that purpose on the part of the crown; formularies, in accordance with the bull of condemnation, were propounded, with command that they should be subscribed by all ecclesiastics, and even by schoolmasters and nuns. The Jansenists did not hesitate to condemn the five propositions, which admitted, as we have said, of a heterodox interpretation; they merely refused to acknowledge, by an unconditional subscription, that the tenets condemned were contained in Jansenius, or that they were the doctrines of their master; no persecution could bring them to that admission. The effect of this steadfast deportment was that their numbers and credit increased from day to day, and defenders of their opinions were soon to be found even among the bishops themselves.[8]

In the year 1668 Clement IX, for the purpose of restoring peace, at least externally, was obliged to declare himself satisfied with such a subscription as even a Jansenist could offer. He contented himself with a condemnation of the five propositions in general, without insisting on their being actually taught by the Jansenists;[9] and this was in fact a material concession on

gustinus'; and we determine that they are condemned in the sense attributed to them by the said Jansenius."

[8] Letter from nineteen bishops to the Pope, December 1, 1667: "Novum et inauditum apud nos nonnulli dogma procuderunt, ecclesiæ nempe decretis, quibus quotidiana nec revelata divinitus facta deciduntur." "A new and unheard-of doctrine has been set forth among us, namely, that decrees of the Church, regarding matters of daily life and fact, and not of divine revelation only, are capable of deciding with infallible certainty and truth." And yet this is, without doubt, the received solution of the question of "right and fact" ("droit et fait").

[9] The last formulary of Alexander VII (February 15, 1665) is thus expressed: "I reject and condemn utterly, and with sincerity of purpose, the five propositions extracted from the book of Cornelius Jansenius, entitled 'Augustinus,' and in the sense intended by that author, as the Holy See has condemned them in the above-named constitutions." The more circumstantial declaration of peace, on the contrary, runs thus: "You are to resolve on condemning, sincerely, fully, and without any reserve or exception, all the opinions that the Church and the Pope have condemned, and do condemn, in the five propositions." A second article follows: "We declare

the part of the Roman Court, which not only suffered its claims to decide on matters of fact to drop, but also acquiesced in the tacit arrangement that its sentence of condemnation pronounced against Jansenius should remain without effect.

And from that time the party of St. Cyran and Jansenius increased in strength and importance, tolerated by the Curia, having friendly relations with the Court of France—the well-known Minister Pomponne was a son of Andilly—and favored by many of the great, it rose to high consideration. The full effect of its literary activity was now first perceived to act upon the nation; but with the progress of this society there grew also, and that in despite of the conclusion of peace, a most animated opposition to the Roman See. The company of Portroyal could not fail to know full well that their existence would have been brought to an early close, had the course of things proceeded in accordance with the designs of the Curia.

Section XIV.—Relation of the Papal See to the Temporal Power

An opposition which, to say the least, was no less perilous, had also arisen from a different quarter, and was continually increasing in vehemence as well as extent.

The Roman See began to assert its jurisdictional rights in the seventeenth century, I will not say with more energy and effect, but certainly with a more systematic rigor and inflexibility than had previously been known. Urban VIII was indebted for his elevation to this among other things, that he had gained distinction as the zealous defender of these rights,[1] and he now established an especial Congregation of Immunities. The cardinals forming this body were selected from such as, being young prelates, might hope to obtain advancement in proportion to the degree of zeal they exhibited in this matter. They had, for the most part, formed relations with foreign courts,

that it would be offering insult to the Church to comprehend, among those opinions condemned in the five propositions, the doctrine of St. Augustine and St. Thomas, concerning grace as efficacious of itself, necessary to all the actions of Christian piety, and to the free predestination of the elect."

[1] "Relatione de' quattro Ambasciatori, 1625: "He professes, above all things, independence of mind and an inflexibility of soul that is not to be moved by any argument concerning the interests of princes; but that on which he insists most earnestly, and toward which he bends all his efforts, is the preserving and increasing of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. This same idea was always upheld by the pontiff in his less exalted station, and was, indeed, the great cause of his exaltation." See Appendix, No. 104.

and to them he intrusted the charge of keeping vigilant watch over all encroachments of temporal princes on the spiritual jurisdiction. The attention devoted to this department was from that period much more earnest and regular; the admonitions in cases of transgression became more urgent—personal interest was combined with official zeal. In the public opinion of the court it was held as a proof of piety, to maintain a jealous guard over every point of these old traditional rights.[2]

But were the Temporal States likely to be equally well pleased with this more vigilant supervision? The feeling of religious union which had been excited in the conflict with Protestantism had again become cold. All nations were laboring to increase their internal strength: the general effort was toward political concentration and compactness; the first consequence therefore was that the Court of Rome found itself involved in rancorous dissensions with all the Catholic States.

The Spaniards themselves attempted occasionally to restrict the interference of Rome, as, for example, at Naples, where they sought to add certain assessors on the part of the civil power to the tribunal of the Inquisition! The Roman Curia had not admitted the claims of the Emperor to the patriarchate of Aquileia, without some hesitation, from the fear that he might avail himself of its possession to secure himself an increased extension of ecclesiastical independence. The Estates of the German Empire made efforts in the capitularies of election for 1654 and 1658, to limit the jurisdiction of the nuncios and the Curia by more stringent regulations. Venice was in ceaseless commotion with regard to the influence exercised by the Roman Court on the appointments to ecclesiastical offices in that country, and in relation to the pensions and arrogant proceedings of the papal kinsmen *(Nepoten)*. At one time Genoa would find occasion to recall her ambassador from the Court of Rome; at another, the

[2] Joh. Bapt. de Luca, S. S. E. Cardinalis, "Relatio curiæ Romanæ, 1683." Disc. xvii. p. 109: "Etiam apud bonos et zelantes ecclesiasticos remanet quæstio, an hujus congregationis erectio ecclesiasticæ immunitati et jurisdictioni proficua vel præjudicialis fuerit, potissime quia bonus quidem sed forte indiscretus vel asper zelus aliquorum, qui circa initia eam regebant, aliqua produxit inconvenientia præjudicialia, atque asperitatis vel nimium exactæ et exorbitantis defensionis opinionem impressit apud seculares." "There remains a question, even with good and zealous Catholics, whether the erection of this congregation has been profitable or injurious to ecclesiastical immunities and jurisdiction, principally because the well-meant but perhaps indiscreet or harsh zeal of some who at first directed it, may have produced injurious inconvenience, and impressed upon the laity an opinion of too much asperity, and too exacting and exorbitant a defence of spiritual claims." A very important confession from a cardinal.

same step was taken by Savoy; but the most vigorous opposition of all was that presented by the Church of France, as might, indeed, have been expected from the principles involved in its restoration.[3] The nuncios gave no truce to the complaints they considered it necessary to make, chiefly in regard to the restrictions imposed on the spiritual jurisdiction. Before they had taken a single step, they say, appeals were entered against them. Questions concerning marriages were removed from their control, under the pretext that some abduction was involved; they were excluded from all jurisdiction in criminal trials, and on some occasions ecclesiastics had been executed without having been previously degraded. Further, that the King sent forth edicts concerning heresy and simony, without consideration for them, and that the tenths required from the clergy had gradually become a permanent impost. The more observing and apprehensive adherents of the Curia already beheld in these encroachments the precursors of a schism.

The peculiar relations consequent on these disputes were necessarily connected with other circumstances, and more particularly with the political dispositions exhibited by the Court of Rome.

From deference to Spain, neither Innocent nor Alexander had ventured to acknowledge Portugal, which had separated itself from that monarchy; nor had they granted canonical institution to the bishops appointed in that country. Almost the whole legitimate episcopacy of Portugal died out; ecclesiastical property had fallen to a great extent into the hands of military officers. Their previous habit of submissiveness to Rome was abandoned by king, clergy, and laity.

But in addition to this, the Popes immediately succeeding Urban VIII again inclined to the party of Spain and Austria.

This can scarcely be matter of surprise, since the predominant power of France so early displayed a character menacing to the general freedom of Europe; but these Popes were, moreover, indebted to Spanish influence for their elevation, and were both personal opponents of Mazarin.[4] In the case of Alexander, this

[3] "Relatione della nuntiatura di Mons. Scotti, 1641, 5 Aprile." He has a distinct section "Concerning the impediments offered to the ordinary nuntiatura. It may be truly said that the King's judges take the whole ecclesiastical jurisdiction of France out of the hands of the nuncios."

[4] Deone, October, 1644: "It is known to a certainty that the exclusion of Panfilio by the French cardinals in the conclave was not in compliance with the

animosity displayed itself with constantly increasing force; he could not forgive the cardinal for having allied himself with Cromwell, nor for having been long induced, by motives simply personal, to impede the conclusion of peace with Spain.

But from this state of things it further resulted that the opposition of France to the Roman See became even more and more deeply rooted, and from time to time evinced its inveteracy in violent outbursts. How severely was Alexander made to feel the discomforts arising from these causes!

A dispute which had broken forth between the followers of the French ambassador Créquy and the Corsican city guard, in which Créquy was at last personally insulted, furnished the King with an opportunity for interfering in the dissensions of the Roman See with the houses of Este and Farnese, and at length afforded a pretext for marching troops directly upon Italy. The unfortunate pontiff sought to aid himself by means of a secret protest; but in the eyes of the world he was compelled to concede all that the King demanded in the Treaty of Pisa. The love of the popes for inscriptions in their own honor is well known; no stone can be placed in a wall, according to the popular remark, but they will have their names inscribed on it. Yet Alexander was compelled to endure the erection of a pyramid in his own capital—nay, in one of its most frequented places, on which was an inscription intended to perpetuate his own humiliation.

This act was of itself sufficient to cause a deep injury to the papal authority.

But toward the year 1660 the consideration of the papacy had already fallen again into decline, from other causes. At the Peace of Vervins the Papal See was still sufficiently influential to take the first steps on the occasion; the Curia had, indeed, negotiated and brought it to a conclusion. Even at that of Westphalia the Pope was present by his ambassadors, but was already compelled to protest against the conditions agreed on. At the Peace of the Pyrenees, however, he did not even take an ostensible share; his emissaries were not invited to the conference: he was scarcely even referred to in the course of

royal wish, nor at the instance of Cardinal Antonio, but was the work of Cardinal Mazarin, the rival and enemy of Cardinal Panzirolo, who foresaw that the latter was likely to hold an important position in that pontificate," as was in fact the case.

the proceedings,[5] nay, treaties of peace were soon afterward concluded, in which papal fiefs were brought into question, and disposed of without so much as requiring the consent of the pontiff.

Section XV.—Transition of the Later Periods of the Papacy

It must ever be considered a remarkable fact, and one that affords us an insight into the general course of human affairs, that the papacy, at the moment of failure in the accomplishment of its plans for the recovery of supreme dominion over all nations, began also to exhibit symptoms of internal decline.

During the period of progress to which our attention has been directed, the restoration was fully established; at that time the tenets of the Church had been strengthened, ecclesiastical privileges more powerfully centralized—alliances had been formed with temporal monarchs—the ancient orders had been revived and new ones founded—the political energies of the Papal States had been consolidated and converted into an instrument of ecclesiastical activity—the Curia had been reformed, both intellectually and morally, and all was directed to the one purpose of restoring the papal power and the Catholic faith.

This, as we have seen, was not a new creation, it was a reanimation brought about by the force of new ideas, which, annihilating certain abuses, carried forward by its own fresh impulses, only the existing elements of life.

But it is clearly obvious that a renovation of this kind is more liable to experience a decline of the animating principle than a perfectly new and unworn creation.

The first impediment opposed to the Catholic restoration was presented by France. The papal authority could not penetrate into that country by the beaten track; it was condemned to behold a Church, which, though Catholic, was not subjected to the rule that Rome was seeking to enforce, arise into form and consistency, and was further compelled to resolve on accepting a compromise with that Church.

Other events of similar character also took place; internal dissensions convulsed the papacy—controversies respecting the

[5] Galeazzo Gualdo, "Priorato della pace conclusa fra le due corone, 1664," has, p. 120, "Observations on the causes by which the sovereigns were induced to conclude a peace without the intervention of the Pope." It is manifest that the unfriendly feeling existent between the Pope and Cardinal Mazarin was a well-known fact at the time.

most essential points of doctrine, and touching the relation of the spiritual to the temporal authority. In the Curia, nepotism assumed its most dangerous form; the financial resources, instead of being wholly applied to their legitimate purposes, having been diverted for the most part to the aggrandizement of individual families.

There was nevertheless one grand and general aim toward which the Papal See continually pressed forward with extraordinary good-fortune. In favor of this supreme object, all contradictions were reconciled; disputes concerning single points of doctrine, and questions of conflicting spiritual and temporal claims, were silenced: the discords of sovereign powers were composed, the progress of common enterprises was sustained; the Curia was the guide and centre of the whole Catholic world, and the work of conversion proceeded in the most imposing manner.

But we have seen how it happened that the end was yet not attained, but that, on the contrary, the aspiring papacy was thrown back upon itself by internal discords, and by opposition from without.

Thenceforward, all the relations of the State, as well as its social development, assumed a different aspect.

To the spirit of conquest and acquisition that would devote itself to the attainment of a great object, there must be associated an earnest devotedness; with the narrowness of self-seeking, it is incompatible. But the desire for enjoyment—the love of gain—had invaded the Curia; that body had resolved itself into a company of annuitants, conceiving themselves entitled to the revenues of the State, and to all that could be extracted from the administration of the Church. This right they abused in a manner the most ruinous, yet clung to it at the same time with a zeal and tenacity that could not have been exceeded had the whole existence of the faith been bound up with it.

But it was precisely on this account that an implacable opposition to the Curia arose, at one and the same time, from many different quarters.

A doctrine had been propounded, which, proceeding from new perceptions of the more profound truths of religion, was condemned and persecuted by the Roman Court, but was not to be suppressed by the utmost exertion of its power. The sev-

eral States assumed a position of independence, and freed themselves from all subservience to the papal policy; in their domestic affairs they claimed a right of self-government, by which the influence of the Curia was more and more closely restricted, even as regarded ecclesiastical matters.

It is on these two important points that the interest of the papal history henceforth depends.

Periods succeed, in which, far from evincing any spontaneous activity, the papacy was rather occupied with the sole thought of how it should best defend itself from the various antagonists that, now assailing it on the one side, and now on the other, employed its every moment and all its cares.

It is by force and energy of action that the attention of mankind is usually attracted, and events are understood only by the consideration of their efficient causes: to describe the more recent epochs of the papacy will therefore not come within the purpose of this work; the spectacle they present is nevertheless highly remarkable, and since we commenced with a review of the ages preceding those that form our immediate subject, so we cannot well close without making an attempt, though but by a few slight sketches, to place the later periods before the eyes of the reader.

Our consideration is first engaged by the attack from the side of the Temporal States. This is most immediately connected with the division of the Catholic world into two adverse portions —the Austrian and French parties, which the Pope had no longer power either to overrule or to pacify. The political position assumed by Rome determined the degree of spiritual devotion accorded to her. We have already marked the mode in which this state of things began; we will now seek to make ourselves acquainted with its further progress.

Section XVI.—Louis XIV and Innocent XI

Louis XIV was without doubt much attached to the Catholic faith, yet he found it insufferable that the Roman See should pursue a policy not only independent of, but also frequently in direct opposition to, his own.

As Innocent X and Alexander VII had allied themselves to the cause of Spain (as indeed did the court and dependents of

Clement IX, if not that pontiff himself), so was now Clement X, with his nephew Pauluzzi Altieri (from 1670 to 1676) disposed in like manner to the side of the Spaniards.[1] Louis XIV avenged himself for this by perpetual encroachments on the spiritual authority.

He confiscated ecclesiastical property by acts of arbitrary power, was continually oppressing one or other of the monastic orders, and arrogated to himself the right of loading church benefices with military pensions. That claim which had become so notorious under the name of *regale*—the right, namely, of enjoying the revenues of all vacant bishoprics, and of appointing to all their dependent benefices, Louis XIV sought to extend over provinces where it had never previously been asserted. He further inflicted the most severe injury on the holders of Roman annuities, by subjecting all funds remitted to the Curia to a closely restrictive supervision.[2]

This mode of proceeding he continued under the pontificate of Innocent XI,[3] who pursued on the whole a line of policy similar to that of his predecessor; but from that pontiff Louis encountered resistance.

Innocent XI, of the house of Odescalchi, of Como, had entered Rome in his twenty-fifth year, furnished only with his sword and pistols, for the purpose of employing himself in some secular office, or perhaps of devoting himself to the military service of Naples. By the advice of a cardinal, who looked more deeply into his character than he had himself been able to do, he was induced to change this purpose for the career of the Curia. He conducted himself in that employment with so earnest a zeal, and gradually obtained so high a reputation for ability and uprightness of purpose, that the people shouted forth his name beneath the porticos of St. Peter during the sitting of the conclave, and the feeling of satisfaction was very general when he proceeded from that assembly adorned with the tiara: this took place on September 21, 1676.

The manners of this pontiff were remarkable for humility;

[1] Morosini, "Relatione di Francia, 1671": "Every action of Cardinal Altieri is rendered suspicious to the most Christian King by the known partiality of his eminence to the Catholic crown. The present pontiff is looked upon as the mere representative of the papal authority, which resides really in the will of his nephew."

[2] "Instruttione per Mons. Arcivescovo di Patrasso, 1674:" "When this fact became known to the court, it excited universal astonishment and scandal; so when it became known to our lord the pontiff, it gave his holiness extreme affliction."

[3] See Appendix, No. 146.

even when calling for his servants, he would do so under the condition that they were at leisure to attend him, and his confessor declared that he had never discovered in him any one thing that could estrange the soul from God. He was most gentle and placid in disposition; but that same conscientiousness by which his private life was governed, now impelled him to the fulfilment of his official duties without any regard to mere expedience.

How earnestly did he at once attack the abuses of government, more particularly those of the financial administration. The expenditure had risen to 2,578,106 sc. 91 baj. annually, while the receipts, including the *dataria* and *spolia*, amounted to no more than 2,408,500 sc. 71 baj. So considerable a deficiency, 170,000 yearly, threatened to occasion a public bankruptcy;[4] and that matters did not proceed to this extremity, must without doubt be attributed to the meritorious conduct of Innocent XI. By him the practice of nepotism was at length altogether abolished; he declared that he loved his nephew Don Livio, whose diffident virtues well deserved his affection, but for that very reason he would not have him in the palace. All those offices and revenues which had heretofore been conferred on the papal kinsmen he caused at once to be applied to the public service, and abolished many other places of which the existence was rather a burden than benefit to the public. Innumerable abuses and exemptions also were set aside by this pontiff; and at the first moment when the state of the money market rendered a change practicable, he reduced the *monti* without hesitation from four to three per cent.[5] After the lapse of some years, Innocent did, in fact, succeed in again raising the revenues to a no inconsiderable sum above the expenditure.

And with similar firmness of resolution, the Pope now opposed the attacks of Louis XIV.

Certain bishops of Jansenist opinions, who had resisted the above-named extension of the *regale*, were subjected to vexations and oppressions by the court on that account. The Bishop of Pamiers was for some time reduced to live on alms. They

[4] "Stato della camera nel presente pontificato di Innocenzo XI.," MS., Bibl. Alb. See Appendix, No. 149.

[5] In a manuscript of the year 1743, containing 736 pages, "Erettione et aggionte de' monti camerali," we find the decrees and briefs relating to this matter. In a brief of 1684, to the treasurer Negroni, Pope Innocent first declares his determination "to proceed toward the liberation of the treasury from the interest of four per cent., . . . which in these times is too oppressive."

appealed to the pontiff, and Innocent adopted their cause without delay.[6]

Once, and a second time, he admonished the King to lend no ear to flatterers, and to refrain from laying hands on the immunities of the Church, lest he should cause the fountains of divine grace to be dried up from his kingdom. Receiving no reply, he repeated his admonitions for the third time, but he now added that he would write no more, nor yet content himself with simple admonitions, but would employ every resource of that power which God had intrusted to his hands. In this he would suffer no danger, no storm, to appall him; he beheld his glory in the cross of Christ.[7]

It has always been the maxim of the French Court that the papal power is to be restricted by means of the French clergy, and that the clergy, on the other hand, are to be kept in due limits by means of the papal power. But never did a prince hold his clergy in more absolute command than Louis XIV. A spirit of submission without parallel is evinced in the addresses presented to him by that body on solemn occasions. "We hardly dare venture," says one of them,[8] "to make requests, from the apprehension lest we should set bounds to your Majesty's zeal for religion. The melancholy privilege of stating our grievances is now changed into a sweet necessity for expressing the praises of our benefactor." The Prince of Condé declared it to be his opinion that if it pleased the King to go over to the Protestant Church, the clergy would be the first to follow him.

And certainly the clergy of France did support their King without scruple against the Pope. The declarations they published were from year to year increasingly decisive in favor of the royal authority. At length there assembled the convocation of 1682. "It was summoned and dissolved," remarks a Venetian ambassador, "at the convenience of the King's Ministers, and was guided by their suggestions.[9] The four articles drawn

[6] Racine, "Histoire ecclésiastique," x. p. 328.

[7] Brief of December 27, 1679.

[8] "Remonstrance du clergé de France (assemblée à St. Germain en Laye en l'année 1680), faite au roi le 10. juillet par l'illme. et révme. J. Bapt. Adheimar de Monteil de Grignan."—"Mém. du clergé," tom. xiv. p. 787.

[9] Foscarini, "Relatione di Francia, 1648": "With a very similar dependence, the ecclesiastical order adheres to the maxims and interests of the court, as is obvious by the proceedings of the Assembly in regard to the extension of the 'regale.' This convocation was called together, directed, and dissolved at the convenience and suggestion of the Ministers of State. Since the members composing the Assembly look to the King for their promotion and fortune, and are constantly influenced by new hopes and aspirations, so they display more complacency to the sovereign than do the laity themselves."

up by this assembly have from that time been regarded as the manifesto of the Gallican immunities. The first three repeat assertions of principles laid down in earlier times; as, for example, the independence of the secular power, as regarded the spiritual authority; the superiority of councils over the Pope; and the inviolable character of the Gallican usages. But the fourth is more particularly remarkable, since it imposes new limits even to the spiritual authority of the pontiff. "Even in questions of faith, the decision of the Pope is not incapable of amendment, so long as it is without the assent of the Church." We see that the temporal power of the kingdom received support from the spiritual authority, which was in its turn upheld by the secular arm. The King is declared free from the interference of the Pope's temporal authority; the clergy are exempted from submission to the unlimited exercise of his spiritual power. It was the opinion of contemporaries, that although France might remain within the pale of the Catholic Church, it yet stood on the threshold, in readiness for stepping beyond it. The King exalted the propositions above named into a kind of "Articles of Faith," a symbolical book. All schools were to be regulated in conformity with these precepts; and no man could attain to a degree, either in the juridical or theological faculties who did not swear to maintain them.

But the Pope also was still possessed of a weapon. The authors of this declaration—the members of this assembly—were promoted and preferred by the King before all other candidates for episcopal offices; but Innocent refused to grant them spiritual institution. They might enjoy the revenues of those sees, but ordination they did not receive; nor could they venture to exercise one spiritual act of the episcopate.

These complications were still further perplexed by the fact that Louis XIV at that moment resolved on that relentless extirpation of the Huguenots, but too well known, and to which he proceeded chiefly for the purpose of proving his own perfect orthodoxy. He believed himself to be rendering a great service to the Church. It has indeed been also affirmed that Innocent XI[10] was aware of his purpose and had approved it, but this was not the fact. The Roman Court would not now hear of

[10] Bonamici, "Vita Innocentii," in Lebret, Magazin viii. p. 98; also Lebret's note, "Also ist es nicht zu widersprechen," etc., "Thus, it is not to be denied," etc.

conversions effected by armed apostles. "It was not of such methods that Christ availed himself: men must be led to the temple, not dragged into it." [1]

New dissensions continually arose. In the year 1687, the French ambassador entered Rome with so imposing a retinue, certain squadrons of cavalry forming part of it, that the right of asylum, which the ambassadors claimed at that time, not only for their palaces, but also for the adjacent streets, could by no means have been easily disputed with him, although the popes had solemnly abolished the usage. With an armed force the ambassador braved the pontiff in his own capital. "They come with horses and chariots," said Innocent, "but we will walk in the name of the Lord." He pronounced the censures of the Church on the ambassador; and the Church of St. Louis, in which the latter had attended a solemn high mass, was laid under interdict.[2]

The King also then proceeded to extreme measures. He appealed to a General Council, took possession of Avignon, and caused the nuncio to be shut up in St. Olon: it was even believed that he had formed the design of creating for Harlai, Archbishop of Paris, who, if he had not suggested these proceedings, had approved them, the appointment of patriarch of France. So far had matters proceeded: the French ambassador in Rome excommunicated; the papal nuncio in France detained by force; thirty-five French bishops deprived of canonical institution; a territory of the Holy See occupied by the King: it was, in fact, the actual breaking out of schism; yet did Pope Innocent refuse to yield a single step.

If we ask to what he trusted for support on this occasion, we perceive that it was not to the effect of the ecclesiastical censures in France, nor to the influence of his apostolic dignity, but rather, and above all, to that universal resistance which had been aroused in Europe against those enterprises of Louis

[1] Venier, "Relatione di Francia, 1639": "In regard to the work of conversion attempted by the King, as relating to the Huguenots, his Majesty was displeased at not receiving the praises he expected from the Pope; but the Pope took it ill that this should have been undertaken without his consent, and conducted with the severities so well known, declaring that missions of armed apostles were not advisable; that this new method was not the best, since Christ had not used such for the conversion of the world; and besides, the time seemed unsuited for winning over heretics, when the disputes with the Pope himself were more than ever violently pursued."

[2] "Legatio Marchionis Lavardini Romam ejusque cum Romano pontifice dissidium, 1697," a refutation of Lavardin, which investigates this affair with much calmness and judgment: it belongs to the series of excellent political papers called forth by the pretensions of Louis XIV in Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, and Italy.

XIV that were menacing the existence of its liberties. To this general opposition the Pope now also attached himself.

He supported Austria in her Turkish war to the best of his ability,[3] and the successful issue of that conflict placed the whole party, and with it the pontiff himself, in an altered position.

It would, without doubt, be difficult to prove that Innocent was in direct alliance, as has been asserted, with William III, and had a personal knowledge of his designs upon England;[4] but it may be affirmed, with the utmost confidence, that his Minister was aware of them. The pontiff was informed merely that the Prince of Orange would take the command on the Rhine, and would defend the rights of the empire as well as those of the Church against Louis XIV. Toward that purpose he engaged to contribute considerable subsidies. But so early as the end of the year 1687 the Pope's Secretary of State, Count Cassoni, had positive information that the plan of the malcontent English was to dethrone King James and transfer the crown to the Princess of Orange. But the count was not faithfully served: the French had found a traitor among his household. From the papers which this man had the opportunity of examining in his master's most secret cabinet, the Courts of France and England received the first intelligence of these plans. It was a strange complication! At the Court of Rome were combined the threads of that alliance which had for its aim and result the liberation of Protestantism from the last great danger by which it was threatened in Western Europe, and the acquisition of the English throne by that confession forever.[5] Admitting that Innocent XI was not, as we have said, acquainted with the entire

[3] "Relatione di Roma di Giov. Lando, 1691." The subsidies are here computed at 2,000,000 scudi. See Appendix, No. 151.

[4] This assertion is also made in the "Mémoires sur le règne de Frédéric I., roi de Prusse, par le comte de Dohna," p. 78. The letters are said to have passed through the hands of Queen Christina to his father, "who caused them to be forwarded by the county of Lippe, whence one Paget took them to The Hague"; but notwithstanding the details of this account, it must still be considered doubtful, when it is remembered that, during the whole of the period in question, Queen Christina was at variance with the Pope. From all the relations to be gathered from her own correspondence, I consider it impossible that the Pope should have intrusted such a secret to her, of whom he one day said, shrugging his shoulders, "She is but a woman." There may very probably have been secret Roman despatches.

[5] A document which is decisive in this affair has yet been but little remarked; it is the "Lettre écrite par M. le Cl. d'Etrées, ambassadeur extraord. de Louis XIV." tom. vi. p. 497. This shows how early James II was informed on the subject. Norfolk, who was then in Rome incognito, instantly despatched a courier to him. Mackintosh (History of the Revolution, ii. 157) believes that James was aware of the prince's views on England early in May, 1688; but even on March 10th or 11th he remarked to the papal nuncio, "that the prince's chief aim was England."—"Lettera di Mons. d'Adda," ibid. p. 346. His misfortune was that he did not confide in himself.

purpose in contemplation, it is yet undeniable that he allied himself with an opposition arising from Protestant impulses, and sustained for the most part by Protestant resources. His resistance to the appointment of a candidate favored by France to the archbishopric of Cologne, was set on foot in the interests of that opposition, and contributed largely to the breaking out of the war.

The consequences of this war turned out nevertheless, as regarded France, to be exceedingly favorable for the papal principle. If the Pope had promoted the interests of Protestantism by his policy, the Protestants on their side, by maintaining the balance of Europe against the "exorbitant power," also contributed to compel the latter into compliance with the spiritual claims of the papacy.

It is true that when this result ensued, Innocent XI was no longer in existence; but the first French ambassador who appeared in Rome after his death (August 10, 1689) renounced the right of asylum: the deportment of the King was altered; he restored Avignon, and entered into negotiations.

And that was all the more needful, since the new Pope, Alexander VIII, however widely he may have departed from the austere example of his predecessor in other respects,[6] adhered firmly to his principles as regarded the spiritual claims of the Church. Alexander proclaimed anew that the decrees of 1682[7] were vain and invalid, null and void, having no power to bind even when enforced by an oath. "Day and night," he declares that, he thought of them "with bitterness of heart, lifting his eyes to heaven with tears and sighs."

After the early death of Alexander VIII the French made all possible efforts to secure the choice of a pontiff disposed to measures of peace and conciliation;[8] a purpose that was indeed effected by the elevation of Antonio Pignatelli, who assumed the tiara with the name of Innocent XII on July 12, 1691.

[6] See Appendix, No. 152, "Confession of Pope Alexander VIII."

[7] "In dictis comitiis anni 1682, tam circa extensionem juris regaliæ quam circa declarationem de potestate ecclesiastica actorum ac etiam omnium et singulorum mandatorum, arrestorum, confirmationum, declarationum, epistolarum, edictorum, decretorum quavis auctoritate sive ecclesiastica sive etiam laicali editorum, necnon aliorum quomodolibet præjudicialium præfatorum in regno supradicto quandocunque et a quibusvis et ex quacunque causa et quovis modo factorum et gestorum ac inde secutorum quorumcunque tenores." August 4, 1690. Cocquel. ix. p. 38.

[8] Domenico Contarini, "Relatione di Roma," 1696: "The French gave their assistance to the election of this Pope, because they had need of a pontiff sufficiently placable and little-minded to be led into the modification of that bull which Alexander VIII had issued in his dying moments, as to the propositions of the French clergy in the Assembly of 1682." See Appendix, No. 153.

But this Pope was not by any means more inclined to compromise the dignity of the Papal See than his predecessors had been, neither did there exist any pressing motive for his doing so, since Louis XIV was supplied with the most serious and perilous occupation by the arms of the allies.

The negotiations continued for two years. Innocent more than once rejected the formulas proposed to him by the clergy of France, and they were, in fact, compelled at length to declare that all measures discussed and resolved on in the Assembly of 1682 should be considered as not having been discussed or resolved on: "casting ourselves at the feet of your holiness, we profess our unspeakable grief for what has been done." [9] It was not until they had made this unreserved recantation that Innocent accorded them canonical institution.

Under these conditions only was peace restored. Louis XIV wrote to the Pope that he retracted his edict relating to the four articles. Thus we perceive that the Roman See once more maintained its prerogatives, even though opposed by the most powerful of monarchs.

But was it not a grievous disadvantage that assertions of so decidedly hostile a character should, for a certain time, have been sanctioned by the laws and government? The offensive articles had been proclaimed with loud and ostentatious publicity, as decrees of the empire; but it was privately, and in the most silent manner, that they were revoked; in the form of letters, that is, which were, moreover, the act of a few persons only, individuals who were just then in particular need of favor from the Roman Court. Louis XIV suffered these forms to proceed, but no one ventured to believe that he really recalled the four articles, although the affair was sometimes regarded in that light in Rome. He would not endure at a much later period that the Roman Court should refuse institution to the clergy

[9] It has been affirmed, and among others Petitot ("Notice sur Portroyal," p. 249) is of opinion that this formula was invented by the Jansenists "for the purpose of throwing ridicule on the new bishops"; but, in the first place, no other formula has ever been brought forward by the opposite party; and secondly, the above has been always acknowledged, at least indirectly, by the Roman writers—by Novaes, for example, "Storia de' Pontefici," tom. xi. p. 117; and finally, it was universally considered genuine at the time, and received no contradiction even from the French Court. Domenico Contarini says, "a short time after the French took in hand the affairs of the Church of France, proposing various forms of declaration, a thing talked of for two years, and eventually concluded and adjusted by that letter, written by the bishops to the Pope, and which has been circulated in all quarters." This letter is the very formula in question; no other has ever been known. Daunou also, "Essai historique sur la puissance temporelle des papes," ii. p. 196, communicates this letter as authentic.

who adhered to the four articles. He affirmed that he had only removed the obligation to teach them, but that there would be manifest injustice in preventing those who desired it from acknowledging those propositions.[10] There is, moreover, another observation to be made. It was in no wise by any power of its own that the Court of Rome had maintained its ground; that consequence resulted solely from a great political combination; it occurred only because France had been forced on all hands to retire within closer limits. What then was to be expected, supposing these relations altered, and if the time should come when there was no longer any power remaining, who would protect the Roman See from its aggressors?

Section XVII.—The Spanish Succession

The fact that the Spanish line of the house of Austria became extinct, was also an event of the utmost importance to the papacy.

To the condition of rivalry constantly maintained between France and the Spanish monarchy, and by which the character of the European policy was chiefly determined, the papacy also was finally indebted for the security of its freedom and independence of action for a century and a half; the principles adopted by the Spaniards had preserved the Ecclesiastical States in peace. Whatever might be the general result, there was always danger to be apprehended when an order of things to which all the usages of political existence were habitually referred, should be reduced to a state of uncertainty.

But the peril become much more urgent from the fact that disputes arose with regard to the succession, which threatened to burst forth in a general war; a war, moreover, of which Italy

[10] The words of the King in his letter to Innocent XII, dated Versailles, September 14, 1693, are as follows: "I have given the orders needful to the effect that those things should not have force which were contained in my edict of March 22, 1682, relating to the declaration of the clergy of France, and to which I was compelled by past events, but that it should cease to be observed." In a letter of July 7, 1713, that we find in Artaud, "Histoire du Pape Pie VII." 1836, tom. ii. p. 16, are the following words: "It has been falsely pretended to him (Clement XI) that I have dissented from the engagement taken by the letter which I wrote to his predecessor; for I have not compelled any man to maintain the propositions of the clergy of France against his wish; but I could not justly prevent my subjects from uttering and maintaining their opinions on a subject regarding which they are at liberty to adopt either one side or the other." It is obvious, then, that Louis XIV was not so devoted to Rome, even in his last years, as is frequently assumed. He says, decidedly, "I cannot admit any compromise."

must be the principal battle-ground. Even the Pope would with difficulty secure himself from the necessity of declaring for one of the parties, although he could not hope to contribute anything essential toward the success of that he should espouse.

I find assertions [1] to the effect that Innocent XII, who had become reconciled to France, had recommended Charles II of Spain to appoint the French prince as his successor, and that the provisions of the will, on which so much depended, had been materially influenced by this advice of the holy father.

It is, at all events, certain that the policy adverse to France, which had been almost invariably pursued by the Roman See from the death of Urban VIII, was now relinquished. That the monarchy should devolve without partition, on a prince belonging to a house which was at that time so pre-eminently Catholic, may perhaps have been regarded as the less decided change, the less important evil. Clement XI (Gianfrancesco Albani, elected November 16, 1700) openly approved the determination of Louis XIV to accept the succession. He sent a letter of congratulation to Philip V, and granted him subsidies raised on ecclesiastical property, precisely as if no doubt prevailed with regard to his rights,[2] Clement XI might be considered the very creation and true representative of the Court of Rome, which he had never quitted. The affability of his manners, his literary talents, and irreproachable life had secured him universal approbation and popularity.[3] He had found means to ingratiate himself with the three Popes, his successors, however diversified their characters, and even to make himself needful to them, and had risen to eminence by practical and useful, but never obtrusive or unaccommodating, talents. If, as he once observed, he had known to give good advice as cardinal, but that as Pope he knew not how to guide himself, this may imply that he felt himself better qualified to seize and carry for-

[1] Morosini, "Relatione di Roma, 1707": "I will not venture to say whether the Pope had hand or part in the will of Charles II nor is it easy to ascertain the truth. I will but adduce two facts. The one is, that this secret was made known in a printed manifesto in Rome, during the first months of my entry on the embassy, and while war was proceeding on both sides as well with arms as with papers. The other is that the Pope does not cease from bestowing public eulogies on the most Christian King for having declined the partition of the monarchy, and accepted it entire for his grandson." See Appendix, No. 155.

[2] Buder, "Leben und Thaten Clemens XI.," tom. i. p. 148.

[3] Erizzo, "Relatione di Roma, 1702": "He appeared in fact to be the very delight of Rome, nor was there a royal Minister or national ambassador in the court who did not believe Cardinal Albani altogether his own." "So well," he adds afterward, "did he know how to feign different affctions, and to vary his language to suit all comers."

ward an impulse already communicated, than to originate and give effect to an independent determination. As an example of this, it may be remarked that in taking up the jurisdictional question with renewed vigor immediately after his accession, he did no more than follow in the path previously traced by public opinion, and by the interests of the Curia. In like manner he gave his trust to the fortune and power of the "great king," and had no doubt but that Louis XIV would ultimately obtain the victory. The success of the French arms in the expedition undertaken against Vienna by Germany and Italy in the year 1703, and which seemed likely to bring all to a conclusion, occasioned the Pope so much satisfaction, that the Venetian ambassador assures us he found it impossible to conceal his gladness.[4]

But at that very moment fortune took a sudden turn. The German and English antagonists of Louis, with whom Innocent XI had been allied, but from whose party Clement XI had gradually estranged his interests, achieved unprecedented victories: the imperial troops, conjoined with those of Prussia, poured down upon Italy. Toward a pontiff whose proceedings had been so equivocal, they were but little disposed to show forbearance, and the old pretensions of the empire, which had never been referred to since the times of Charles V, were now again renewed.

We do not here purpose to enter into all the bitter contentions in which Clement XI became involved.[5] The imperialists at length appointed a fixed term within which he must decide on their proposals for peace: among these proposals the most important condition was his acknowledgment of the Austrian pretender to the crown of Spain. Vainly did the pontiff look around him for assistance. He waited till the day appointed (January 15, 1709), after the lapse of which, without a final decision, the imperialists had threatened hostile invasion of his States and capital; nay, it was not till the last hour of that day —eleven in the evening—that he at length affixed his signature. Clement had previously congratulated Philip V; he now saw

[4] See Appendix, No. 154.

[5] For example, in regard to the troops quartered in Parma and Placentia, where the clergy were compelled to pay their contingent of military contributions. "Accord avec les députés du duc et de la ville de Plaisance," December 14, 1706, art. 9, "that to alleviate the burdens of the State, all private persons, even though highly privileged, should contribute to the above sum." To this the Pope would not submit, and the imperial claims were thereupon renewed with redoubled violence.—"Contre déclaration de l'empéreur," in Lamberty, v. 85.

himself compelled to acknowledge his rival Charles III as Catholic King.[6]

By this event a severe blow was inflicted, not only on the authority of the papacy as supreme arbiter, but also on the political freedom and independence of the Apostolic See; the latter was, indeed, virtually despoiled of all liberty. The French ambassador left Rome, declaring that it was no longer the seat of the Church.[7]

The position of European affairs in general had indeed assumed a new aspect. It was at length by Protestant England that the ultimate destination of the Spanish and Catholic monarchy was decided. In this state of things what influence could the Pope exercise over the great events of the period?[8]

By the Peace of Utrecht, countries which the pontiff regarded as his fiefs, such as Sicily and Sardinia, were consigned to new sovereigns without his advice or consent being even requested.[9] In the place of that infallible decision hitherto awaited from the supreme spiritual pastor, there now ruled the convenience and interests of the great powers.

Misfortunes were, indeed, occasioned by these arrangements, of which the effect was more immediately and peculiarly felt by the Roman See.

One of the most prominent objects of the Roman policy had ever been the acquirement and maintenance of influence over the remaining States of Italy: the Curia sought, indeed, to exercise an indirect sovereignty over them all whenever it was possible to do so.

But at this time, not only had German Austria established herself in Italy, while in a state of almost open warfare with the Pope, but even the Duke of Savoy had attained to royal power and a large extension of territory, in defiance of the papal opposition.

Other affairs were regulated in a similar spirit.

For the better arrangement of disputes between the house of Bourbon and that of Austria, the European powers acceded to the wish of the Spanish Queen, that Parma and Placentia should

[6] This, which was at first kept secret, was made known by a letter of the Austrian ambassador to the Duke of Marlborough.

[7] "Lettre du maréchal Thessé au pape, 12 juillet, 1709."

[8] See Appendix, Nos. 154 and 155.

[9] How suspicious the conduct of Savoy was, we learn from Lafitau, "Vie de Clément XI.," tom. ii. p. 78.

be allotted to one of her sons. The feudal sovereignty of the pontiffs over that duchy had not been called in question during two centuries—each successive prince had received investiture and had paid tribute; but now that this right was assuming a new importance, and that the male line of the house of Farnese was manifestly on the point of becoming extinct, no further consideration was given to the claims of the papacy. The Emperor bestowed the country as a fief on an infant of Spain, and nothing remained to the Pope but to issue protests, to which no one paid the slightest attention.[10]

But the peace between the two houses was only of momentary duration. In the year 1733 the Bourbons renewed their pretensions to Naples, which was at that time in the hands of Austria. The Spanish ambassador was also instructed to offer the palfrey and payment of tribute to the pontiff. Clement XII would now willingly have suffered matters to remain as they were: he appointed a committee of cardinals, who decided in favor of the imperial claims; but the fortune of war, on this occasion also, was adverse to the papal decision—the Spanish arms obtained the victory. In a short time, Clement was compelled to grant the investiture of Naples and Sicily to that same infant whom he had seen with so much reluctance to enter on the possession of Parma.

It is true that the ultimate consequence of all these struggles was not materially different from that originally contemplated by the Court of Rome. The house of Bourbon extended its rule over Spain and a great part of Italy; but under circumstances how entirely different had all this occurred from those at first designed and hoped for by the Holy See!

The word by which that great contest was decided at the most critical moment had proceeded from England. It was in open contradiction to the Papal See that the Bourbons had forced their way into Italy. The separation of the provinces, which Rome had decided to avoid, was, nevertheless, accomplished, and had filled Italy and the States of the Church with the ceaseless shock of hostile weapons. The secular authority of the Apostolic See was by this means annihilated even in its most immediate vicinity.[1]

[10] "Protestatio nomine Sedis Apostolicæ emissa in conventu Cameracensi in Rousset, Supplément au corps diplomat. de Dumont," iii. ii. p. 173.

[1] See Appendix, Nos. 155, 156, and 157.

An important effect could not fail to be produced by these changes on the controversies touching the ecclesiastical rights of Rome, which were so closely connected with her political relations.

How severely had Clement XI been already made to feel this! More than once was his nuncio sent out of Naples, and in Sicily, on one occasion, the whole of the clergy whose views were favorable to Rome were seized in a body and sent into the States of the Church.[2] Throughout the Italian sovereignties an intention was made manifest to confine the gift of ecclesiastical dignities exclusively to natives of the several States.[3] Even in Spain the Nuntiatura was closed;[4] and Clement XI at one time believed that he should be compelled to summon Alberoni, the most influential of the Spanish Ministers, before the Inquisition.

These dissensions became more and more serious, the differences extending from year to year. The Roman Court no longer possessed within itself that power and energy required for the preservation of union even among those holding its own creed.

"I cannot deny," says the Venetian ambassador Mocenigo, in the year 1737, "that there is something unnatural in the sight of the collected body of Catholic sovereigns placing themselves in hostility to the Court of Rome, and the altercations are now so violent that there can be no hope of any reconciliation by which that court would not be injured in some vital part." Whether this proceed from the diffusion of more enlightened ideas, as many people think, or from a disposition to oppress the weaker party, it is certain that the sovereigns are making rapid progress toward depriving the Roman See of all its secular prerogatives.[5]

A merely superficial observation made in Rome itself at that time, sufficed to render obvious the fact that all was at stake; that her existence depended on the immediate conclusion of peace.

[2] Buder, "Leben und Thaten Clemens XI.," tom. iii. 571.

[3] We perceive from the remarks of Lorenzo Tiepolo, "Relatione di Roma, 1712," that the imperialists in Naples as well as Milan had already formed the design of "giving the ecclesiastical benefices solely to natural-born subjects—a stroke of no small detriment to the Court of Rome if it should be brought into action."

[4] San Felipe, "Beitrage zur Geschichte von Spanien," iii. 214.

[5] Aluise Mocenigo IV., "Relatione di Roma, 16 Aprile, 1737." See the Appendix, No. 162.

The memory of Benedict XIV—Prospero Lambertini (from 1740 to 1758)—has been held in honor, and covered with blessings, because he resolved on making the concessions indispensable to the security of that purpose.

How little Benedict XIV permitted himself to be dazzled, or rendered self-confident by the dignified elevation of his office, is well known; he did not even abandon his good-humored facetiousness, or forego his Bolognese witticisms, because he was Pope. He would rise from his occupation, join such members of the court as were in immediate attendance, impart to them some fancy or idea that had just occurred to him, and return to his desk.[6] He constantly maintained himself superior to events. With a bold and comprehensive glance he made himself master of the relations in which the Papal See was placed to the powers of Europe, discerning clearly what it was possible to retain, and what must be abandoned. He was too sound a canonist, and too thoroughly a Pope, to permit himself to be carried too far on the path of concessions.

There is no doubt that the most remarkable act of his pontificate was the concordat that he concluded with Spain in the year 1753. He prevailed on himself to renounce the right of appointment to the smaller benefices of that country which the Curia still retained, though it was at that time vehemently contested.[7] But was the court to be deprived of the large sums it had hitherto received from that source without any compensation? Was the papal authority thus at once to abandon its influence on the clergy personally? Benedict adopted the following compromise: of these benefices fifty-two were specified, and these were reserved for the nomination of the Pope, that by their means he might reward such members of the Spanish clergy as should acquire a claim to preferment by their virtues, purity of life, or learning, or by services rendered to the Roman See.[8] The loss in revenue sustained by the Curia was then com-

[6] "Relatione di F. Venier di Roma, 1744:" "The Pope, having ascended the throne of St. Peter, did not on that account alter his natural disposition. He was of a temper at once cheerful and kindly, and so he remained. While still in the ranks of the prelacy he was accustomed to season his discourse with witty jests, and he continued to do so. Endowed with sincerity and openness of heart, he ever despised and avoided all those arts that have been named 'Romanesque.'"

[7] See Appendix, Nos. 163 and 164.

[8] "So that his Holiness may, no less than his successors, have the means of providing for and rewarding those ecclesiastics who shall have rendered themselves deserving by probity, blamelessness of manners, distinguished learning, or services rendered to the Holy See." These are the words of the concordat. See, among other authorities, the "Report of the English Committee," 1816, p. 317.

puted—it was found to be 34,300 scudi annually. The King therefore engaged to pay a sum, of which the interest at three per cent. should amount to that income. Thus did all-compensating gold attest its conciliatory influence and mediating power in the final arrangement, even of these ecclesiastical difficulties.

In like manner Benedict XIV concluded with most of the other courts arrangements involving concessions. To the King of Portugal an extension was granted of the right of patronage he had previously possessed, and to the earlier spiritual privileges and distinctions acquired by his house the title of "most faithful" was added. The Court of Sardinia, doubly dissatisfied because the concessions which it had obtained at favorable moments had been revoked under the last pontificate, was appeased by the instructions, in the spirit of concordats, that were issued in the years 1741 and 1750.[9] In Naples, where, under the auspices of the imperial government, and by the exertions of Gaetano Argento, a school of jurisprudence had been established, which made the disputed points of ecclesiastical law its chief study, and opposed earnest resistance to the claims of the papacy,[10] Benedict XIV permitted the rights of the Curia to be materially restricted, and suffered the clergy to be subjected to the payment of a share in the public imposts. To the imperial court the pontiff conceded a diminution of the appointed holidays, and this was a concession that caused many remarks at the time; for whereas Benedict had merely granted permission that work might be done on those days, the imperial court did not scruple to exact labor by force, and make it compulsory as a general rule.

By these measures the Catholic courts were again reconciled to their ecclesiastical chief, and peace was once more restored.

But could reasonable hope be entertained that all contentions were thus brought to an end? Was it to be expected that the conflict between the State and the Church, which seems to be almost a matter of necessity in Catholicism, should be set at rest by these slight and transient promises? It was not possible that these should suffice to maintain peace beyond the moment

[9] "Risposta alle notizie dimandate intorno alla giurisdittione ecclesiastica dello stato di S. Mta. Turino, 5 Marzo, 1816." "Report of the English Committee," 1816, p. 250.

[10] Giannone, "Storia di Napoli," vi. 387.

for which they had been adopted. Already were the excited deeps giving token that other and far more perilous storms were fast approaching.

Section XVIII.—Changes in the General Position of the World —Internal Commotions—Suppression of the Jesuits

Important changes had been accomplished, not only in Italy and the South of Europe, but in the political condition of the world generally.

Where were now the times in which the papacy might entertain the hope, and not indeed without apparent grounds, of once more subjecting Europe and the world to its dominion?

Of the five great powers by which, even so early as the middle of the eighteenth century, the course of the world's destinies was determined, three had risen to influence who were not of the Catholic faith. We have alluded to the attempts made by the popes in earlier times to subdue Russia and Prussia by means of Poland, and to overcome England by the forces of France and Spain. These very powers were now taking prominent part in the dominion of the world; nay, we may even affirm, without fear of deceiving ourselves, that they had at that time obtained the preponderance over the Catholic portion of Europe.

It was not that one system of doctrine had gained a triumph over the other—that the Protestant theology had prevailed over Catholicism; this was no longer the field of conflict: the change had been brought about by the action of national interests and developments, the principles of which we have noticed above. The non-Catholic States displayed a general superiority over the Catholic. The monarchical and concentrating spirit of the Russians had overpowered the disunited factions and aristocracy of Poland. The industry, practical sense, and nautical skill of the English had obtained the supremacy, naturally resulting to those qualities, over the careless indolence of the Spaniards and the vacillating policy of the French, which was ever contingent on the accidents of their domestic affairs. The energetic organization and military discipline of Prussia had in like manner procured her the advantage over those principles of federative monarchy which were then predominant in Austria.

But although the superiority obtained by these powers was in nowise of an ecclesiastical character, yet it could not fail to exercise an immediate influence on ecclesiastical affairs.

This occurred in the first place, because religious parties advanced to power with the States professing their opinions; Russia, for example, placed Greek bishops, without hesitation, in the united provinces of Poland.[1] The elevation of Prussia gradually restored a consciousness of independence and power to the German Protestants, such as they had long been deprived of; and the more decided became the naval supremacy acquired by the Protestant government of England, so much the more did the Catholic missions necessarily fall into shade, while their efficiency, which had in earlier times been upheld and increased by political influence, became diminished proportionately.

But more extensive causes were in action. So early as the second half of the seventeenth century, when England had attached herself to the policy of France, when Russia was in a position equivalent to separation from the rest of Europe, and the Prussian monarchy of the house of Brandenburg was but just rising into importance, the Catholic powers, France, Spain, Austria, and Poland, had governed the European world, even though divided among themselves. It appears to me that the consciousness of how greatly all this was changed, must now have forced itself on the general conviction of the Catholic community, the proud self-confidence inspired by a politico-religious existence, unrestricted by any superior power, must now have been destroyed. The Pope was now first made aware of the fact that he no longer stood at the head of the powers by whom the world was ruled.

But finally, would not the question of whence this change arose, present itself? When the conquered party does not utterly despair of his own fortunes, every defeat, every loss, will necessarily occasion some internal revolution, some attempt at imitation of the antagonist who has evinced his superiority—an emulation of his efforts. Thus, the strictly monarchical, military, and commercial tendencies of the non-Catholic nations now pressed themselves upon the Catholic States; but since it could not be denied that the disadvantageous position into which the latter had fallen was connected with their ecclesias-

[1] Rulhière, "Histoire de l'anarchie de Pologne," i. 181.

tical constitution, the first efforts of the movement were directed toward that point.

But here they came into contact with other powerful commotions which had meanwhile taken possession of the domain of faith and opinion within the pale of Catholicism itself.

The Jansenist contentions, to the origin of which we have already given our attention, had been renewed with redoubled vehemence in the beginning of the eighteenth century. They proceeded from men of the most exalted positions. The highest influence in the Supreme Ecclesiastical Council of France had most commonly been divided between the King's confessor, usually a Jesuit, and the Archbishop of Paris, and thence it was that La Chaise and Harlai, who lived in the closest alliance, had directed the enterprises of the Crown against the papacy. So good an understanding did not exist between their successors, Le Tellier and Noailles. Their disunion may have been occasioned, in the first place, by slight differences of opinion, the more rigid adherence of the one to the Jesuit and Molinist views, and the more tolerant inclination of the other to the Jansenist ideas. Gradually, however, these differences led the way to an open rupture, and the conflict thus arising, and proceeding from the Cabinet of the King, produced a schism throughout the nation. The confessor succeeded not only in maintaining himself in power, and winning Louis to his side, but he also prevailed on the Pope to issue the bull "Unigenitus," in which the Jansenist tenets of sin, grace, justification, and the Church, were condemned, even in their most modified expression, and in some instances as their defenders considered them to be given verbatim by St. Augustine. They were, nevertheless, denounced and anathematized even more decidedly than the five propositions mentioned in our earlier allusions to the Jansenist doctrines.[2] This was the final decision of these questions of faith, so long before agitated by Molina. The See of Rome, after a delay, thus prolonged, at length adopted the Jesuit tenets without reserve or ambiguity. It is certain that the papacy thereby succeeded in attaching to its interests that powerful or-

[2] The "Mémoires secrets sur la bulle Unigenitus," i. p. 123, describe the first impression produced by it. "Some affirmed that this bull was a direct assault on the first principles of faith and morality, others that it condemned the sentiments and expressions of the holy fathers, others that charity was therein divested of its pre-eminence and force, others that the sacred bread of the Scriptures was torn from their hands, and that those who had been newly reconciled to the Church declared themselves deceived."

der, which from that time proved itself the most vigorous defender of ultramontane doctrines and the papal claims; a mode of proceeding which had, as we have seen, been by no means invariable with the society, in preceding periods. The Pope also succeeded in maintaining friendly relations with the French government, which had, indeed, contributed to elicit the above-named decision, and by which such persons as submitted to the bull were very soon promoted, to the exclusion of all others. But these measures aroused the most powerful opposition from the adverse party; among the learned, who were followers of St. Augustine among the orders, who adhered to St. Thomas Aquinas, and in the Parliaments, by whom a violation of the Gallican rights was discovered in every new act of the Roman Court. And now, at length, the Jansenists stood forth as the earnest advocates of these immunities; with ever-increasing boldness they now announced doctrines regarding the Church, which were entirely at variance with those of Rome on the same points—nay, they proceeded, beneath the protection of a Protestant government, to carry their tenets into effect, and established an archiepiscopal church in Utrecht, which, though Catholic in its general principles, yet maintained a complete independence of Rome, and waged incessant war with the ultramontane tendencies of the Jesuits. It would amply repay the labor of him who should investigate the formation, extension, and practical influence of these opinions over the whole of Europe. In France, the Jansenists were oppressed, persecuted, and excluded from public employments; but as usually happens, this did them no injury on essential points. A large proportion of the public declared in their favor during these persecutions, and they might have succeeded still more extensively had they not brought discredit even on their more rational tenets by their extravagant credulity and attestation of miracles. This deeply injured their cause; yet the superior purity of their moral system, and the approximation they made to a more profound faith, secured them entrance into most Catholic countries. We find traces of them in Vienna and Brussels, in Spain and Portugal,[3] and through all Italy.[4] They diffused their tenets

[3] Llorente, "Histoire de l'Inquisition," iii. p. 93-97, acquaints us with the continual occupation furnished by real or supposed Jansenists to the Inquisition under Charles III and IV.

[4] For example, they were to be found very early in Naples; so early as the year 1715 it was believed that the half of those Neapolitans who were of reflective habits were Jansenists.—Keyssler, "Reisen," p. 780.

throughout Catholic Christendom, sometimes publicly, but more frequently in secret.

There can be no doubt that this dissension among the clergy was one cause, among others, by which the way was prepared for the progress of opinions much more perilous than those here in question.

The peculiar character of the influence produced on the French mind, nay, on that of all Europe, by the exertions of Louis XIV in the name of religion, is a phenomenon worthy of eternal remembrance, and one that will be remarkable to all times. In his eager determination to root out the Protestant creed, and to annihilate every dissenting opinion intruding within the pale of Catholicism, he had employed the utmost excesses of violence, had outraged the laws of God and man, directing his every effort to the production of complete and orthodox Catholic unity throughout his kingdom. Yet scarcely had he closed his eyes, before all was utterly changed. The spirit so forcibly repressed broke forth in irresistible commotions. The disgust and horror awakened by the proceedings of Louis XIV led, without doubt, directly to the formation of opinions making open war on Catholicism, nay, on all other positive religion of whatever name. From year to year, these opinions gained internal force, and wider extent of diffusion. The kingdoms of Southern Europe were founded on the most intimate union of Church and State. Yet it was among these that a mode of thinking was matured by which aversion to the Church and religion was organized into a system, affecting all ideas relating to God and his creation, every principle of political and social life, and all science. A literature of opposition to all notions hitherto received was formed, by which the minds of men were irresistibly captivated, and subjected to indissoluble fetters.

The absence of harmony between these tendencies is manifest; the reforming spirit was by its very nature monarchical, but this could by no means be asserted of the philosophical, which very soon opposed itself to the State as well as to the Church. The Jansenists adhered to convictions which were indifferent, if not odious, to one party as well as to the other; yet they contributed at first to produce the same result. They called into existence that spirit of innovation, the extent of

whose grasp is in exact proportion with the uncertainty of its aim, which lays bolder claim to futurity the less definite its comprehension of its own purpose, and which daily derives fresh force from the abuses existing in the common order of things. This spirit now seized the Catholic Church. There is no doubt that its basis was, for the most part, either consciously or unconsciously, in what has been called the philosophy of the eighteenth century. The Jansenist theories imparted to it an ecclesiastical form and deportment, its activity was promoted by the necessities of civil governments, which pressed upon the governed, and by the opportune character of events occurring at the moment. In every country, and at all the courts, two parties were formed; one making war on the Curia, the accredited constitution and established doctrines of the time; while the other labored to maintain things as they were, and to uphold the prerogatives of the universal Church.

The last was more particularly represented by the Jesuits; that order stood forth as the chief bulwark of the ultramontane principles, and it was against them that the storm was first directed.

The Jesuits were still very powerful in the eighteenth century, and, as in earlier times, their influence was chiefly attributable to the fact that they were still the confessors of princes and nobles, while they also conducted the education of youth. Their enterprises, whether religious or commercial, still comprehended the whole world within the scope of their views, though the former were no longer pursued with the energy of older times. They now adhered without wavering to the doctrines of ecclesiastical orthodoxy and subordination; whatever was in any manner opposed to these, whether positive unbelief, Jansenist tenets, or theories of reform, were all included by the Jesuits in one common sentence of condemnation and anathema.

They were first attacked in the domain of opinion and of literature; and here it must be admitted that to the numbers and power of the assailants pressing round them they opposed rather a persistent tenacity to opinions already adopted, an indirect influence with the great and a sweeping consignment of all their antagonists to perdition, than the fair weapons of intellectual warfare. It is almost incomprehensible that neither

He was resolved that no concession should be obtained from himself; nay, he lived in the persuasion that all might yet be regained, and the diminished splendor of Rome restored to its earlier glories by a steadfast and determined pertinacity.[10] In the Jesuits he beheld the most faithful defenders of the papal see and of religion; he approved them such as they were, and did not consider them in any need of reform. In all these modes of thinking he was confirmed by those of his immediate circle, and those who shared in his devotions.

We cannot affirm that Cardinal Torregiani, to whose hands the administration of the papal authority was principally consigned, was equally influenced by spiritual considerations. He had the reputation, on the contrary, of taking a personal interest in the farming of the papal revenues, and was said to be generally fond of power for its own sake. But would not motives and purposes even of this kind be forwarded and promoted by the maintenance of the order in its utmost integrity? All the influence, all the riches, and all the authority for which the Jesuits were so profoundly detested by the jealous viceroys in America, and by the ambitious and power-seeking Ministers of Europe, was finally laid by the Company of Jesus at the feet of the Roman See. Torregiani adopted their cause as his own, and by doing so he further increased the strength of his own position at court. The only man who might have been able to overthrow him, Rezzonico, nephew of the pontiff, would have feared to do so, lest by effecting his ruin he might cause injury to the Church of God.[1]

But as matters now stood, the zeal evinced on behalf of the order could produce no other effect than that of further exasperating its assailants, and eventually attracting their animosity toward the Roman See itself.

In Portugal the Jesuits were implicated in the judicial investigations resulting from an attempt on the life of the King.[2]

[10] Sammlung der merkwürdigsten Schriften die Aufhebung der Jesuiten betreffend, 1773," i. p. 211: "Collection of the most remarkable accounts in relation to the suppression of the Jesuits." How decidedly public opinion was opposed to it, may be seen in Winkelmann's letters, among other places.

[1] "Caratteri di Clemente XIII. e di varj altri personaggi di Roma," MS. of the British Museum, viii. 430: "The distrust that he (the Pope) feels of himself, and the excess of humility by which he is depressed, make him defer to the opinions of others, who are, for the most part, either incapable, interested, or ill-intentioned. The person who ought to influence him never moves."

[2] In the sentence given on January 12, 1759, the point principally insisted on seems to be certain "legitimate suspicions" against "the perverse regular clergy of the Company of Jesus"; of

It is difficult to ascertain clearly whether they were guilty or not; but be this as it may, they were visited by one blow after another, and were finally driven from the kingdom with merciles violence, being transported directly to the coasts of the Ecclesiastical States.

In consequence of the lawsuit above mentioned, the Jesuits of France had, meanwhile, fallen into the power of the Parliament, by which they had from the first been detested. Their affairs were entered upon with the utmost clamor, all were sedulously made public, and the entire order was at length condemned to fulfil the engagements of Lavallette. Nor was this all: the constitution of their society was again subjected to scrutiny, and the legality of their existence generally was called into question.[3]

The points on which the decision of this affair turned are exceedingly remarkable and characteristic.

The charges more particularly pressed against the order were two; the persistent opposition it evinced toward the four Gallican propositions, and the unlimited powers of their general.

But the first of these accusations did not present an insurmountable obstacle. The general of the Jesuits was not opposed to the members of his order being at least tacitly permitted to abstain from calling the four propositions in question; and, accordingly, we find that in the negotiations of the French clergy in 1761, they offered to regulate their expositions of doctrine in accordance with these very propositions.

But the case was wholly different with regard to the second objection.

The parliaments, a commission appointed by the King, and even the majority of the French bishops, who were assembled by Cardinal Luynes,[4] had unanimously decided that the obedience which the general, resident in Rome, was empowered to

these the most important are, their ambitious purpose of making themselves masters of the reins of government (§ 25); their arrogance previous to the criminal attempt, and their despondency after its failure (§ 26); finally, and certainly a far more serious charge, their intimate connection with the chief of the accused, Mascarenhas, with whom they had formerly been at variance. Father Costa was reported to have declared that a man who should murder the King would not be guilty of even a venial sin (§ 4). But, on the other side, it has been remarked that the confessions on which these statements were founded were extorted by the rack, and that the documents relating to the trial betray marks of undue haste, and are full of informalities. In a judicial point of view, the sentence certainly never can be justified. Compare Von Olfers on the attempt to assassinate the King of Portugal, 3rd Sept. 1758. Berlin, 1839. In a letter inserted by Smith in his Memoirs of the Marquis de Pombal, i. 247, Cardinal Accignoli is made to declare expressly, on his return from Portugal, "that the Jesuits were without doubt the originators of the proposed assassination."

[3] See Appendix, No. 150.

[4] St. Priest, Chute des Jésuites, p. 54.

demand by the statutes of the order, was incompatible with the laws of the kingdom, and with the general duties of the subject to his sovereign.

It was not with the intention of destroying the order, but rather with the hope of saving it if possible from ruin, that the King caused proposals to be made to the general for the appointment of a vicar for France, who was to fix his residence in that country, and be pledged to render obedience to its laws.[5]

Had there been a man like Aquaviva at the head of the order, there is no doubt that some expedient would have been discovered—some compromise of disputed points attempted, even at this moment. But the society had at that time a most inflexible chief in the person of Lorenzo Ricci, who felt nothing but the injustice that was done to his company.

The point assailed appeared to him the most important of all, whether ecclesiastically or politically. His encyclical letters are still extant, and these prove the immeasurable value he conceived the duty of obedience, in all the rigor of its inculcation by Ignatius, to possess in its relation to personal discipline. But in addition to this, a suspicion was awakened in Rome that the sole object of the different kingdoms was to render themselves independent of the universal government of the Church; they thought this proposal to the general of the Jesuits had some secret connection with that design.

Ricci therefore replied, that so essential a change in the constitution was not within the limits of his power. Application was then made to the Pope, and the answer of Clement XIII was, that this constitution had been so distinctly approved by the holy Council of Trent, and confirmed by so many solemn edicts from his predecessors, that he could not venture to change it.[6] They rejected every kind of modification; Ricci's entire mode of thought was expressed in his words, "Let them be as they are, or let them be no longer." *(Sint ut sunt, aut non sint.)*

The result was, that they ceased to be. The Parliament, which had now no further obstacle in its way, declared (August 6, 1762) that the institute of the Jesuits was opposed to all authority, spiritual and temporal, ecclesiastical and civil, and

[5] Letter from Praslin, 16th Jan. 1762, in Flassan, "Histoire de la Diplomatie Francaise," vi. 498. The whole account is very instructive.

[6] Narrative of the Jesuit side in Wolf, "Geschichte der Jesuiten," iii. 365. This book is useful only as regards the suppression of the order.

was calculated with a view, first, to render them entirely independent of such authority by means, secret and open, direct and indirect; and finally, even to favor their usurpation of the government: it therefore decreed that the order should be excluded from the kingdom, irrevocably and for ever. It is true that in a consistory the pontiff declared this decision to be null and void;[7] but things had already proceeded to such a length that he could not venture to publish the allocution in which that declaration was made.

And this movement against the order now extended through all countries subject to the rule of the house of Bourbon. Charles III of Spain became persuaded that it was one of the purposes of the Jesuits to raise his brother Don Luis to the throne in his place.[8] Thereupon, with that determined silence and secrecy which so frequently distinguished his proceedings, he caused everything to be prepared; and in one and the same day, every house of the Jesuits throughout Spain was closed. In Naples and Parma this example was followed without delay.

The admonitions, entreaties, and adjurations of the Pope, were altogether vain. At length he tried a different expedient. When the Duke of Parma proceeded so far as even to forbid all recourse to the Roman tribunals, as well as all nomination of foreigners to the benefices of the duchy, the Pope summoned courage for the publication of a "monitorium," wherein he pronounced the ecclesiastical censures against the duke, his vassal,[9] and attempted once more to defend himself by retaliation. But the most disastrous consequences followed; the duke replied in a manner that the most powerful monarchs of earlier ages would not have dared to attempt, and the whole house of Bourbon made common cause with him. Avignon, Benevento, and Pontecorvo were immediately occupied by their forces.

[7] "Potestatem ipsam Jesu Christi in terris vicario ejus unice tributam sibi temere arrogantes totius societatis compagem in Gallico regno dissolvunt," etc. "Arrogating rashly to themselves that same power which is given by Jesus Christ to his vicar on earth only—to dissolve the whole compact of the society in the Gallican kingdom, etc." This document is given in Daunou, ii. 207.

[8] Letter from the French ambassador, quoted in Lebret's History of the Bull, "In cœna Domini," iv. 205, from the Italian work, "Delle cagioni dell' espulsione de' Gesuiti." "A Relatione al conte de Firmian, 1769, 7 Apr." (MS. in the Brera) affirms that the Jesuits had some anticipation of what was approaching. "It was not without a powerful motive that they required of the King, but a short time before the said expulsion, a confirmation of their privileges and of their institute, a fact that has only been now made known." They had removed their money and papers. But the advantage to the Crown appeared so great to Charles III that when the affair was successfully completed, he exclaimed that he had conquered a new world.

[9] Botta, "Storia d' Italia," tom xiv. p. 147.

But the hostility of the Bourbon courts displayed itself also in another direction. From the persecution of the Jesuits, they proceeded to a direct attack on the Roman See.

To whom could the Pope now turn for aid? Genoa, Modena, Venice—nay, all the Italian States—took part against him. Once more he directed his eyes toward Austria; he wrote to the Empress, Maria Theresa, that she was his only consolation on earth; she would surely not permit that his old age should be oppressed by acts of violence.

The Empress replied, as Urban VIII had once replied to the Emperor Ferdinand, that the affair was one concerning state policy, not religion, and that she could not interfere without injustice.

The spirit of Clement was broken. In the beginning of the year 1769, the ambassadors of the Bourbon courts appeared one after another—first the Neapolitan, next the Spanish, and finally the French—to demand the irrevocable suppression of the whole order.[10] The Pope called a consistory for February 3, in which he seemed to purpose taking the matter at least into consideration; but he was not doomed to suffer so profound a humiliation. On the evening preceding the day on which that consistory was to assemble, he was seized by a convulsion, in which he expired.

The position held by the courts was too menacing, their influence too powerful, to permit the idea of preventing them from ruling the succeeding conclave even to present itself. They could not fail to secure that the triple crown should be conferred on such a man as they required.

Of all the cardinals, Lorenzo Ganganelli was, without doubt, the mildest and most moderate. One of his masters had said of him in his youth, that it was no wonder if he loved music, seeing that everything in his own character was harmony.[1]

[10] "Continuazione degli annali d' Italia di Muratori," xiv. i. p. 197.

[1] Aneddoti riguardanti la famiglia e l'opere di Clemente XIV. in the "Lettere ed altre Opere di Ganganelli," Firenze, 1829. As regards these short works and letters themselves, they may very possibly be interpolated; but in the main facts I believe them to be authentic—first, because the defence of them in the "Ringraziamento dell' editore all' autor dell' anno literario" is, on the whole, natural and satisfactory, although previous to their publication an unjustifiable use had been made of them; secondly, because trustworthy men—as, for example, Cardinal Bernis, among others—have assured us that they had seen the originals. The real collector was the Florentine man of letters, Lami; and, according to a letter of the Abbé Bellegarde in Potter, "Vie de Ricci," i. p. 328, those who possessed the originals and furnished the copies confirmed their authenticity; thirdly, because they bear the impress of originality, and have peculiar characteristics, which preserve their consistency in

And thus he grew up in blameless companionship, retirement from the world, and solitary study, which led him more and more deeply into the mysteries of true theology. As he had turned from Aristotle to Plato, from whom he derived a more complete satisfaction of soul, so did he pass from the schoolmen to the fathers of the Church, and from these to the holy scriptures, to which he clung with all the fervor of a mind convinced of the revelation of the Word, imbibing from them that silent, pure, and calm devotion, which sees God in everything, and consecrates itself to the service of humanity. His religion was not zeal, persecution, desire of dominion, or polemic violence, but peace, humility, and internal union. Those unceasing contentions of the papal see with the Catholic governments, by which the Church was convulsed to her centre, were the object of his utter abhorrence. His moderation did not proceed from timidity, nor was it the result of necessity, but arose from genial kindliness of heart and firm freedom of will.

Thus from the bosom of religion there proceeded a tone of thought and character of mind that, however different in their origin from the worldly tendencies of courts, yet corroborated and coalesced with them as to certain of their effects.

The election of Ganganelli was effected principally by the influence of the Bourbons, and at the immediate suggestion of the French and Spanish cardinals. He assumed the name of Clement XIV.

The Roman Curia was divided, as we have remarked, like other courts, and two parties: the Zelanti, who labored to maintain all ancient privileges in their integrity and full extent; and the Regalisti, or adherents of the crowns, who considered that the welfare of the Church must be sought in a wise conciliation. In the person of Ganganelli, this last party now attained to power, and a change was effected in Rome nearly similar to that which had already occurred in all the sovereign courts.

Ganganelli began by prohibiting the reading of the bull "In cœna Domini." The concessions made by Benedict XIV

every circumstance and condition of life, such as no pretender could have fabricated: there is the living man to be seen in them. Least of all can these letters have proceeded from Caracciolo. One needs only to read his "Vie de Clément XIV." in order to be convinced that all he says is greatly inferior to the observations of Clement XIV. Whatever of good is in the work reflects the spirit of Ganganelli.

to the kings of Sardinia, and which the pontiffs succeeding him had refused to recognize, were instantly extended by Clement XIV, who also declared, on the very day of his installation, that he would send a nuncio to Portugal. He suspended the operation of the "monitorium" against Parma, and then applied himself with the utmost attention to the affairs of the Jesuits. A commission of cardinals was formed, the archives of the Propaganda were examined, and the arguments on both sides were deliberately considered. It must be remembered that Clement XIV was, without doubt, unfavorably disposed to the Jesuits; he was a Franciscan, and that order had been always at war with the Jesuits, more particularly in the missions. He was, besides, attached to the doctrinal system of the Augustinians and Thomists, which was altogether opposed to that of the Company of Jesus, and was, indeed, not entirely free from Jansenist opinions. In addition to all this, came those numerous subjects of accusation against the Jesuits, that could not be argued away. They were charged with undue interference in secular affairs; and, as regarded their ecclesiastical conduct, were reproached with a contentious spirit, and said to quarrel both with the regular and secular clergy: they were further declared to suffer the prevalence of heathen customs in the missions, and to inculcate scandalous maxims on various subjects; their wealth was also complained of, and the rather as it was gained by comercial pursuits. When the entire order had been at other times threatened with measures of general application, it had been frequently defended by the assertion that the institute had been approved by the Council of Trent; but when the commission examined the canon, it was found that the order had been merely alluded to by the Council, and had not received either approval or confirmation. Clement XIV had no doubt but that he had power to revoke in his day what one of the pontiffs preceding him had decreed in times of a different character; and although it is true that the decision cost him a severe struggle, and he was even led to believe that it might endanger his life, yet he felt convinced of what was repeatedly urged, namely, that the peace of the Church could be restored by no other means than the subversion of the society.

The Court of Spain was most especially pressing in its demands for the abolition of the order; the restitution of the

occupied territories was not to be hoped for unless these demands were complied with. On July 21, 1773, the Pope pronounced his decision: "Inspired, as we trust, by the Divine Spirit; impelled by the duty of restoring concord to the Church; convinced that the Society of Jesus can no longer effect those purposes for which it was founded; and moved by other reasons of prudence and state policy, which we retain concealed in our own breast, we do extirpate and abolish the Society of Jesus, its offices, houses, and institutions.[2]

This was a decision of immeasurable importance.

Firstly, in its relation to the Protestants. It was for the conflict with them that the institute was originally calculated. Even its system of doctrine was based principally on opposition to that of Calvin. And this was the character which the Jesuits had renewed and confirmed even at the close of the seventeenth century, during the persecutions of the Huguenots. But that conflict was now at an end; the most determined self-delusion could no longer hope to derive any essential effect from its revival. The non-Catholic countries had acquired an undeniable superiority in the great political relations of the world; and the Catholic states were now rather seeking an approximation to the Protestant potentates, than hoping to draw the latter within their own pale. And herein, as I think, lay the principal and most profound reason for the suppression of the order. It was an institution contrived for the purposes of war, and which, in a state of peace, was no longer in its place. Since then it would not yield a single hair's breadth of its constitution, and obstinately rejected all reform, greatly as this was needed on other grounds also, it may be said to have pronounced sentence on itself. It is a fact of the highest moment, that the papal see could not succeed in upholding an order which had been founded for the purpose of opposing the Protestants—that a pope deprived it of existence, by an act of his unbiassed will.

But this event produced its first and most immediate effects on the Catholic countries. The Jesuits had been assailed and overthrown, principally because they asserted the supremacy of the Roman See, in its most rigorous acceptation; thus, when the order was abandoned by the papacy, the latter resigned its previous rigid views of ascendancy by the same act, with all the

[2] Brief, "Dominus ac redemptor, continuazione degli annali," tom. xiv. part 2, p. 107.

consequences those views involved. The efforts of the opposition achieved an unquestionable victory. The annihilation at one blow, and without the slightest preparation, of that society which had made the education of youth its chief employment, and which had extended its operations over so wide a field, could not fail to convulse the world of Catholicism to its very foundations, even to that basis of society whereon the new generations are formed.[8] Since the outworks had been taken, a more vigorous assault of the victorious opinions on the central stronghold would inevitably follow. The commotion increased from day to day, the defection of men's minds took a constantly widening range, and what could be expected when the general ferment had made its way, even into Austria—that empire, of which the existence and the power were, above all others, associated with the results of Catholic efforts during the period of ecclesiastical restoration?

Section XIX.—Joseph II

It was the ruling principle of Joseph II to combine all the powers of the monarchy, and to unite them without control in his own hand. It was thus impossible that he should approve or sanction the influence of Rome on his subjects, or be satisfied with the connection existing between them and the pontiffs. Whether his immediate circle presented a majority of Jansenists or infidels[1]—for without doubt they made common cause here also, as in the attack on the Jesuits—may be matter of question; but it is certain that the Emperor waged incessant and exterminating war on all institutions professing a common object, and seeking to maintain the external unity of the Church. Of more than 2,000 monasteries, he suffered only 700 to retain their existence. Of the congregations of nuns, those of the most immediate and obvious utility alone found favor at his hands; nay, even while sparing their existence, he forbade even these to hold intercourse with Rome. He considered papal dispensations as so much foreign merchandise, for which he would not permit money to be sent out of the country; and openly an-

[8] Montbarey, "Mémoires," i. p. 225.

[1] The belief of Van Swieten may be attributed to this; but it is obvious that a very decided tendency to Jansenism existed in Vienna, as we find from the life of Fessler, among other things. "Fessler's Rückblicks auf seine Siebsigjährige Pilgerschaft, pp. 74, 78, and other passages. Compare "Schlözer's Staatsanzeigen, ix. 33, p. 113.

nounced himself to be the administrator of all temporal affairs connected with the Church.

It soon became obvious to the successor of Ganganelli (Pius VI) that the only means of restraining Joseph from proceeding to extreme measures, perhaps even with regard to doctrine, must now be sought in the impression he might hope to make on him in a personal interview; he therefore repaired to Vienna, where it would be too much to say that his mildness of manner, dignity of appearance, and grace of deportment, were altogether without influence. Yet in all essential matters, the Emperor continued his course without hesitation or respect of persons. Even the monastery wherein he had taken a solemn farewell of the pontiff, received intimation immediately afterward that its suppression was determined on. Pius VI beheld himself finally compelled to resign to the Emperor the nomination to episcopal sees, even to those situated in Italy.

Thus did the conflict of the temporal power with the papacy extend itself into Italy, from the Austrian side also. Leopold, who, so far as we can judge, was himself of Jansenist opinions, reformed the Church of Tuscany, without any consideration for the See of Rome; while at no great distance from the capital of Christendom, the synod of Pistoja propounded, in its decrees, a complete manifesto of union between the Jansenist and Gallican principles; and Naples, which was in close alliance with this party, by the medium of Queen Caroline, obliterated the last remaining traces of feudal connection with the Roman See.

On the German Church, also, an indirect effect was produced by the measures of the Emperor; the spiritual electors, after so long a period of friendly understanding with Rome, likewise placed themselves in opposition to her authority. The interests of sovereign princes, who desired to impede the concealed remittances of money from their dominion, were united, in their persons, with those of spiritual dignitaries, who were labouring to restore their own authority.[2] According to the declaration of Ems, which was "written," says a Roman prelate, "with a pen dipped in the gall of Paolo Sarpi," the Roman primate was, in future, to content himself with the rights accorded to him in the earliest ages of the Church.[3] The path to the proceedings

[2] Compare the article of Coblentz, for the year 1769, in the journal "Deutsche Blätter für Protestanten und Katholiken." Heidelberg, 1839, Heft i. p. 39.

[3] Bartolommeo Pacca, Memoire storiche sul di lui Soggiorno in Germania, p. 33.

of the electoral princes had been admirably prepared by the previous labors of the German canonists, and to these were now added the efforts of other learned Jesuits, by whom the entire fabric of the Catholic Church in Germany was assailed—the political power of the hierarchy in general, no less than its civil administration in particular.[4] An eager desire for innovation had seized on men of learning as well as on the laity at large: the inferior clergy opposed the bishops; the bishops were at strife with the archbishops, who, in their turn, were at variance with the sovereign pontiff. In Germany, as elsewhere, all things gave evidence of approaching change.

Section XX.—The Revolution

But before this purpose of change could be realized—before the Emperor Joseph had brought his reforms to completion, the most fearful of explosions burst forth from the abyss of elements that had been fermenting in the bosom of France.

It is manifest that the event by which the character of modern times has been determined—the French Revolution—was immeasurably promoted and contributed to by the antagonism of two hostile parties on every question touching religion—by the incapacity of the dominant party to maintain itself on the field of opinion and literature, and by that general aversion which, not without having in some measure deserved it, this party had brought upon itself. The spirit of opposition, whose origin must be sought in the discords prevailing within the pale of Catholicism itself, had continually increased in force, and had become ever more firmly consolidated. Step by step it pressed constantly forward, and during the stormy period of the year 1789 it attained to the possession of power—a power which believed itself called on for the utter subversion of all established institutions and the creation of a new world. In the general overthrow, by which the most Christian monarchy was menaced, its ecclesiastical constitution was necessarily subjected to the most violent convulsions.

All things concurred to the production of one and the same result—financial embarrassment, individual interests, as those

[4] Friedrich Carl von Moser, for example, on the government of the Ecclesiastical States in Germany, 1787. His principal proposition (p. 161) is, that "Prince and bishop should again be separated."

of municipalities, with indifference or hatred to the existing religion; finally, the proposal made by a member of the superior clergy itself for the acknowledgment of a right in the nation, that is, in the secular power, but more particularly of the National Assembly, to dispose of ecclesiastical property. Up to this period that property had been regarded, not as the especial possession of the French Church alone, but as belonging to the Church universal, and as requiring the assent of the sovereign pontiff for its alienation. But how far remote were the times and the ideas from which convictions of that character had originated! Now, but a short debate was entered into before the Assembly assumed itself to possess the right of legislation concerning all church lands—the power, that is, of absolute alienation, and with an authority more unconditional than had been contemplated by the first proposition. Neither was it possible that these measures should stop at the point thus attained. Since by the sequestration of church property, which was carried into effect without delay, the continued subsistence of the established order of things was rendered impossible, it became needful at once to proceed to new arrangements; and this was effected by the civil constitution of the clergy. The principle of the revolutionized State was extended to ecclesiastical affairs.[1] Priests were no longer to be installed as by the decisions of the concordat, but to be chosen by popular election, and a salary from the government was substituted for the independence conferred by the possession of real estates. The disposition of all the dioceses was changed, the religious orders were suppressed, vows were dissolved, all connection with Rome was interrupted; even the reception of a brief was now regarded as one of the most criminal offences. The attempt of a Carthusian to maintain the sole and absolute supremacy of the Catholic religion had no other effect than that of accelerating these edicts. The whole body of the clergy was compelled to affirm its adhesion to these resolutions by a solemn oath.

It is not to be denied that this order of things was completed with the co-operation of the French Jansenists, and the approval of those holding Jansenist opinions in other countries. They

[1] This was done quite systematically, and in accordance with the tenets of the older church historians. "Tota ecclesiarum distributio ad formam imperii facta est." "The distribution of the churches is made according to the forms of the empire."—Camus, "Opinion sur le projet de constitution du clergé," 31 Mai, 1790.

saw with pleasure, that the power of Babel, as in their hatred they called the Roman Curia, had suffered so grievous a blow, and that the clergy, at whose hands they had endured so many persecutions, were overthrown. Even their theoretical convictions were in accordance with this state of things, for they maintained that "by depriving the clergy of its wealth, the members of the body were compelled to seek for the acquirement of real merit." [2]

The Roman Court still flattered itself for a moment that these commotions would be arrested by an internal reaction, and the Pope neglected nothing that might tend to the promotion of that event. He rejected the new constitution, passed censure on the bishops who had given in their adhesion to it, labored to confirm, by exhortations and praises, the opposition of the still numerous party which had assumed an attitude of resistance, and finally pronounced the ban of the Church against the most influential and distinguished members of the constitutional clergy.

But all these efforts were now vain; the revolutionary tendencies maintained their ground: the civil war which had been kindled principally by the fervor of religious impulse, resulted in the advantage of the innovators and their new arrangements. And well would it have been for the Pope had the matter rested there—had France torn from him nothing more than herself.

But that general war by which the whole aspect of European affairs was to be so entirely changed, had meanwhile burst forth in all its violence.

With that irresistible fury, compounded of enthusiasm, rapacity, and terror, which had been displayed in the internal conflict, the torrent of revolutionary forces rushed beyond the French confines, and poured itself over the neighboring countries.

All that came within its influence was now brought into a state analogous to its own. Belgium, Holland, the Upper Rhine-land of Germany, where the ecclesiastical constitution had its principal seat—all were revolutionized; the campaign of 1796 secured the mastery of Italy to the new form of things.

[2] Letters from Gianni and certain other abbés in Potter, "Vie de Ricci," ii. p. 315. In Wolf, "Geschichte der Katholischen Kirche unter Pius VI." there is a chapter, book vii. p. 32, on the part taken by the Jansenists in the arrangement of the new constitution; but the subject is not very forcibly treated.

Revolutionary States arose in all directions; the Pope was already threatened by them, not only in his territories, but in his capital also.

Without having taken what could be called an active part, the pontiff had yet ranged himself on the side of the Coalition, through using his spiritual weapons only; but it was in vain that he sought to gain advantage from this neutrality.[3] His States were invaded, his people incited to revolt, exorbitant contributions, such as he found it impracticable to raise, were imposed on him, and concessions were extorted from him to an extent never demanded from any one of his predecessors.[4] Neither were these the sum of the evils inflicted on his head. The Pope was not an enemy like any other; he had found courage, even during the war, to reprobate the Jansenist and Gallican doctrines of Pistoja by the bull "Auctorem fidei." The unyielding deportment he maintained, and the condemnatory briefs he had published, had produced and continued to exercise a powerful effect on the interior of France. The French, therefore, now demanded as the price of peace his revocation of these edicts, and an acknowledgment of their civil constitution.

But to compliance with these exactions Pius VI was not to be moved; acquiescence would have seemed to him a departure from the very principle of the faith—an act of treason to his office. His reply to these proposals [5] was, that "after having implored the assistance of God, and inspired, as he believed, by the Holy Spirit, he refused to accede to those conditions."

For a moment the revolutionary authorities seemed to acquiesce in this decision; a compact was formed even without these concessions, but it was only for a moment. From the purpose of separating themselves from the Pope, they advanced to the idea of directly annihilating him. The Directory found the rule of priests in Italy incompatible with its own. At the first pretext, afforded by a mere accidental commotion among

[3] "Authentische Geschichte des Französischen Revolutionskrieges in Italien, 1797." The Pope had affirmed that religion forbade a resistance by which the shedding of blood would be occasioned.

[4] In the "Mémoires historiques et philosophiques sur Pie VI et son Pontificat," tom. ii. the losses of the Roman States are computed at 220,000,000 livres.

[5] "Memoria diretta al Principe della Pace, in Tavanti, Fasti di Pio VI." tom. iii. p. 335. "His Holiness was utterly amazed and shocked, perceiving that they were seeking to violate his conscience and led him into an act by means of which they might inflict the most fatal of injuries on religion."

the populace, Rome was invaded, and the Vatican occupied by the French. Pius VI entreated his enemies to let him die where he had lived: he was already eighty years old. They replied that he could die anywhere. The room he was seated in was plundered before his eyes—they deprived him of even the trifles required for his personal comfort, and drew the ring he wore from his finger: finally, they took him to France, where he died in the month of August, 1799.

It might, in fact, have now seemed that the papal power had been brought to a final close. That spirit of enmity to the Church which we perceived to take birth, and have marked rising into vigor, had now attained the degree of strength that might well embolden it to aim at securing such a result.

Section XXI.—Times of Napoleon

But succeeding events effectually prevented the realization of any such purpose.

One of the most immediate consequences of that hostility experienced by the papal see from the revolutionary governments was, that the remaining powers of Europe, whatever might be their general dispositions toward the papacy, now took it into their protection. The death of Pius VI occurred precisely at a time when the Coalition had again achieved the victory. It was thus rendered possible for the cardinals to assemble in the church of San Giorgio at Venice, and proceed to the election of a pope (Pius VII chosen March 13, 1800).

It is true that the revolutionary power was soon afterward again triumphant, and obtained a decided preponderance even in Italy. But at this time that power itself had undergone a material change. After so many metamorphoses, effected amid the storms of that momentous period, it assumed a direction toward monarchy. A ruler appeared with the purpose of a new universal empire in his thoughts, and who, beholding the general destruction and ruin prevailing, and profiting by his experience obtained in the East, had arrived at the conclusion, which is the principal matter for our present consideration, that to secure his end, the unity of religion and hierarchical subordination, were the first and most essential of all the many other forms of older states, that he saw to be imperatively required.

Even on the very battle-field of Marengo, Napoleon deputed the bishop of Vercelli to enter into negotiations with the Pope, in regard to the re-establishment of the Catholic Church.

This was a proposal in which there was doubtless much to allure and tempt, but it also involved much that was dangerous. It was manifest that the restoration of the Catholic Church in France, and its connection with the Pope could be purchased only by extraordinary concessions.

To these Pius VII resolved to submit. He assented to the alienation of church property, a loss of 400,000,000 of francs in real estates—being influenced to this, according to his own declaration, by the conviction that his refusal would occasion new outbreaks of violence, and feeling disposed to yield on all points, where he could do so without offence to religion. He acquiesced in a new organization of the French clergy, who were to be paid and nominated solely by the government, and was content to receive the restoration of right to grant canonical institution, unrestricted by limitation of the veto, and within the same extent as that possessed by earlier popes.[1]

There now followed what a short time before could by no means have been expected—the restoration of Catholicism in France, and the renewed subjection of that country to ecclesiastical authority. The Pope was transported with joy, "that the churches were purified from profanation, the altars raised anew, the banner of the cross once more unfurled, legitimate pastors set over the people, and so many souls that had strayed from the right way, restored to the unity of the Church, and reconciled to themselves and to God." "How many causes," he exclaimed, "for rejoicing and thankfulness!"

But could it be reasonably concluded that by the concordat of 1801, a close and cordial alliance was indeed and at once effected between the ancient spiritual power and the new revolutionary state?

Concessions were made on both sides; but in despite of these each party remained firmly adherent to its own principles.

It was by the restorer of the Catholic Church in France that, immediately afterward, the most efficient aid was contributed toward the destruction of the German Church. The complete

[1] "Lettera Apostolica in forma di breve," in Pistolesi, "Vita di Pio VII." tom. i. p. 143, with a complete collation of the varieties exhibited in the publication of this document as it took place in France.

and final ruin of that stately fabric was attributable chiefly to his agency: the transfer of its possessions and sovereign powers to secular princes, indifferent whether Catholic or Protestant, was effected by his means. Inexpressible was the astonishment and confusion occasioned to the Roman Court by these events. "According to the old decretals, heresy had entailed the loss of property, but the Church must now endure to see its own possessions parcelled out among heretics." [2]

And meanwhile a concordat of similar spirit to that with France was also prepared for Italy. There, too, the pontiff was called on to sanction the sale of ecclesiastical property, and resign the nomination to benefices to the temporal power; nay, there were so many new restrictive clauses, all for the advantage of one side, annexed to this agreement, that Pius VII refused to publish it in the form proposed.[3]

But it was in France itself that Napoleon most effectually asserted the claims of the civil power in opposition to those of the Church. He regarded the declaration of 1682 as a fundamental law of the realm, and caused it to be expounded in the schools. He would permit no vows, and would suffer no monks. The ordinances of his civil code with relation to marriage were altogether at variance with the Catholic principle of the sacramental significance of that rite: the organic articles, which from the very first he appended to the concordat, were constructed in a spirit essentially adverse to Rome.

When the pontiff, notwithstanding all these things, resolved to cross the Alps at the Emperor's request, and give the spiritual sanction of the holy oil to his coronation, he was influenced to do so by the hope he entertained, however little this was countenanced by the aspect and conduct of France, that he might still effect something for the advantage of the Catholic Church, and complete "the work he had commenced." [4] Pius herein relied much on the effect of personal intercourse: he took with him the letter of Louis XIV to Innocent XII, for the purpose of convincing Napoleon that the declaration of 1682 had already been abandoned even by that sovereign. In the first

[2] Instructions to a nuncio at Vienna, unfortunately without date, but probably of 1803, in Daunou, Essai ii. p. 318.

[3] Coppi, "Annali d'Italia," tom. iii. p. 120

[4] Allocutio habita in consistorio secreto 29 Oct. 1804. Pistolesi gives the Italian version, "Vita di Pio VII." tom. i. p. 193.

remonstrance, therefore, drawn up in Italian, that he presented in Paris, he formally contested that declaration, and endeavored to release the new concordat from the limitations of the organic articles.[5] Nay, his views and expectations went still further: in a minutely detailed memorial, he made manifest the exigencies of the pontificate, and enumerated the losses it had sustained during the fifty years preceding. He exhorted the Emperor to follow the example of Charlemagne and restore the territories which had been occupied, to the possession of the Church.[6] So highly did he estimate the value of the service that he had rendered to the revolutionary monarchy!

But how completely did he find himself deceived. Even during the ceremony of the coronation, a shade of melancholy was observed to cross his countenance. Of all that he desired and contemplated he did not obtain the smallest portion, either at that time or subsequently; nay, it was rather at this very moment that the designs of the Emperor were first revealed in their whole extent.

The Constituent Assembly had labored to detach itself from the Pope; the Directory had desired to annihilate him. Bonaparte's idea was to preserve his existence, but at the same time to subjugate him completely to his purposes—to make him the mere instrument of his own unlimited power.

He caused proposals to be made, even at that time, to the Pope, if we are rightly informed, that he should remain in France and fix his residence either at Avignon or Paris.

To these the pontiff is said to have replied, that to provide for the contingency of his being imprisoned he had executed an abdication in all due form, and had deposited that act in Palermo, beyond the reach of the French decrees.

There was at that moment no place where the Pope could have found effectual shelter or protection, but one that was under the dominion of the British navy.

It is true that the pontiff was permitted to return to Rome, and was suffered to retain a seeming possession of his previous independence, but there instantly commenced a series of the most perplexing misunderstandings.

[5] Extrait du Rapport de M. Portalis, in Artaud, Pie VII. tom. ii. p. 11.

[6] Printed in Artaud, p. 31. Compare Napoleon's letter of July 22, 1807. "The Pope consented to come to my coronation, an act in which I recognize a holy prelate; but he wished me to yield the legations to him." In Bignon, Histoire de France sous Napoléon, Deuxième époque, i. p. 158.

Napoleon very soon declared without circumlocution that like his predecessors of the second and third dynasties, he was the eldest son of the Church, who bore the sword for her protection, and could not endure that she should remain associated with heretics or schismatics, as were the English and Russians. He was particularly desirous of being considered as the successor and representative of Charlemagne; but the consequences that he deduced from that assumption were altogether different from those attached to the idea of that emperor's success by the Roman Court. Napoleon assumed that the States of the Church were a gift from Charlemagne to the Pope, but that from this circumstance the pontiff was placed under the obligation of never separating his policy from that of the empire; he was, moreover, resolved not to suffer him to do so.[7]

The Pope was amazed at the demand that he should consider the antagonists of another as his own enemies; he replied, "That he was the universal pastor, the father of all, the servant of peace, and that the very mention of such a demand inspired him with horror." It was his part to be Aaron, the prophet of God—not Ishmael, whose hand was against every man, and every man's hand against him.

But Napoleon proceeded directly forward to his purpose; he caused Ancona and Urbino to be occupied, and on the rejection of his ultimatum, wherein he claimed, among other concessions, the acknowledgment of his right to nominate one-third of the cardinals, he marched his troops on Rome. The cardinals, whom he did not find sufficiently pliable, were dismissed; the Pope's Secretary of State was twice changed; but as all this produced no effect on Pius VII, even his person was at length assailed; he, too, was torn from his palace and capital. A decree of the Senate *(Senatus-consultum)* then pronounced the union of the Ecclesiastical States with the French Empire. The temporal sovereignty was declared incompatible with the

[7] Schoell, "Archives historiques et politiques," Paris, 1819, has given, second and third volumes, a "Précis des contestations qui ont eu lieu entre le Saint Siège et Napoléon Bonaparte, accompagné d'un grand nombre de pièces officielles." The correspondence, which is here communicated in its full extent, is continued from Nov. 13, 1805, to May 17, 1808. Yet we meet in Bignon, "Histoire de France depuis la paix de Tilsit," 1838, tom i. ch. iii. p. 125, such passages as the following: "The publications that have appeared since 1815 have but little in them besides documents of which the earliest date is 1808." And again, "Up to the present time, the character of Pius VII is not sufficiently known; he can only be appreciated perfectly by judging him according to his acts (treaties)." But, in point of fact, these "acts" were already well known. The documents given by Schoell have received but slight additions from Bignon.

exercise of spiritual prerogatives; the Pope was for the future to be formally pledged to the four Gallican principles; he was to derive his revenues from real estates, very nearly as might a feudal vassal of the empire, while the State assumed to itself the arrangement of all expenditure as regarded the college of cardinals.[8]

It is manifest that this was a plan by which the united powers of the Church, spiritual and temporal, would have been subjected to the empire, and the entire government of the hierarchy placed, at least indirectly, in the hands of the Emperor.

But by what means would it be possible to secure what was yet, without doubt, indispensable—that the Pope could be prevailed on to assent to this degradation? Pius VII had availed himself of his last moments of freedom to pronounce a sentence of excommunication. He refused canonical institution to the bishops appointed by the Emperor; nor was Napoleon so absolutely master of his clergy but that he felt the consequences of this ban, first from one part of the empire, and then from another, as also, and more particularly, from the side of Germany.

The effects of this very opposition were, however, finally made subservient to the overpowering of the pontiff's resolution. Its results were far more severely felt by the spiritual sovereign, whose sympathies were all for the internal state of the Church, than by the temporal ruler, to whom even spiritual things were but as instruments of his power, in themselves altogether indifferent.

In Savona, to which city the pontiff had been carried, he was alone, left to his own resources, and without any adviser. By the earnest and almost extravagant representations made to him, of the distractions and perplexities occasioned to the Church by his refusal of the institution, the worthy old man was at length prevailed on, though not without bitter grief, and after violent conflicts with himself, to resolve on the virtual renunciation of this right; for in what other light could this act be regarded, since he was induced to consent that the power of granting institution should devolve on the metropolitan, in every case when he should himself defer to exercise it during a longer period than six months, for any other reason than per-

[8] Thibaudeau, "Histoire de la France et de Napoléon; Empire," tom. v. p. 221.

sonal unworthiness? But he herein renounced the right which really constituted his last remaining weapon of defence.

Nor was even this all that was required of him. He was hurried to Fontainebleau with an impatient and reckless speed, by which his physical infirmities were painfully aggravated; and when arrived there, was assailed by repeated importunities, and pressed with the most urgent representations that he ought completely to restore the peace of the Church. By these means he was at length effectually wrought on to comply; the remaining points were finally conceded—even those most decisive. He submitted to reside in France, and acquiesced in the most essential provisions of that "*Senatus consultum*" before mentioned. The concordat of Fontainebleau (January 25, 1813) was arranged on the understanding that he should no more return to Rome.[9]

Thus, what no previous Catholic prince had even ventured seriously to contemplate, the autocrat of the Revolution had now actually accomplished. The Pope submitted to render himself subject to the French Empire. His authority would have become an instrument in the hands of the new dynasty, to all times. By this it would have been enabled to secure the obedience of its own territories, and to confirm in relations of dependence, those Catholic States which it had not yet subdued. The papacy would, to this extent, have returned to the position which it held with regard to the German emperors, when those monarchs were in the plenitude of their power—more especially under Henry III; but it would have been subjected to much heavier bonds. In the power by which the Pope was now over-mastered, there was something that directly contradicted the essential principle of the Church. It was in effect no other than a second metamorphosis of that spirit of opposition to ecclesiastical influences, which had made itself manifest in the eighteenth century, and which involved so determined a disposition to positive infidelity. To this malignantly hostile power, the papacy would have been subjected, and placed in a state of vassalage.

Yet, on this occasion, as on others, affairs were not destined to proceed to such an extremity.

[9] Bart. Pacca: "Memorie storiche del ministero de' due viaggi in Francia," &c. p. 323. "Historisch-politische Zeitschrift," i. iv. 642.

Section XXII.—The Restoration

The empire, of which it was intended that the Pope should constitute the hierarchical centre, was still engaged in doubtful warfare with unconquerable enemies. In the solitude of his captivity, the pontiff received no accurate intelligence relating to the vicissitudes of the conflict. Even at the moment, when, after so long a resistance, he finally yielded, Napoleon had already failed in his last and greatest enterprise against Russia, and by the long train of consequences inevitably resulting from that overthrow, his power was shaken to its utmost depths. Already the almost extinct hope of regaining her freedom, was awakened in the bosom of Europe; when the Pope, to whom, after his submission, some few cardinals were suffered to return, was made acquainted with this state of things, he also felt his confidence revive; he could now breathe again. Every advantage gained by the Allied Powers, he felt to be a step taken for his deliverance—an act of liberation for himself.

When Prussia rose—immediately after the proclamation to arms of the King had appeared—Pius VII summoned courage to revoke the concordat lately described. When the congress assembled at Prague, he ventured to cast his eyes beyond the boundaries of the empire that held him captive, and to remind the Emperor of Austria of his rights. After the battle of Leipzic, he had regained confidence to such an extent, as at once to reject the proposals then made to him for the restoration of a part of his territories. And when the Allies had crossed the Rhine, he declared that he would negotiate no further, until he should be completely reinstated in his dominions. Events then followed with the utmost rapidity. When the Allies took possession of Paris, the Pope had already reached the frontiers of the Ecclesiastical States, and on May 24, 1814, he made his entry into Rome. The world then commenced a new age; and a new era was also commenced for the Roman See.

The period of years that has since elapsed has derived its character and tenor principally from the conflict between those revolutionary tendencies, still maintaining so powerful a hold on the minds of men, and the ideas to which the older States

returned with redoubled earnestness after their victory, as to their original and primitive basis. In this conflict, it is manifest that the supreme head of the Catholic Church could not fail to assume an important position.

The most immediate support of the papacy was the idea of secular legitimacy, and it is to be observed that this support was offered with even more determination from the side of its opponents in faith, than from that of its adherents and the followers of its creed.

It was by the victory of the four great allied powers, three of which were non-Catholic, over that ruler, who had thought to make his capital the centre of Catholicism, that the Pope was restored to freedom and enabled to return to Rome. It was to the three non-Catholic monarchs alone, at that time assembled in London, that the Pope first expressed his desire to recover the entire States of the Church. How often, in earlier times, had every resource of those States been strained to effect the destruction of Protestantism, whether in England or in Germany, and for the extension of Roman Catholic doctrines over Russia or Scandinavia! Yet it was now to be almost entirely by the intervention of these non-Catholic powers, that the pontiff should regain possession of his States. In the allocution, in which Pius VII communicated the fortunate result of his negotiations to the cardinals, he expressly refers to and extols the services of those sovereigns "who do not belong to the Catholic Church." The Emperor of Russia, by whom his rights were considered with particular attention, as also the King of Sweden, the Prince Regent of England, and the King of Prussia, who had "declared himself in his favor throughout the whole course of the negotiations."[1] Differences of creed were for the moment forgotten, political interests only were taken into consideration.

We have previously had occasion to remark the existence of similar tendencies, during the last century and a half. We have seen from what States Innocent XI received support and assistance in his conflicts with Louis XIV. When the Jesuits were doomed to destruction by the Bourbon courts, they found

[1] "Nor can we fail to estimate highly the meritorious proceedings in our regard of Frederick (William), King of Prussia, whose efforts were constantly in our favor, throughout the transacting of our affairs." Allocution of Sept. 4, 1815, in Pistolesi, ii. p. 144.

shelter in the North, and were protected by Russia and Prussia. When those courts took possession of Avignon and Benevento, in the year 1758, that step was the cause of a political commotion in England. But this relation of parties has, at no time, displayed itself in a manner more remarkable than on the occasion which we are here contemplating.

And now that the Pope had once more acquired a free and independent position among the sovereigns of Europe, he could devote his undisturbed attention to the revival and recovery of spiritual obedience. One of the first acts, by which he distinguished his return to the administration of his office, was the solemn reinstation of the Jesuits. On Sunday, August 7, 1814, the pontiff himself read mass in the Church of the Jesuits, and before the altar of Ignatius Loyola; he then heard a second mass, and immediately afterward caused a bull to be promulgated, wherein he empowered the yet surviving members of the Society of Jesus again to regulate their lives according to the rule of their founder, to receive novices, establish houses and colleges, and once more devote themselves to the service of the Church, by preaching, confession, and instruction. "On the stormy sea," he further remarked, "when at every moment threatened by death and shipwreck, he should violate his duty by declining the aid of powerful and experienced mariners, who offered themselves for his assistance."[1] He restored to them whatever portions of their former property yet remained, and promised them indemnification for what had been irrevocably alienated. He entreated all temporal and spiritual powers to grant their favor to the order, and consent to promote their interests. It was manifest that he hoped to exercise his spiritual authority, not within the restrictions imposed on it in the latter part of the eighteenth century, but rather in the spirit of his earlier predecessors. And how, indeed, could he ever have found a more favorable or more inviting moment for that purpose? The temporal powers of Southern Europe, just restored to their possessions, were now, as it were, repentant of their former refractory and insubordinate proceedings; they believed that it was thereby they had unchained the spirit by which they had themselves been overthrown. They now considered the Pope as their natural ally,

[1] Bull: "Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum."

and, by the aid of the spiritual influence, they hoped the more easily to subdue those domestic enemies by whom they saw themselves surrounded. The King of Spain recalled to his mind the fact that he bore the title of the "Catholic King," and declared that he would deserve it. The Jesuits, whom his father had so jealously banished, he recalled to his kingdom; he re-established the tribunal of the nuncio, and edicts of the grand inquisitor were once more published in the country. In Sardinia, new bishoprics were founded, and monasteries were restored in Tuscany. After some show of resistance, Naples also assented to a concordat, by which a very effective and immediate influence over the clergy of that kingdom was accorded to the Roman Curia. In France, meanwhile, the Chamber of 1815 considered the welfare of the nation to depend on the re-establishment of the ancient French Church. "That work," as one of the speakers expressed himself, "of heaven, of time, of kings, and of forefathers." But the question really at issue was respecting the necessity of restoring to the clergy their practical influence on the State, the communes, families, public life, and public education; not a word was now said of those liberties which the Gallican Church had either possessed or expressly attributed to itself. By the new Concordat then projected, it would have been submitted to a degree of dependence on Rome more absolute than had been known at any former period.

But it was not in the nature of things, that proceedings so decided should at once achieve the victory over that spirit of the Romance nations, which had been developed amid views and tendencies so entirely opposite. The old antipathies to the hierarchy burst forth in France with loud cries of war against the new concordat. The legislative power of that country was constituted in such a manner as to render the execution of the plans formed in 1815 altogether impossible. A reaction not less violent was excited in Spain, by the cruel and tyrannous government of Ferdinand: a revolution broke out, which, while immediately directed against the absolute power assumed by the King, who could offer it no resistance, evinced at the same time a decided tendency to oppose the claims of the clergy. One of the first acts of the new Cortes was the renewed expulsion of the Jesuits; an edict soon followed, commanding the

suppression of all religious orders, with the sequestration of their property, and its immediate application to the payment of the national debt. Commotions of a similar character instantly arose in Italy: they extended into the States of the Church, which were filled with analogous elements of discord; and at one time, the Carbonari had even fixed the day for a general insurrection throughout the ecclesiastical dominions.

But the restored sovereigns once more received support and assistance from the great powers by whom the late victories had been obtained—the revolutions were suppressed. It is true that on this occasion the non-Catholic States took no immediate part in the repression of the commotions, but it was not opposed by any, and by some it was approved.

And Catholicism had, meanwhile, received a new organization even in the non-Catholic countries. The opinion that positive religion, of whatever confession or form, was the best support and guarantee of civil obedience, universally prevailed. In all countries measures were carefully taken for the rearrangement of dioceses, the foundations of bishoprics and arch-bishoprics, and the establishment of Catholic seminaries and schools.

How entirely different was the aspect now assumed by the ecclesiastical system of Catholicism in those provinces of Prussia which had been incorporated into the French Empire, from that which it had exhibited under the rule of France. The attempts occasionally made in different places to oppose resistance to the ancient ordinances of the Roman Church, found no support from the Protestant States; but on the other hand, the Roman Court concluded treaties with the Protestant as well as Catholic governments, and perceived the necessity of acknowledging their influence in the selection of bishops; nay, that influence was, in fact, sometimes employed for the promotion of those men who were most zealous in ecclesiastical affairs, to the highest offices. There seemed to be evidence that the conflict respecting creeds was altogether set at rest in the higher regions of politics, while it was perceived to be continually losing its violence in civil life and gradually ceasing to exist. A recognition was now accorded by Protestant literature to ancient Catholic institutions, which would have been found utterly impossible in earlier times.

These expectations of peace were nevertheless proved to have been too boldly and inconsiderately entertained.

The rigid principle of Catholicism which identifies itself with, and is represented by Rome, became gradually involved, on the contrary, in more or less violent and deliberate conflicts with the Protestant civil powers.

In one of these contentions it achieved a decided victory; in England namely, in the year 1829.

During the wars of the revolution the government of England, which for a century had been exclusively Protestant, had made certain approaches to the Roman See. It was under the auspices of those victories obtained by the Coalition in 1799, and in which England took so conspicuous a part, that Pius VII was elected. We have previously remarked, that subsequently also this pontiff sought and found support from the might of England, and could not resolve on adopting any measure of hostility against that country. In England, in like manner, it was considered no longer so needful to exclude men from rights that were strictly political, on account of their spiritual relations with the Pope. This had already been felt and expressed by Pitt:[3] yet, as might be expected, every change in the habit of adhering firmly to the tried principles of the constitution, long experienced unconquerable opposition. Finally, however, the spirit of the age, which is adverse to all exclusive privileges, asserted its empire effectively on this question also: matters standing thus, acts of lawlessness and turbulence, with combinations, religious and political, gave token so manifest of a refractory spirit in the pre-eminently Catholic Ireland, that the great general by whom so many foes had been victoriously withstood, and in whose hands the government was then placed, was reduced to the declaration that he could no longer conduct affairs unless the concessions demanded were accorded. Those oaths of office by which alone the Protestant interest had believed its safety secured, in the times of the Restoration and Revolution in England, were accordingly re-

[3] "Mr. Pitt is convinced," he observes in his letter to George III, January 31, 1801, "that the grounds on which the laws on exclusion, now remaining, were founded, have long been narrowed—that those principles, formerly held by the Catholics, which made them be considered as politically dangerous, have been for a course of time gradually declining—that the political circumstances under which the exclusive laws originated, arising from the conflicting power of hostile and nearly balanced sects, . . . and a division in Europe between Catholic and Protestant powers, are no longer applicable to the present state of things."

pealed or modified. How often had Lord Liverpool previously declared, that if this measure were carried, England would no longer be a Protestant state; that if no important consequences should immediately follow, still it was not possible to foresee the results that might arise from it at some future time.[4] Yet the measure was adopted—the consequences were ventured upon.

And a still more brilliant and more unexpected triumph was immediately afterward achieved in Belgium.

In the kingdom of the Netherlands there had been evidence of animosity between the North and South, even from the first moments of its foundation; this feeling became so violent as to menace a rending asunder of the kingdom, and from the first had been exhibited most obviously in ecclesiastical affairs. The Protestant King adopted the ideas of Joseph II; under their influence he established higher and lower schools, and for the most part administered his share of the ecclesiastical government with the same views. The opposition founded educational institutions in a totally different spirit, and applied itself with deliberate intention to promote the most decided hierarchical principles; a liberal Catholic party was formed, which, taking its position here as in England, on the universal rights of man, advanced daily to pretensions of higher importance; it first extorted concessions, liberation, for example, from the above-mentioned schools; and, ultimately, when the favorable moment presented itself, entirely threw off the detested dominion, and succeeded in founding a kingdom, in which priests have once more attained to high political importance. It was by the most decidedly liberal ideas that their triumph was most effectually promoted. The low qualification by which the inferior classes both in town and country are admitted to participation in public affairs, enabled the priesthood, who readily obtain influence over those classes, to control the elections; by means of the elections they rule the Chambers, and by the Chambers they govern the kingdom. They are to be seen on the public promenades in Brussels as in Rome; well-fed and full of pretension, they enjoy their triumph.

[4] Speech of Lord Liverpool, May 17, 1825. "Where was the danger of having a popish king or a popish chancellor, if all the other executive officers might acknowledge the Pope? . . . It was said that a Catholic might be prime minister, and have the whole patronage of the Church and State at his disposal. . . . If the bill were to pass, Great Britain would be no longer a Protestant State."

Neither in the one nor the other of these events, did the Roman Court, so far as we know, assume an immediate or directing part, however advantageous they have obviously proved to its authority; but in a third, on the contrary, that of the dispute between Church and State in Prussia, the papacy actively interfered. The tendencies of the Protestant civil power and of the Catholic hierarchy, which seemed in some sort to have coalesced after the restoration, but which had subsequently, and for some time, again become estranged, now adopted the most opposite courses, and separating systematically, and with full purpose, became engaged in a contest which has, with reason, attracted the attention of the world, and which involves the most important consequences. In confederacy with the two archbishops of the kingdom, the Pope has placed himself in opposition to an ordinance of the King, of which the object was to regulate the family relations of the mixed population, in a religious point of view. In the midst of Germany the Pope has found willing instruments and powerful support.

An internal consolidation of Catholicism has meanwhile kept equal pace with these great results.

In the ecclesiastical institution, the principle of unconditional subordination to the Roman See has once more obtained the ascendancy. The ideas of papacy—bishopric and priesthood—however various the notions they have usually appeared to convey, have now become, as it were, fused and mingled together. The order of Jesuits, which presents itself as the most eloquent expression of the ecclesiastical restoration, has attained once more, not only to riches and local importance, but also to an extent of influence comprising the whole habitable world. And this silent and quiet, yet all-pervading, all-embracing revolution in the position of the order has been promoted by tendencies in themselves of the most varied character; in the first place, by the favor of those governments which desire to establish an unrestricted ecclesiastical authority; further, and even more effectually, by the inclinations of the age toward political opposition, which has sought to obtain an auxiliary; perhaps also in some instances by a real necessity for religious aid, but more frequently by the calculations of a narrow and short-sighted egotism; although there are doubtless many enthusiastic spirits

who have once more embraced the opinion that all which has been lost in other times may yet be regained.

But if we direct our attention to the various empires of the world, we shall perceive certain evidences that this progress by no means presents prospects of so wide an extent; nay, rather, an opposition and hostility seem already to have been called forth from the adverse powers of civil governments.

In the North, on the frontiers of the dominions held by disciples of the Greek Church, Catholicism has endured a loss more extensive than any it has experienced since the times of the Reformation. Two millions of united Greeks, under the guidance of their bishops, have departed from the Latin rite and returned to the Greek Church, to which their forefathers had belonged.

In that southern kingdom which is especially distinguished by the title of "Catholic"—in Spain, the possessions of the clergy "which," as the Pope declares in one of his allocutions,[8] "had remained to them even under the dominion of the Infidels," have been sequestrated, confiscated by a revolutionary government; and dissensions have arisen concerning them, which will not readily be set at rest, even by a return to friendly feeling on both sides.

The revolution of July in France can be regarded in no other light than as of itself involving a defeat of the rigid Catholic opinions; it is well known that the religious zeal of Charles X was the principal agent of his own overthrow. It is true that since that time the extended constitutional rights which are open to all, and of which all can avail themselves, have lent space and opportunity for the extension of hierarchical activity and clerical efforts also. But this very extension, together with the claim asserted by the clergy to the general control and guidance of education, have reminded the civil authorities of France that their government is not only based on the rights and immunities of individuals, but also, that the exercise of those immunities, in a spirit opposed to its essential principles, may prove exceedingly dangerous to itself. Rarely has the Chamber of Deputies been found to be so unanimous as in their resolutions against the attempted organization of the Jesuits; so that Rome has in fact retreated a step before them.

[8] In the consistory of March 2, 1841.

The tact and forethought employed in the first arrangements, as regarded Belgium, are well known; yet even there more liberal opinions are advancing by their own force, and are acquiring more extensive influence from year to year.

An extraordinary reaction has been produced in Germany, and a heavy blow inflicted on the Roman See by its persistence in demanding the renewal of all institutions, on the model of the ancient Catholic orthodoxy. After hundreds of thousands had been invited and drawn together, for the purpose of paying worship to an exceedingly doubtful relic; a slight demonstration opposed to this invitation, one made almost without any definite object, has brought to light the existence of a disposition in the middle ranks of Germany toward departure from the Roman faith, to an extent of which no anticipation had been formed. And this is in direct accordance and connection with the state of things, introduced by the obstacles opposed to mixed marriages. Great exultation was felt in Rome when the measures presenting these obstacles were carried into effect, but those measures were distinctly at variance with the general feeling of the nation.

Among the German Protestants also, of whom it was repeatedly asserted that their existence as a church was in its decline, and rapidly approaching dissolution, a consciousness of their original power has been awakened, together with a sense of their community of interest. The efforts of a Catholic government to force the practice of Catholic ceremonies on the Protestant portion of its troops in military service, have proved this purpose to be altogether impracticable.

In England, the Protestant spirit opposes itself even to the measures which the government, proceeding on the course it has believed itself called on to commence for the religious settlement of Ireland, has adopted with a view to that settlement; and this it has done with a force of action which renders it questionable whether, under the altered circumstances of the present times, measures similar to those of 1829 could still be carried by the reformed and hitherto popular parliaments.

For in these as well as in other manifestations and movements of the age, there is an incessant conflict of restless energies, in advance and retreat, in assault and defence, in action and reaction. No moment is similar to another; varying elements unite

at one instant, but to separate at the next; to each exaggeration and excess there succeeds its contrast; feelings and actions, the most remote, are seen to act on each other. While on other points political considerations proceed slowly among the several kingdoms and nations, the ecclesiastical interest has this peculiarity—that one of the most powerful and effective principles of the papacy possesses a great representative force, which mingles with and gives its impress to all. Even around the restored papacy, the minds of men are divided, and positions of anomalous character are assumed by the nations and States, not indeed with the character of energetic faith, characteristic of earlier times, which created and annihilated—such potency is not even now exhibited, either by the attack or defence—among the Jesuits or their antagonists—but yet presenting a real and effective reference to the most important and profound requirements, whether of individuals or of society, and, which is very characteristic, under the continual influence of past times still acting on the memory and reflections of living men. Whatever antagonisms have at any time shaken the world on this field of contest, are again called forth and reappear in the arena—councils and ancient heretics—the relative power of the emperors and popes in the Middle Ages—ideas of the Reformation and the Inquisition—the later Church and the modern State—Jansenism and the Jesuits—religion and philosophy, all present themselves in turn, and amid them moves the life of these our days—susceptible and excursive—hurrying forward in eager conflict toward aims imperfectly comprehended and results unknown; no longer restrained by the force of powerful natures—master spirits, but light and self-confident, and in ever-active ferment.

We have certainly no cause to expect that the exertions of the hierarchy will enable it ever again to take possession of the world, or prove capable of establishing any kind of priestly domination: these exertions are opposed by energies all too powerful, and which are rooted in, and bound up with, the deepest sympathies and sentiments of life.

But neither does the prospect present itself, to judge from the course taken by ecclesiastical affairs and proceedings, of an early triumph over the negative spirit; that especially which would disown all religion; this will not be readily subdued.

Infidelity is indeed rather promoted by the arrogance of hierarchical pretensions. It cannot be affrmed, upon the whole, that the Roman See, though standing itself ever prepared for battle on the Protestant borders, and constantly renewing the ancient questions in dispute between Church and State, has contributed greatly to the restriction of the revolutionary spirit; that spirit has more than once aroused itself even in the most immediate neighborhood of the papacy, and at the very foot of the Vatican, nor has it ever been repressed without the intervention of foreign power.

The progress and formation of individual opinion among men will, without doubt, fluctuate for a certain period between these antagonist influences.

Meanwhile it is not only the religious feeling by which some men will, without doubt, fluctuate for a certain period between prospect beyond the reach of doubt and contention is felt to be needful; this refuge is demanded also by the mind in its comprehensive consideration, and more remote observation of things. Nor do we fear to deceive ourselves by the belief that men of more profound views are returning, in despite of these contentions, and on the one side as well as the other, to the true and eternal principles of pure and spiritual religion, with a more profound consciousness of truth, and increased freedom from the bondage of restricting ecclesiastical forms. The more perfect apprehension of the spiritually immutable, which lies at the basis of all forms, but which, in its whole import, could be expressed by none, must at length appease and reconcile all enmities. High above all conflict—this hope we can never relinquish—there will yet arise from the ocean of error, the unity of a conviction, untroubled in its steadfast security—the pure and simple consciousness of the ever-during and all-pervading presence of God.

This completes the narrative portion of the work. The following Appendix will comprise Papal Biographies, original Diaries, contemporary statements, and other documentary illustrations.

APPENDIX

PAUL THE THIRD.

Photogravure from the original painting by Titian.

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APPENDIX

Section I.—First Period, to the Council of Trent

No. 1

Ad S. Dominum Nostrum Pontificem Maximum Nicolaum V. conformatio Curiæ Romanæ loquentis edita per E. S. oratorem Joseph. B. doctorem cum humili semper recommendatione. (1453.) *Bibl. Vatic. nr.* 3618. [To our Lord, his Holiness the Supreme Pontiff, Nicholas V, the Address of the Roman Curia set forth and presented by Doctor Joseph B., Orator of the Holy Church. (1453.) Vatican Library, No. 3618.

A lament over the well-known conspiracy of Stephen Porcari, which, although not presenting any more minute details concerning it, yet places before us certain important circumstances explanatory of the general position of things; it gives intimation, for example, of the principal object proposed to himself by Nicholas V in his architectural undertakings.

"He strengthens the heights and fortresses by the erection of walls and proud towers, that no tyrant may find his arms avail to expel the pontiff from beloved Rome."

Previous popes had frequently been compelled to quit their capital. Nicholas built that he might be prepared to defend himself against all assailants, whether from within or from without. There is further exhibited in this document the condition of Rome as compared with that of other Italian cities.

"Though you should seek through all the cities of Italy, yet in none will you find your own Rome surpassed in the enjoyment of all kinds of liberty: for all others are compelled to pay heavy taxes by their rulers, whether in peace or war; yet they frequently despair of obtaining justice, and the citizens are so crushed and overborne by oppression and violence, that he who was rich has been made poor, and the poor sink beneath their miseries. But your Rome is subjected to no similar exactions or violence, she is compelled to pay no exorbitant impost, nor has to fear even light and moderate taxes from her sacred pontiff. There, too, the most upright of rulers sees justice imparted to all, and will neither inflict wrong nor suffer that it should be done to any; he raises the people from poverty to wealth, and governs Rome in tranquil content."

The author reproaches the Romans for laboring to attain the freedom of ancient Rome. It is indeed established beyond a doubt that the papal rule was milder than that of any other Italian government; and the knowledge of this fact contributed largely to the territorial

extension of the Ecclesiastical States. Our author considers it unpardonable that the citizens should oppose resistance to that Church from which they obtained so many benefits both spiritual and temporal.

"Whence there proceeds to them so great an abundance of gold and silver, together with the safety of their eternal life, so that no people has equal blessings with themselves."

The Pope is advised to provide still more effectually for his safety, to increase his fortifications, and never to go to St. Peter's without a guard of 300 armed men; he is, at the same time, recommended to aim at securing the affections of the Roman people, and to support the poor, more particularly those of good descent, "who blush to live by begging."

"Give aid to those who are willing to exercise those laudable arts by which the glory of Rome is enhanced."

Which was indeed a counsel scarcely needed by Nicholas V. This little work is moreover referred to in the "Vita Nicolai V. a Domenico Georgio, conscripta Romæ, 1742," p. 130.

No. 2

Instructiones data a Sixto IV. RR. PP. Dominis J. de Agnellis protonotario apostolico et Antonio de Frassis S. palatii causarum auditori ad M. Imperatoris. 1 *Decembre*, 1478. *Bibl. Altieri. VII. G.* 1, 90. [Instructions given by Sixtus IV to the reverend Fathers J. de Agnellis, Apostolic Protonotary, and Antonio de Frassis, auditor of causes to the sacred palace, who were sent nuncios to his Imperial Majesty. December 1, 1478. Bibl. Altieri, VII. G. 1. 90.]

The oldest instruction that I have found among the manuscripts that have come under my observation. It begins thus—"Primo salutabunt Serenissimum Imperatorem."

The attack of the Pazzi on the Medici had taken place on April 26, 1478. All Italy was thrown into commotion by this outrage. "The Church is moved with just cause against Lorenzo—the Venetians complain, all this league complains."

The ambassadors were instructed to prevent the Emperor from giving credence to a certain Giacopo de Medio, whom the Venetians had sent as their emissary to the imperial court. "He is an inordinate liar, for he declared many things to his countrymen which we had never uttered, nor even thought of." They were to request the mediation of the Emperor: the King of France had already offered his intervention, but the Pope preferred to reserve the honor of that office to the Emperor. "Let him write to the King of France and to that league, showing them that they are not proceeding uprightly, but are paying little respect to God and to the honor of the pontiff; and that they ought rather to favor the Church—she having justice on her side—than this merchant, who has always been a great hinderance to all our projects against the Turks—the main cause why all that we have been minded to undertake against them could not be brought to bear, and a stone of offence to God's Church and to all Italy."

This affair was all the more perilous for the Pope from the fact that a purpose was entertained of opposing his temporal assumptions by means of a council. "They are of accord with the King of France to bring about the convocation of a council in the Gallic dominions to our injury."

We are hereby reminded of the attempt that was in fact made some years later for the convocation of a council, and by which the Archbishop of Carniola acquired a certain reputation. Johann von Müller has given a few pages to this subject in the fifth volume of his "History of Switzerland" (p. 286), but he does not make the secular motives by which the advocates of this demand for a council were actuated sufficiently obvious. Cardinal Andreas was not altogether so spiritual as Müller's work would make him appear. The ambassadors of Florence and Milan sought the cardinal in Basle, presenting themselves in the name of the entire league, which had taken the field against Sixtus. They found in him—we have their own report—great experience and knowledge of the world, together with a vehement hatred to the Pope and his nephew. "He is a man capable of doing anything, provided he can but ruin the Pope and the count." See Baccius Ugolinus Laurentio Medici in Basilea a dì 20 Settembre, 1482, in "Fabroni Vita Laurentii," ii. 229. We here perceive that even at this early period there was an opposition set up by the temporal sovereigns from purely secular motives; but the princes had also possessed themselves of ecclesiastical weapons, and these they brought into action against those of the popes.

No. 3

Relatione fatta in pregadi per Polo Capello el cavalier venuto orator di Roma. 1500, 28 *Settembre.* [Report presented to the Senate (Venetian) by Polo Capello, regarding his embassy to Rome, 28 September, 1500.] In the Archives of Vienna.

This is the first report that I have found on the Papal Court by a Venetian ambassador. It does not appear in the Venetian archives; and it may be inferred that the reports were not at that time presented in writing. It is given in the Chronicle of Sanuto, in whom may be usually found whatever was transacted in the Senate.

Polo Capello promises to treat on four subjects: the cardinals, the relations or dispositions of the Pope toward the King of France and toward Venice respectively; the intentions of his holiness, and what they might expect from him; but as this division of his subject was not founded on any very accurate distinctions, he does not rigidly adhere to it.

He remarks in the first place, that neither Venice nor France was in particular favor with the Pope; the former, because, having seized on a part of the Milanese territory, fears were entertained lest the remainder of Italy should be also attacked; the latter, because the King of France did not keep his promises to the Pope. In this document we find the conditions of the treaty formed in the year 1498 between the King and the Pope. The Pope granted the King a dispensation permitting him to separate from his wife. In return, the King engaged to confer a domain on Cæsar Borgia, the Pope's son, that should yield him a revenue of 28,000 francs, a wife of the blood-royal (Navarre?), and the renunciation of all attempts on Naples, except in aid of the Borgia family; whence we perceive that the Pope had himself, even at that time, a design on Naples. But these promises were not kept. The matrimonial alliance proposed to Cæsar Borgia was not exactly what had been desired. The Pope went so far as to purchase an estate of 12,000 francs, as a security for the dowry, but the young bride remained in France. It was only by the superior force of the King that the Pope was held to peace. "When S. Ludovico entered Milan," says

Capello very significantly, "the Pope was publicly speaking ill of the King." Alexander was enraged because the French would not give him aid for the expulsion of Bentivoglio from Bologna.

From the above passage we gain a clearer perception of the secret springs by which the papal policy of those days was put in movement, and that which followed is extremely valuable for its delineation of personal qualities.

The author first alludes to the death of Alexander's son-in-law. Cæsar Borgia had already wounded him. "By way of precaution he sent to Naples for physicians: the wounded man was ill thirty-three days, and Cardinal Capua received his confession; he was nursed by his wife and sister, who was married to the Prince of Squillaci, another son of the Pope; they remained with him, and prepared his food in a small vessel with their own hands, for fear of poison, because of the hatred felt toward him by the Duke de Valentinos, the Pope causing him to be guarded lest that duke should kill him; and when the Pope went to visit the sick man, the duke did not accompany him, once only excepted, and then he said, "What has not been done at dinner shall be done at supper." Accordingly, one day, (it was August 17th), he entered the room, the patient having already risen, and made the wife and sister to go out, then Michiele came in, as if called, and strangled the said youth."

"The Pope loves his son, the duke, but is in great dread of him; he is twenty-seven years of age, remarkably handsome, very tall and well made, even exceeding King Ferandin (Ferdinand, the last King of Naples, that is, who was considered extremely handsome). He killed six wild bulls, fighting with the spear on horseback, and in regard to one, he struck off his head at one blow, which seemed a prodigy to all Rome; he has most regal habits and spends very largely, for which the Pope is displeased with him. Besides this, he slew M. Peroto at another time under the very mantle of the Pope, so that the blood burst over the face of the Pope; which M. Peroto was a favorite of the pontiff. He also murdered his brother, the Duke of Gandia, and caused the body to be thrown into the Tiber. All Rome trembles at this duke, and everyone fears assassination from him."

Roscoe, in his "Life of Leo X," has endeavored to clear the memory of Lucrezia Borgia from the scandalous imputations heaped upon her. To the accusations brought against her earlier life, he has opposed a crowd of favorable witnesses respecting the latter part of it. But even the German translator of his work is not convinced by his arguments, believing rather that Lucrezia had amended her conduct. The report we are now examining is, however, further remarkable, because it affords a favorable testimony to the character of Lucrezia, even in her earlier days; its words are—"Lucrezia who is wise and generous." Cæsar Borgia was rather her enemy than her lover. He despoiled her of Sermoneta, which had been granted to her by the Pope, remarking that she was but a woman, and would not be able to defend it: "*È donna, non lo potrà mantenir.*"

No. 4

Among the various documents to be found in the fifth volume of Sanuto, the following appears to be the most important:

"This is the manner in which Pope Alexander VI came to his death: 'The cardinal datary D. Arian da Corneto, having received a gracious intimation that the pontiff, together with the Duke Valentinos, designed to come and sup with him at his vineyard, and that his holi-

ness would bring the supper with him, the cardinal suspected that this determination had been taken for the purpose of destroying his life by poison, to the end that the duke might have his riches and appointments, the rather as he knew that the Pope had resolved to put him to death by some means, with a view to seizing his property, as I have said—which was very great. Considering of the means by which he might save himself, he could see but one hope of safety—he sent in good time to the Pope's carver, with whom he had a certain intimacy, desiring that he would come to speak with him; who, when he had come to the said cardinal, was taken by him into a secret place, where, they two being retired, the cardinal showed the carver a sum, prepared beforehand, of 10,000 ducats, in gold, which the said cardinal persuaded the carver to accept as a gift and to keep for the love of him, and after many words, they were at length accepted, the cardinal offering, moreover, all the rest of his wealth, at his command—for he was a very rich cardinal—for he said he could not keep the said riches by any other means than through the said carver's aid, and declared to him, 'You know of a certainty what the nature of the Pope is, and I know that he has resolved, with the Duke Valentinos, to procure my death by poison, through your hand,'—wherefore he besought the carver to take pity on him and to give him his life. And having said this, the carver declared to him the manner in which it was ordered that the poison should be given to him at the supper, but being moved to compassion he promised to preserve his life. Now the orders were that the carver should present three boxes of sweetmeats, in tablets or lozenges, after the supper, one to the Pope, one to the said cardinal, and another to the duke, and in that for the cardinal there was poison; and thus being told, the said cardinal gave directions to the aforesaid carver in what manner he should serve them, so as to cause that the poisoned box of confect which was to be for the cardinal, should be placed before the Pope that he might eat thereof, and so poison himself and die. And the Pope being come accordingly with the aforesaid duke to supper on the day appointed, the aforesaid cardinal threw himself at his feet, kissing them and embracing them closely; then he entreated his holiness with the most affectionate words, saying, he would never rise from those feet until his holiness had granted him a favor. Being questioned by the pontiff what this favor was, and requested to rise up, he would first have the grace he demanded, and the promise of his holiness to grant it.

"Now after much persuasion the Pope remained sufficiently astonished, seeing the perseverance of the said cardinal and that he would not rise, and promised to grant the favor. Then the cardinal rose up and said, 'Holy Father, it is not fitting that when the master comes to the house of his servant, the servant should eat with his master like an equal,' and therefore the grace that he demanded was the just and honest one that he, the servant, should wait at the table of his master, and this favor the Pope granted him. Then having come to supper, and the time for serving the confectionery having arrived, the carver put the poisoned sweetmeats into the box, according to the first order given to him by the Pope, and the cardinal, being well informed as to which box had no poison, tasted of that one, and put the poisoned confect before the Pope. Then his holiness, trusting to his carver and seeing the cardinal tasting, judged that no poison was there, and ate of it heartily; while of the other, which the Pope thought was poisoned, but which was not, the said cardinal ate. Now at the hour accustomed, according to the quality of that poison, his holiness began to fell its effect, and so died thereof; but the said cardinal, who was yet much

afraid, having physicked himself and vomited, took no harm and escaped, though not without difficulty. Farewell."

This account, if not an authentic one, is at least a very remarkable description of Alexander's death, and is, perhaps, the best we have relating to that occurrence.

No. 5

Sommario de la relatione di S. Polo Capello, venuto orator di Roma, fatta in Collegio 1510. [Summary of the Report of S. Polo Capello, returned from his embassy to Rome, delivered to the College 1510.]

After the great misfortunes suffered by the Venetians in consequence of the league of Cambray, they soon contrived to win over Pope Julius again to their side. Polo Capello brings forward certain details hitherto unknown, in regard to the manner in which this result was produced. The Pope was anxious in respect to the consequences that might ensue from a meeting then projected between Maximilian and the King of France—feeling alarmed because it was said that the King of the Romans and the King of France desired to confer together, and he was certain that this was to be for his disadvantage. It is true that for a certain time he enforced on the Venetians the necessity of resigning those towns which, according to the terms of the league, should have fallen to the German King; but when he saw that the enterprise of Maximilian came to so bad a conclusion, he ceased to press further on that matter. The pontiff held a very mean opinion of Maximilian: "He is a stupid animal," said he, "and rather deserves to be bridled himself than to bridle others." It was considered on the contrary very greatly to the honor of the Venetians, whose name had been looked upon in Rome as already extinguished, that they had maintained themselves. The Pope gradually determined to grant them absolution.

Capello entertained the most profound respect for the personal qualities of the pontiff. "He is a very wise Pope; he permits no one to influence his judgment, and takes counsel with few, or indeed with none." The influence possessed by Cardinal Castro del Rio was but a very indirect one. "When in conversation with the Pope, he will make some remark, which being uttered, the Pope will afterward consider it over." At that moment, for example, the cardinal was opposed to the Venetians, yet the pontiff concluded his agreement with them none the less. Capello considered him to be well supplied with money, thinking he might have 700,000 if not 1,000,000 ducats in his treasury.

No. 6

Sommario di la relatione di Domenego Trivixan, venuto orator di Roma, in pregadi 1510. [Summary of the report of Domenego Trivixan, returned ambassador from Rome, presented in the Senate 1510.]

The report given by Capello in the college is continued by Trivixan to the Senate, but with this difference, that while the former develops the concealed motives of action, the latter contents himself with giving a general sketch: this also is, nevertheless, worthy of notice.

He agrees with the estimation of his colleague of the moneys to be found in the papal treasury, but adds the remark that this sum was destined by the Pope to be used in a war against the infidels. "The Pope is a man of great practical sagacity, but has long suffered from disease of the liver and gout; he is, nevertheless, still active, and endures labor well; he permits none to govern him, listening to all, but doing what best pleases himself. He is held, both by word and otherwise, to resolve on living more moderately." (Does this mean that he had himself promised to be more moderate in his future life—in regard to drinking, perhaps?) "He has a method of procuring whatever money he pleases; for whenever a benefice falls vacant he confers it only on one who already has an office, which office he also confers on some other, so that by this means he draws a sufficiency of money; and offices are become more than commonly venial in Rome." That is, the offices that men actually hold are become brokers or bribes for other benefices; in other words, they serve to procure them.

"The ordinary revenue of the Pope is 200,000 ducats, and the extraordinary is said to be 150,000" (that is, the popes have usually so much); "but this Pope has two-thirds more, both of the ordinary and extraordinary revenue"; so that he must have had about 1,000,000. He proceeds to explain this as follows: "It was customary to pay the taxes at the rate of ten carlini to the ducat; but the church was hereby defrauded, for the ducat was worth thirteen Carlini and a half; then the Pope determined that a just payment should be made, and he has issued a new coinage, the value being ten pieces to the ducat, and these are of good silver. The Pope's revenues are improved from ten to thirteen and a half, and the said new carlini are called Juli." We here see what was the origin of the small coins current in the present day, for it was not until recent times that the paoli now in use have superseded the name and use of the Juli. The carlini, by which accounts were computed and which were the common medium of exchange, had become so much debased and depreciated that the treasury sustained a serious loss by them. It was thus for the interest of his exchequer that Julius II issued a good coinage.

"Item, he is penurious and spends little; he makes an agreement with his house-steward, to whom he gives 1,500 ducats for the expenses of the month, and no more. Item, he is building the church of St. Peter anew, a very beautiful thing it is, and for this he has established a sort of crusade, and a single Franciscan friar brought him, in one sum, 27,000 ducats, which those friars had gathered throughout the world. He has, besides, given to this fabric a portion of the revenues of Santa Maria di Loretto, and has taken for the same purpose a part of the bishopric of Recanati."

No. 7

Sommario de la relatione di S. Marin Zorzi, dotor, venuto orator di corte, fata in pregadi a dì 17 Marzo, 1517. [Summary of the report of Doctor Marin Zorzi, returned ambassador from the court (of Rome,) given in the Senate on March 17, 1517.]

Marin Zorzi was chosen ambassador to the Court of Leo X on January 4, 1514, and, after he had declined the office, was again elected to it on January 25th. If it be true that his commission had particular reference to the expedition of Francis I, as we learn from Paruta (lib. iii. p. 109,) it must have been about the beginning of the year 1515 that he first proceeded to Rome.

His report refers to that period. It is the more important because he proposed to give information in this document in regard to matters on which he had not ventured to write while in Rome. "Referirà," says the summary, which appears to have been written subsequently. "The report will refer to matters which have not been written about in letters, because many things come to pass which it is not discreet to write about."

These are chiefly in relation to the negotiations of the Pope with Francis I, which were not known even to Paruta himself, and of which the best information, so far as my knowledge extends, will be found in this document.

Allusions are occasionally made by different writers to a supposed desire on the part of Pope Leo for a crown to be conferred on his brother Julian, but how this was to be effected has never yet been made clearly apparent. Zorzi assures us that at this time Leo proposed to the King of France—"That with regard to the Kingdom of Naples, it would be well to take it from the hands of the Spaniards and give it to the most noble Julian, his brother." He adds: "And about this affair he gave himself no little pains, for he was not content that his brother should be a duke, but resolved to make him King of Naples. The most Christian King would have given him the principality of Taranto, with other territories; but the Pope was not satisfied with that. Whereupon there came divers ambassadors to the Pope; Monsignor di Soglei and Monsignor di Borsi among others; and the Pope said, 'If the King will consent to this arrangement, then we will be for his Majesty.' And here these matters came to a pause, the most Christian King, desiring that the Pope should not be against him, determined to proceed to Italy in great force; and so he did, but the Pope suddenly leagued himself with the Emperor, the Catholic King, the King of England, and the Switzers."

The letters of Canossa, printed in the "Archivio Storico Italiano," in the year 1844, declare that this project was seriously discussed; but it will be manifest that the affair was not so entirely unmentioned by "domestic and foreign historians" as the editor of the "Archivio" imagined.

The notices given by Zorzi in relation to the time of the campaign I have already communicated, either in the text or in the notes.

But how entirely the Pope was in secret disinclined to the French interests, is rendered manifest by the fact that he not only reproached the Venetians for the decided part they took in favor of the French during Maximilian's enterprise of the following year, but also by the further proof of his having secretly assisted Maximilian himself: "*O che materia,*" he remarked. "Oh, what a business this Senate has made of it, to let your people go to Milan, to permit your troops to join the French, and cross eight rivers in their cause—oh, what a danger is this!" and further: "Thereupon the Pope suddenly despatched troops to the assistance of the Emperor, but underhand, and saying that Marc Antonio Colonna was a free captain in the pay of the Emperor." The ratification of the Treaty of Bologna was meanwhile delayed. The King sent ambassador after ambassador to demand its completion. At length the Pope on his part despatched his emissary to France, and the treaty was sealed.

Francis I soon found an opportunity to avenge himself. The Pope encountered unexpected opposition from the Duke of Urbino; in relation to which the Venetian ambassador here assures us that "the King does not consider himself well treated by the Pope, and is desirous that Francesco Maria should succeed."

He then gives a more minute description of the Pope: "He is disturbed by some inward complaint arising from repletion, catarrh, and other causes which we do not enumerate. He is a worthy man, and very liberal; not willing to give himself much labor, if he can avoid it, but he exerts himself readily for the sake of his kinsmen. As to his nephew, he is shrewd enough, and gives himself no little license—not as did Valentino, but yet little less." Zorzi is here alluding to Lorenzo de' Medici, and he asserts positively what others have denied (and more particularly Vettori), namely, that Lorenzo himself had eagerly striven to possess himself of Urbino. Julian is reported to have entreated the Pope only two days before his (Julian's) death, that he would spare Urbino, where he had been received and sheltered so kindly after his expulsion from Florence, but the Pope would not listen to him: he replied—"This is no time to be talking of these matters"; and this he did because, "on the other side, Lorenzo was pressing him to take possession of the duchy."

Among the advisers of the Pope, he first alludes to Giulio de' Medici, afterward Clement VII, whose talents he does not estimate so highly as others have done. "He is a good man, but of no great ability, although the principal management of the court is at this time in his hands. He was formerly at the Court of Portugal." He next speaks of Bibbiena, whom he considers to be in the interests of Spain, because he had been enriched by Spanish benefices; and lastly he mentions Lorenzo, "who is active and spirited."

The name of Lorenzo leads him to speak of Florence. He says a few words in regard to the constitution, but adds: "At this time all order is disregarded: what he (Lorenzo) wills, that is done. Yet Florence is rather disposed toward the French than otherwise; and the party opposed to the Medici cannot make an alteration, although this state of things does not please them." The militia and regular troops had been partially disbanded. The revenues consisted, first, of the duties paid at the gates and in the city, which amounted to 74,000 ducats; secondly, of the sums drawn from the towns tributary to Florence, amounting to 120,000 ducats; and thirdly, of the *balzello*, a direct impost, and sort of tithe, producing 160,000 ducats.

This brings him to the revenues of the Pope, which he estimates to be altogether about 420,000 ducats; and he then returns to the expenditure and personal qualities of the pontiff: "He is learned in classic literature and the canon law, and above all is a most excellent musician; when he sings with anyone, he causes that person to be given 100 ducats, or more; and, to mention a circumstance previously forgotten, (by him, the ambassador), the Pope derives from vacancies some 60,000 ducats, or more, annually, which is about 8,000 ducats per month; and this he expends in gifts, and in playing at primero, a game in which he delights greatly."

These examples suffice to show the lively and graphic character of Zorzi's report: it is given with infinite simplicity, and in an easy conversational style, so that the reader seems to hear and see all that the author describes.

No. 8

Summary of the Report of Marco Minio, returned from the Court (of Rome), June, 1520, Sanuto, vol. 28.

Marco Minio was the successor of Zorzi, but his report is unfortunately very short. He begins with the revenues, which he finds to

be inconsiderable. "The Pope has but a small income from the papacy, and the revenues are of three kinds: first, the annates, from which he derives 100,000 ducats annually; but of the consistorial annates, which are drawn from the bishroprics and abbacies, the one-half belongs to the cardinals: from the various offices he draws about 60,000; and from compositions 60,000 ducats the year. He has no ready money, because he is very liberal, and cannot keep money; and, moreover, the Florentines, and his relations will never permit him to retain a penny; and the said Florentines are greatly detested at court, for in everything said or done there must ever be mingled these Florentines. The Pope remains neutral between France and Spain; but he (the speaker) considers the Pope to be inclined toward Spain, because he was restored to his native city by Spain, and even owes to the Spaniards his elevation to the papacy. The cardinal de' Medici, his nephew, who is not of legitimate birth, has great influence with the Pope; he is a man of much practical ability. (We perceive from this remark that the cardinal's reputation had increased since the time of Zorzi.) He possesses great authority, yet he does nothing of importance without first consulting the Pope; he is now at Florence, where he holds the government of the city. Cardinal Bibbiena is also in considerable esteem with the Pope, but this Medici does everything."

The ambassador assures his countrymen that the sentiments of the Pope are tolerably favorable toward them (the Venetians). He did not certainly desire to see Venice greater than she was, but would not permit the republic to be destroyed for any advantage in the world.

No. 9

Diary of Sebastiano de Branca de Telini, in the Barberini Library, No. 1103.

This diary is comprised in sixty-three leaves, and extends from April 22, 1494, to 1513 and the times of Leo X. It is certainly not to be compared to Burcardus; and since very little of what was passing was known to the writer of it, we cannot use it even for the rectification of that author's observations. Branca de Telini saw nothing more than was seen by all the world.

Thus he describes the entrance of Charles VIII, whose army he estimates at from 30,000 to 40,000 men. He considers Charles himself to be the most ill-looking man he had ever beheld; but his people, on the contrary, he thought the handsomest in the world: "A more beautiful race was never seen." Telini must not be taken literally; he is fond of expressing himself in this manner. He relates that a man had paid as much as 300 ducats for a horse!

Cæsar Borgia was the most cruel man that ever lived. The times of Alexander were marked and distinguished by atrocities, famines, and exorbitant imposts. "Pope Alexander ordered the whole revenues of all the priests, and all the public officers, and all the churches both within and without Rome, to be set aside for three years, for the purpose of a crusade against the Turks, and then he gave the total amount to his son for the more effectual prosecution of the war." According to Branca, Cæsar Borgia gave audience to no one but his executioner, Michilotto. All his servants went richly clothed, "dressed in brocade of gold and silver even to their stockings; their slippers and shoes were made thereof."

Telini was a great admirer of Julius II. "Never did any Pope so

much as has been done by Pope Julius." He enumerates the cities that he subdued, but is of opinion that by his wars he had rendered himself guilty of the death of 10,000 men.

Next came Leo: he began with promises "that the Romans should be free from imposts, and that all offices and benefices within the city of Rome should be conferred exclusively on Romans: all which occasioned great rejoicings throughout Rome."

Our diarist occasionally brings forward individuals in private life; and we are here made acquainted with the boldest and most renowned of procurators. "Benvenuto Moccaro, the most terrible man (the most powerful—most violent) that ever had been seen in Rome for a private man in Rome." He lost his life by means of the Orsini.

Even in this, otherwise unimportant work, we see the spirit of the times and of the several administrations reflected as in a mirror. We have the times of terror, of conquest, and of tranquillity, as exhibited under Alexander, Julius, and Leo, respectively. Other diaries, on the contrary, that of Cola Colleine, for example, extending from 1521 to 1561, contain nothing whatever of importance.

No. 10

Vita Leonis X. Pontificis Maximi per Franciscum Novellum Romanum, J. V. Professorem. Bibl. Barberini. [The Life of Leo X Pontifex Maximus, by Francesco Novello, a native of Rome, Professor of Civil Law. Barberini Library.]

Others (remarks the author) could relate and describe what is here, and other things unknown to me, much better than I have done. Without doubt they could; his little work is altogether insignificant.

No. 11

Quædam historica quæ ad notitiam temporum pertinent pontificatuum Leonis X., Adriani VI., Clementis VII. Ex libris notariorum sub iisdem pontificibus. [Certain historical notices pertaining to the pontificates of Leo X, Adrian VI, and Clement VII, taken from the books of the notaries under the said pontiffs.] Extracted by Felix Contellorius. Barberini Library. 48 leaves.

Short notices of the contents of the instruments; as, for example—Leo X assigns to his sister the Countess de Medici de Rudolfi 285 golden ducats from the treasury, to be charged upon the dogana for sheep.

I have occasionally made use of these notices. Perhaps the most interesting and remarkable, as having hitherto remained without mention, is the following extract from a brief of June 11, 1529: Certain valuables belonging to the Papal See had been given in pledge to Bernardo Bracchi, and at the time of the sacking of the city Bracchi thought it advisable to bury them in a garden. He confided the place of their concealment to one man only, a certain Geronimo Baccato of Florence, to whom he told it, to the end that someone might be able to point it out in case of any mischance befalling himself. Some short time after this confidence was made, Bernardo Bracchi was seized by the Germans and grievously maltreated; Geronimo, then believing that his friend had died under the torture, imparted the secret

in his turn to one sole person, and from a similar motive. But this man was not so discreet: the Germans heard of the concealed treasure, and by renewed and more severe tortures they compelled Bracchi at length to disclose the place of its deposit. To save the valuables, Bracchi entered into an obligation to pay the sum of 10,000 ducats; but Geronimo considered himself as a traitor, and killed himself from shame and rage.

No. 12

Sommario di la relation fatta in pregadi per S. Aluixe Gradenigo, venuto orator di Roma, 1523, Mazo. [Summary of the report made in the Senate by Aluize Gradenigo, ambassador returned from Rome, 1523, May.] In Sanuto, vol. 34.

He first speaks of the city, which he declares to have increased in a short time by about 10,000 houses: next he proceeds to the constitution. Of the conservators, he reports that they claimed precedence of the ambassadors, who refused to allow the claim; with regard to the cardinals, he says that Giulio de' Medici had risen still higher in reputation; he calls him, "a man of the highest authority and a very rich cardinal, he ranked before all with Pope Leo, a man of great powers and high spirit: the Pope [Leo] did whatever he desired to have done." He describes Leo X as "of very lofty stature, with a very large head and a most beautiful hand: he was an admirable speaker, and made great promises, but did not keep them. The Pope had very frequent recourse to borrowing money; he then sold the different offices, pledged the jewels and valuables of the papacy, and even the apostles (*apostoli*),* to procure himself money." He estimates the temporal revenues at 300,000 ducats; the ecclesiastical at 100,000.

He considers the policy of Leo to have been decidedly adverse to France. If at any time it seemed otherwise, the Pope was only dissembling. "He feigned to be the friend of the French King." But at the time to which our report refers, he was openly and avowedly opposed to France, the cause of which, according to Gradenigo, was that "M. de Lutrech and M. de l'Escu were reported to have said that he (the King) wished 'le recchia del papa fusse la major parte restasse di la so persona.'" Does this mean that he desired to have nothing remaining of the Pope but his ears? Certainly a very coarse jest, and in extremely bad taste. Leo took it very ill. On receiving intelligence of the conquest of Milan, he is related to have said that this was but the half of the battle.

Leo left the papal treasury so completely exhausted, that it was found needful to employ for his obsequies the wax candles that had been provided for those of the cardinal St. Giorgio, who had died a short time before him.

The ambassador awaited the arrival of Adrian VI. He describes the moderate and regular habits of that pontiff's life, and remarks that he had at first maintained a strict neutrality between the two great parties. "It is said that the Pope, as regards his own opinion, is neutral, although he is a dependent on the Emperor, and has it much at heart to effect a truce, that he may the better attend to the affair of the Turks. These things are inferred from his daily proceedings, as well as from the discontent of the viceroy of Naples, who repaired to

* This may possibly mean the figures of the apostles in silver or other precious metals, or their relics; or it may possibly allude to the writs of appeal, so called in the canon law, and which may have been matter of sale; but this last is the less probable suggestion. —Tr.

Rome in the hope of prevailing on the pontiff to declare himself for the Emperor; but his holiness refused to do so; whence the viceroy departed without arriving at his ends. The Pope is deeply intent on the affairs of Hungary, and desires that an expedition should be set on foot against the infidels. He is afraid that the Turk may effect a descent upon Rome, and is therefore anxious to see the Christian princes united, and to make universal peace, or, at the least, a truce for three years."

No. 13

Sommario del viaso di oratori nostri andono a Roma a dar la obe-, dientia a papa Hadriano VI. [Summary of the journey made by our ambassadors to Rome to present our allegiance to Pope Adrian VI.]

This is the only report which possesses the interest of a traveller's description, and which also alludes to subjects connected with art.

The ambassadors describe the flourishing state of Ancona, and the fertility of the March. In Spello they were hospitably received by Orazio Baglione, and proceeded thence to Rome.

They also describe an entertainment given to them by Cardinal Cornelio, a fellow-countryman. The account they give of the music they heard while at table is worthy of notice: "There were brought to the table every kind of musician to be found in Rome; excellent flute-players were sounding continually; there were harpsichords producing most wonderful tones, with lutes and four violins." Grimani also invited them to a feast. "Then at dinner there were musicians, and among them a most ill-favored woman, who sang to the lute most admirably."

They next visited the churches; at that of Santa Croce certain ornaments were in course of preparation for the doors: "Some ornaments and arches of doors gathered from the spoils of antiquity." Every little stone that was being wrought there deserved, in their opinion, to be set in gold and worn on the finger. They next proceed to the Pantheon, and there an altar was in process of erection, at the foot of which was the grave of Raphael. They were shown decorations, apparently of gold, looking as pure as that of the Rhenish "gülden"; but they were of opinion that if the gold had been real, Pope Leo would not have permitted it to remain there. They express their admiration of the columns—larger than their own of St. Mark. "They support the roof, which is a dome, and is formed by certain beams of metal."

They give themselves up, with infinite simplicity, to their admiration of the Roman antiquities. I know not whether this book will fall into the hands of antiquaries. The following description of the colossal statues in the Quirinal (on Monte Cavallo) is, at least, very striking: "Monte Cavallo is so called, because, on the summit of the hill, which is very well peopled, there is a certain structure, formed of a piece of very rough wall (a rude pedestal), on one of the angles of which there is a horse of stone—apparently Istrian—very ancient and corroded by time, and on the other corner is another horse, both of them modelled from the middle forward, the head, neck, fore-feet, shoulders, and half the back; beside them stand two great giants, men double the natural size, naked, and each holding back one of these horses with one arm. The figures are very beautiful, finely proportioned, and of the same stone with the horses; and the horses are also beautiful, equally so with the men: under one of them are inscribed the words '*Opus Phidiæ*,'

ment that no work more perfect has existed in our times. And afterward Leo X further ornamented the halls with textures of gold and radiant colors, after the designs of that most renowned architect and painter, Raphael the Urbanese, the beauty of which most perfect work enchants the eyes of all men."

No. 15

Instruttione al Card Reverendissimo di Farnese, che fu poi Paul III., quando andò legato all' Imperatore Carlo V. doppo il sacco di Roma. [Instruction to the Most Reverend Cardinal Farnese, afterward Paul III, when he went as legate to the Emperor Charles V after the sack of Rome.]

I first found this instruction in the Corsini Library, No. 467, and afterward obtained a copy in the handwriting of the middle of the sixteenth century.

This document was known to Pallavicini, who refers to it in his "Istoria del Concilio di Trento," lib. ii. c. 13; but the following chapters will make it obvious that he has not made so much use of it as his words would imply; he has taken his narrative from other sources.

These instructions are highly important, not only as regards the affairs of the papacy, but also in relation to the collective policy of Europe at a most momentous period; they likewise contain many remarkable and weighty particulars not to be found elsewhere. I have therefore thought it advisable to print them entire, for it is certain that no mere extract would satisfy the well-informed reader; they amply merit the few pages that will be devoted to them.

In June, 1526, the Pope had issued a brief, wherein he succinctly enumerated all the points on which he felt aggrieved by the Emperor. To this the Emperor made a very animated, not to say vehement, reply, in September, 1526. The State-paper which appeared at the time under the title "Pro Divo Carolo V. . . . apologetici libr." (see Goldast, "Politica Imperialia," p. 984), contains a circumstantial refutation of the Pope's assertions. To these writings the instruction before us may now be added. It will be found that they consist of two parts: one in which the Pope is spoken of in the third person, and which was probably composed by Giberto, or some other confidential Minister of the pontiff; it is of the utmost importance in relation to the earlier events, whether during the pontificate of Leo or that of Clement: the second is much shorter, and begins with the words "Not to enter into the causes whereby we were constrained"; and here the Pope speaks in the first person: it was therefore most probably drawn up by himself. Both are prepared with a view to the justification of the measures taken by the Roman Court, and are calculated to place the proceedings of the viceroy of Naples, on the other hand, in the worst possible light. It would, without doubt, be unadvisable to trust them to the letter on each separate point, for we occasionally find misrepresentation of facts. It would be desirable to know what was the reply of the imperial court to the charges here made. Yet, in general, not only the papal policy, but also a considerable part of that of Spain, is elucidated by this document. We find, for example, that even so early as the year 1525 there were some thoughts of annexing Portugal to Spain.

"Most Illustrious and Most Reverend Signor: Considering the difficulty of the province that has been given to the care of your illustrious and reverend lordship, and its great extent, which is well known

to you; considering, also, the great and extreme misery in which we are placed, I cannot but think that it will be some alleviation of your burden to be furnished with whatever information can be afforded in regard to all the transactions that have occurred between our lord the Pope and his imperial Majesty; and it may be well that you should know this truth, namely, that your most reverend lordship is about to visit a sovereign who is more deeply indebted to his holiness and his house than to any other family that can be named, whether of these present or of past times. And if some cause of offence has arisen during the last year, this has not been occasioned by any alieniation of his holiness from his accustomed good-will and affection toward his Majesty, nor does it come from any designs on the part of his holiness for the aggrandizement of his house or of others, or from a wish to abase or diminish the reputation or condition of his Majesty; but proceeds solely from the necessity of refusing to suffer oppression from those holding authority and wielding forces in Italy, as also from the many proofs his holiness had received, as well by nuncios as by letters, envoys, and legates, that it would never be possible to find other remedies for the evils existing.

"It has been the zealous desire of his holiness to serve the Spanish cause and his imperial Majesty, from the time when he was first able to effect somewhat for the crown of Spain, which was from the beginning of the pontificate of his brother Leo of sacred memory—the extent of his influence with whom was known to all, and has been experienced by his imperial Majesty. There is no benefit, gratification, or advantage which the Spanish and imperial cause ever obtained at the hands of Leo, of sacred memory, or of the Church, to which our lord the Pope was not—I will not say consenting, or not adverse, but largely contributing—nay, with regard to which he was not the author, contriver, and director of the whole. And to touch only on those things which are of supreme importance, the league which was effected in the second and third years of Leo, of sacred memory, to oppose the first descent of the most Christian King Francis, was brought about entirely by the efforts of his holiness, who, being then legate, went in person to confer with the other parties; and here, when affairs proceeded in a manner contrary to what was expected, and Pope Leo was compelled to make such terms as he could with the most Christian King, the Cardinal de Medici took that care to maintain Pope Leo firmly to the interests of Spain, which all who were there at the time know and can bear witness to. And he used all the influence that he possessed with the Pope, his brother, to the end that those most eager desires and strong will of the most Christian King to follow up his victory and press forward with so great an army and at so favorable a moment into the kingdom should be restrained, now by one excuse and now by another; and among those put forward was this, that the Catholic King being old, and, by reason of his infirmities, already at the close of his days, his most Christian Majesty would do better to await the occasion of his death, when the attempt would succeed without any difficulty. Then, the death of the Catholic King following very soon after these reasonings—I do not believe a month had passed—what skill and what labor were required to restrain the impatient eagerness of the Christian King to profit by the occasion, could be made manifest by the letters written with his Christian Majesty's own hand, if those soldiers who made prey of all the pontifical papers, as well as of other things, would either restore them to us or would send them to the Emperor. And all these things, with many others, performed to the intent of rendering secure and tranquil the succession of the prince, now Emperor, and tending to place in his

hands the mastery of Spain, even during the life of his grandfather, were done by the Cardinal de' Medici, not for any private advantage of his own, but rather in direct opposition to his particular interests, seeing that he had then no revenues of importance but such as were derived from the realm of France, and that he never sought to secure any equivalent from that of Spain.

"Then followed the death of the Emperor Maximilian, and Pope Leo was disposed to forward the claims of the most Christian King to that dignity, opposing himself to those of his present imperial Majesty but the Cardinal de' Medici took pains, before the election, to induce Pope Leo to refrain from impeding it; and after it was over, he further prevailed on his holiness to give it his sanction, and to absolve the Emperor from simony and perjury, for that he, being King of Naples, could not seek, as declared by the papal constitutions, to become Emperor —as also to reinvest his imperial Majesty in the Kingdom of Naples, and to confer upon him that kingdom anew. In all which, if the great affection of the Cardinal de' Medici for his imperial Majesty, and the opinion he held of his goodness, prudence, and piety do not excuse him, then I do not know which was the greater—the service which he may very freely say he has rendered his Majesty, or the injury done to his brother—that is, to the Pope and the Church—by thus promoting and favoring a power so great, and of which he ought to have considered that one day this river might burst its bounds and cause such outrage and devastation as have now been witnessed. But the cardinal, seeing those two powers of Spain and France divided in such a manner that peace could hardly be hoped for unless the one were balanced equally against the other, first sought to secure this equality by adding power and authority to the King of Spain, who being thus equal to the most Christian King, the latter might be cautious of engaging in war, or if unhappily war should ensue from the desire to advance the King of Spain above the most Christian King, that then the Spanish power should be so firm and vigorous as to give fair hope that, being attacked, it would gain a prosperous issue and a certain victory. And this he proved by more than words. If peradventure those things above written may require some further evidence, let the league concluded with the Emperor against France bear witness of it; for so different were the conditions to be obtained from the one side to those offered by the other, that not only should Leo never have allied himself with the Emperor, being at full liberty and free arbiter to elect the side best suited to his interest, but even had he been previously allied with the Emperor, he should have made every effort to separate himself from the imperial side. And to show briefly that things were in effect as I have said, I may affirm that, at the time when Leo made that league with him, the Emperor was altogether destitute of authority, power, friends, or reputation. He had lost the allegiance of Spain, of which all the provinces were in rebellion; he had returned from the Diet held at Worms deprived of all the hopes he had formed of aid and service to be obtained from it;* and he had war already broken out in two portions of his territories, that is to say, in Flanders by means of Robert de la Marck, and in Navarre, which kingdom was already wholly alienated and reduced to the allegiance of the King favored by France.† The Swiss also, but a short time before, had entered into a new alliance with the most Christian King, and bound themselves by a special stipulation

* This is manifestly incorrect. The Emperor secured a vote of succor from the Diet of Worms to the extent of 20,000 foot and 4,000 horse.

† There are errors in the chronology at this point of the statement. The treaty with the Emperor was ratified on May 8th (Du Mont, iv. 3, 97), while the French did not arrive in Pampeluna until the 20th.—Garibay, xxx. 523.

to the defence of Milan, which was in the possession of the French King, a thing which they would never before consent to do; and the most serene King of England, on whom the Emperor counted, perhaps because of the relationship existing between them and his natural enmity to France, showed a disposition to look contentedly on, as was proved by the effects, for he would not move to give the slightest aid to the Emperor, however pressing the necessity in which he saw him, and notwithstanding the urgent entreaties that were made to him, until after the death of Leo. The most Christian King, on the contrary, in addition to his vast collective resources, his immediate alliance with the most illustrious Signory, and his new compact with the Swiss, was all the more powerful by the real superiority of his force to that of the Emperor, as also by the many and infinite disorders in which, as above said, the affairs of his imperial Majesty were involved. The hopes and prospects of reward that were held out to the Church by the success of the respective sides were also very different; the most Christian King would have instantly conferred the States of Ferrara on the Papal See before engaging in any other enterprise. Further, in the event of acquiring the Kingdom of Naples, his most Christian Majesty was prepared to offer advantages so important to the Church, in regard to every point on which its benefit and convenience could be promoted, that, not to dwell on minute particulars, the papacy could scarcely have profited more had the whole kingdom been made over to it; while, on the other hand, there was nothing to be looked for from a league with the Emperor except a mere proposal for placing Milan in the hands of Italians, and a promise that Parma and Placentia should be recovered to the Church.* Yet, notwithstanding the obvious disparity of the two sides, notwithstanding the facility of the undertaking on the one hand, and the danger, so much greater, on the other, setting aside also the great inequality of the advantages presented by the one side over the other, so powerfully did the wish of the Cardinal de' Medici prevail with the pontiff, and so strongly was his most reverend lordship the cardinal impressed by the opinion he entertained of his imperial Majesty's goodness and piety, that when it was proposed in discussion to require some visible evidence, either in one place or another, of the imperial intentions, he would assent to no adverse views, and go into no inquiry, but gave himself up wholly and unreservedly to that part from which he hoped to derive results more satisfactory to a holy and Christian spirit than could be obtained from whatever amount of mere temporal rewards there might have accrued to him from the opposite course. And is it not known by all to be true, that when at the very beginning things did not happen as had been expected, and the funds remitted by his Majesty as his first contribution were all consumed; when also it was difficult to discover how more were to be provided—did not at this time the sacred memory of Leo for his part, and the Cardinal de' Medici still more on his, place the substance and means of his country, and of such friends and servants as he could command, at the Emperor's disposal? Nay, finally, even his own person was not spared, and of this he well knew the importance and the effects that ensued from it.

"At this time Pope Leo died; and though his most reverend lordship the cardinal found all the world opposed to him, because all those, (the French party,) whom he had offended had arranged themselves against his fortune and dignity, whether spiritual or temporal, while of those

* This also is incorrect. By the 13th article of the treaty, the Emperor is engaged to give aid against Ferrara. "Promittit Cesa. Mtas. omnem vim, omnem potentiam, ut ea (Ferraria) apostolicæ sedi recuperetur." His imperial Majesty engaged to use all his force and all his power that Ferrara might be recovered to the Apostolic See.

on the side of the Emperor none would help him, and some were adverse to him, as your most reverend lordship and everyone can testify, yet the cardinal was not for a moment moved in the slightest degree from his purpose, either by the great danger he stood in, the large offers made him by the one party, or the ingratitude and enmity of the other: the opinion he had formed of his imperial Majesty was still his guide—the imperial advantage still his object; and as he could not suppose that the character he attributed to his imperial Majesty was the creation of his own imagination, nor from the shortness of time had room to suspect it, so he was prepared to endure all things, rather than suffer any change. Thus he proceeded as though all things had been the contrary of what they were, and was careful for nothing but to secure a pope equally welcome to his Majesty as advantageous to the Church and the common opinion; nay, the certainty of all men was that, to make Adrian pope was not very different from making the Emperor himself pope; everyone knows this; and it is equally well known that no one was more certainly the author and conductor of that creation than the Cardinal de' Medici.

"Now, this was the occasion when the Cardinal de' Medici might have made proof whether the judgment he had formed of his imperial Majesty was a right one; for before this, the protection and patronage of Leo, of sacred memory, had prevented the cardinal from experiencing the difference of fortune; and the mind of his reverend lordship was so fully occupied by the service of his imperial Majesty, that he had not thought of distracting it to the care of his own interest, or that of his friends; neither was he so covetous, so obtrusive, or so importunate, as to busy himself with calculations of the rewards proportioned to his merits. Rather in this respect he will seem to have served most perfectly, and to have merited sufficiently, for he had given his attention to no such objects, but had referred himself wholly, and without reserve, to his Majesty's discretion and liberality. It is true that more than two years before, and when his Majesty could have neither believed nor expected to receive so much benefit and service from the house of Medici, his Majesty had promised in writing, under his own hand, and repeated the assurance in other forms, that he would confer an estate in the Kingdom of Naples of 6,000 scudi, with a wife of 10,000 scudi in dower, on one of the nephews of Leo and of the cardinal; but they did not give any care to the gaining possession of the former, or to the securing of the latter, thinking themselves assured by the promise in his Majesty's own hand. Yet when Pope Leo was dead, and that no sign of advantage remained to the house of Medici, by which to remind it that it had so long possessed a pope, excepting only this promise, his reverend lordship the cardinal, sending to pay his respects, and to render an account of himself to his imperial Majesty, did give commission in this matter to those envoys, and directed them to conclude that business, and obtain the confirmation of the said grants and privileges. But the affair proceeded very differently from what not only we,* but also everyone else had expected; for instead of perceiving that our rewards were thought of, and that gratitude was rendered us in recognition of the benefits procured for his Majesty, whereby the house of Medici might have consoled itself in seeing that it had not made so great a loss by the death of Leo, we found such obstacles in the way of our business, as though it had not concerned a matter already fixed and due for many causes, besides being very inferior to the services performed. First, there were disputes

* It will be remarked that the writer has here lapsed into the use of the first person; whether because it is in fact the Pope himself who is now speaking, or for some other cause, does not appear.—Tr.

—no otherwise than might have been had the house of Medici been an enemy—and such objections were made, as even in such case ought not to have been made, because the faith given, and the thing once promised, ought to be redeemed and kept, at all times, and under all circumstances. But replies were made to these objections, and the wrong done to the house of Medici was made manifest. Nevertheless, instead of having cause to hope further benefit, or of receiving, at the least, the whole of what was promised—an estate, that is, of 16,000, being 6,000 from his Majesty himself, and 10,000 for the dower that was to be given—the whole amount was resolved into 3,000 scudi. At which time, the cardinal being well informed of all, if his reverend lordship had not been moved by his devotion to his Majesty to persevere—not as if treated in the manner above described, but as though he had been remunerated to satiety—it might be said that he had done so by force, the Emperor's potency being confirmed in such sort that he could not do otherwise; or that, having no interest with other princes, the cardinal was in the necessity of giving aid to the Emperor, rather than to others. But whoever remembers the state of things in those days—which is readily done, they being sufficiently fresh in memory—will know that the imperial army and cause were at that time in great peril in Italy, by reason of the new succor that the French had received from their league with the most illustrious Signory, by which they had gained increased strength to their army and forces. There was, moreover, no man in Italy who, by his condition, friends, relations, dependents, money, and people, had it more in his power to make the victory fall to whichever side it pleased him, than his most reverend lordship the Cardinal de' Medici, who remained, nevertheless, constantly fixed in his attachment toward the Emperor. Yet not only could he hope no aid from the imperialists, against those who sought to oppress him, but even the imperialists themselves would have got badly through their affairs, if they had not received every kind of help from his most reverend lordship toward gaining the victory, as well as toward maintaining it; for he had stripped himself even to the bones, and not himself only, but the country also, to pay a large contribution which was levied to support the army and to keep it united. And now, when counting up all the services, good offices, and infinite merits of the Cardinal de' Medici and his house, I would willingly specify also whatever proof of kindness or gratitude of any kind his Majesty may have shown toward them, as well for the sake of truth as to excuse in some sort that perseverance of attachment toward his Majesty which was never interrupted by any accident, and to defend it from those who may call it rather obstinacy than sound judgment. But since there has been nothing of the kind, I can specify nothing, unless it be that in exchange for 22,000 scudi of revenue, lost in France, his majesty commanded that the cardinal should have a pension on Toledo of 10,000 scudi, of which some part still remains unpaid. It is true that in the letters written by his Majesty to all his ministers, ambassadors, and captains in Italy, he made honorable mention of his most reverend lordship, enjoining them that they should pay great respect to him, and hold him in high esteem; nay, even commanding them, that if it pleased God to call to himself Adrian, of sacred memory, they should seek to make no other than himself pope. From this it came to pass that all of them had recourse to Florence for the furtherance of their affairs, making known all their difficulties to his most reverend lordship; and there was no man to whom they addressed themselves with more confidence, when they had to treat of moneys or other kinds of aid. He on his part favored them heartily, and also received from them a strong support against that ill-will of Pope Adrian which he had been

led to feel toward his most reverend lordship by the injurious informations which Volterra had insinuated against the said cardinal. But in regard to this matter, though not desiring to undervalue the good intentions which the Emperor may have herein shown toward the cardinal, I may well say that his Majesty did only what was most prudent, in taking measures to uphold a person who had so much authority in Italy, and who, however little acknowledgment he had received, had never varied a hair's breadth from his accustomed course. Nor could his Majesty have secured advantages and benefits so great and so obvious, whether in this or the other States, from any change in the form or order of things, as he obtained by causing the power of the Cardinal de' Medici to be preserved undivided in Florence.

"Adrian being dead, the cardinal was created Pope. But on this occasion, even if the ministers and other dependents of his Majesty did receive commands, yet many comported themselves as it pleased them, and others, who at the last consented to favor his election, declared beforehand that they would not have his holiness suppose they were acting at the instance of the Emperor, for that they did all from the mere movement of their own private will. Yet, having become pope, his holiness still continued the part taken by the Cardinal de' Medici so far as such a union was consistent with the dignity in which God had placed him; and if, in weighing these two demands, that of the duty of the pontiff, and that of his affection toward the Emperor, his holiness had not suffered himself to be ruled by the latter and made that preponderate, the world might perchance have been at peace many years since, and we should not be now enduring these present calamities. For at the time when his holiness was made pope, there were two large armies in Lombardy—that of the Emperor, and that of the most Christian King; but the former was oppressed by many difficulties and scarce able to keep its ground; so that if our lord the Pope had not given it his aid, as he did by suffering the people of the Ecclesiastical States and the Florentines to recruit it; by granting so many tithes from the kingdom, that it drew thence 80,000 scudi, and by causing contributions to be raised for it in Florence, while his holiness further supplied money himself, with many other kinds of aid; but for all these things I say, that war might perchance have had a different termination, a more moderate issue, one that might have given hope of an end to the troubles, instead of the beginning of new and greater tribulations. It was with such hope that our lord the Pope, who thought he had some influence with his imperial majesty, and who desired to counsel him for good, had supplied these further proofs of attachment, thus enabling him to restore his powers, and without this help the Emperor could not have conquered; because (and that I had forgotten) without these succors, the Signory would never have been able to bring its army into action. Yet the advice of his holiness that the army should by no means pass into France, was not only disregarded, but in many other occurrences evidence began to be given that his holiness was held in slight account, while Ferrara was favored to his prejudice. Then, instead of commending and thanking him for what he had done for them, the imperialists began to complain of all that had not been done according to their wishes, not first considering that all had been done from mere good-will, and without any obligation whatever, or taking into account that if the pontiff had even had infinite obligations to them, the force was much greater by which his holiness was drawn to perform his duty toward God than that to the Emperor.

"The issue of the war in France showed whether the advice of his holiness were good or not, for the most Christian King, coming down

upon the imperial army which was at Marseilles, compelled it to retreat in such sort, that, the King pursuing it with speed, it fell back upon Milan, to the great surprise of the people; while such was the terror of the viceroy on that day, as the man belonging to his holiness who was at the court of his excellency wrote, that there were no conditions which his lordship would not have accepted from the French King, and very prudently, he seeing himself utterly undone, but that chance came to his aid and made the most Christian King go to Pavia, and not to Lodi, where it was not possible for him to keep his ground with the forces collected there. Now such was the condition of things, besides seeming as much worse as, in cases of peril so suddenly occurring, men always imagine them to be. Our lord the Pope was on the worst of terms with the most Christian King, and had little hope of anything but evil from his Majesty, and of being infinitely hated by him, his holiness having governed himself, as I shall here say with that truth to which I am bound on all occasions, or to which I should be obliged by circumstances that might seem to demand it of me more urgently than even do those wherein I consider myself at this present.

"When our lord was made pope, the most Christian King immediately commanded to send instant messengers, supplicating his holiness that, as God had raised him to a position above all, so should he seek to raise himself above himself, and conquer whatever passions might have remained in him, whether of too much affection toward the Emperor, or of too much ill-will toward himself; and saying that he (the King) would hold himself much bound to God and his holiness, if he (the Pope) would guide all by one rule, interposing to do good, but not setting himself to favor one party against the other. But if, indeed, for his interests or designs, his holiness should judge it needful to have the particular support of any prince, whom could his holiness have better than himself, who, by nature, and being a son of the Church, and not its rival, desired and was accustomed to labor for its aggrandizement, and not its diminution? And as regarded good-will between man and man, he would offer him such conditions that his holiness should well perceive himself to have gained more by making known how much he merited even while offending and injuring him, than he would ever receive for aiding and favoring the Emperor—herewithal entering into most especial particulars.

"Now, the Pope, our lord, adopted the first suggestion—to wit, that he should be friendly toward all; but, in effect, he still leaned more toward the Emperor; and this he did not only from inclination, but also because he had firm hope that he could effect so much with his imperial Majesty as that he would let himself be guided and moved in such sort that his holiness should have less to consider what might offend the most Christian King, than what might be agreeable to himself in the arrangement and facilitation of such conditions as were necessary for the establishment of peace. But affairs turning out otherwise, and the King resolving to enter Italy, while the imperial army still lay at Marseilles, he sent a courier, I think from Aix, with *carte-blanche* to our lord the Pope, by the medium of Signor Alberto da Carpi, with favorable conditions, most ample terms, and with a manifestation of his feelings, such as he might certainly have sent to the Emperor himself; for although he desired then to gain possession of the State of Milan, in all besides he was content to refer himself wholly and in everything to the decision of our lord the Pope. But notwithstanding this, his holiness would not take his resolution until he had, not only once, but twice, received certain intelligence of the taking of Milan, and had received letters from his minister there that all was finished, and that

the viceroy did not judge it otherwise. Let anyone put himself in the place of his holiness, whether friend, servant, brother, or father, or even the Emperor himself, and let him see what he could have done for the benefit of the Emperor, in this sudden difficulty, or in the next that follows, which was not done by his holiness, and much better done: I say better, because I am certain that those from whom his imperial Majesty has perhaps expected, and may still expect, better service, would have made him pay a very different price for the obligation than his holiness has done. For his holiness having attained the means of putting a stop to all use of arms and prosecution of the war in the kingdom of Naples, with many other advantages, both public and private, obliged himself to nothing more in favor of the most Christian King than merely the placing him in the possession of that which the army of the Emperor had already given up for lost; and our lord the Pope restrained his Majesty, moreover, from moving forward to seize the Kingdom of Naples, in doing which it seemed that he would then have found no great difficulty. And whoever is disposed to glorify himself in regard to those events that turned out contrarywise, should rather thank God by whom it was thus miraculously determined for their advantage, and should attribute nothing to themselves, but acknowledge that the Pope made that capitulation to preserve himself and the Emperor, and not from evil intention. And then afterward, the King, finding to his misfortune that there was difficulty in the undertaking, because he had set about it in a manner different from what he ought to have done, the Pope left him for about two months at Pavia, without a breath in favor of his affairs; and although this was of great service to the Spaniards, yet he did not fail to do more for them, giving them all the succors that they could require from his dominions, and never ceasing to interpose his efforts to produce concord between them, in so far as it was possible. But no good order prevailing, and the King soliciting our lord the Pope to pronounce in his favor, that he might the more readily acquire the State of Milan—urging, also, that the Florentines should do the same, to which they were bound equally with his holiness—the Pope labored to avoid so pronouncing, or giving him any assistance, except the allowing him a passage through his territories, with provision for a part of his army, which his Majesty desired to send into the kingdom for the purpose of making a diversion, and thereby reducing the imperialists the more readily to come to terms. Oh! what a great service was this to the French!—yielding them a thing which it was in their power to take, if it had not been granted them—the Pope, too, being disarmed. Would it not, besides, have been too strange a thing if, having made a league with his most Christian majesty, and not having been willing to serve him in any other matter, his holiness should attempt to refuse him that which it was not in truth within his power to withhold, or prevent the publication of a feigned concord like that then promulgated, by denying a little food to his majesty, the granting which was a contrivance, whereby the King was led to endure with less resentment, that his holiness should fail to observe minutely the capitulation entered into? And if all the truth must be told, the most Christian King was rather injured than served by that separation of his forces; for the troops were so long detained, first in Sienna, and afterward in the Roman States, that the imperial army had time in Lombardy to effect what was done at Pavia; and since that victory was achieved, what reason had the Emperor or his people, or ineed any other person of his party, to be dissatisfied with his holiness, or to think of anything but doing him service and pleasure—to which last they were bound, not only by religion, but by the example of other

princes, who have not only refrained from offending such former popes as have chosen to remain neutral, but have even, when victory had been gained over that party to which the Church had attached itself, still held the pontiffs in the highest reverence, and have followed up their victories by entreating the pardon of the Pope, and by offering honor and service to the Church? But let us put religion aside for the moment; let us even suppose the Pope and the Church in the land of the Muscovite, and who has any right to make a charge against either person or State, when they have usurped nothing to which he has claim or pretension—nay, more, when it is remembered that assistance and favor have been afforded for a long period of years, whereby, indeed, all the victories obtained have been promoted and secured? And if the Pope adhered to the King at that time, he did so at a moment when he was not able to help either himself or others, and believed he perceived a divine occasion for securing, by means of the enemy, that effect which he could not produce of himself; for his holiness gave nothing to the most Christian King which his Majesty might not have taken by his own force, or compelled from the weakness of the Emperor. His holiness did no more than so contrive that when victory ceased to favor the French, he (the pontiff) appeared rather to have restrained them from further losses than driven them on. Then, what unheard-of inhumanity was it to direct the war against the Pope, precisely as though none of these motives had been influencing his actions, or as if he had been moved by causes altogether contrary! What cruelty—not to use a graver term—when the battle of Pavia had been gained, and the King taken prisoner, to make offers of peace to those States that might be justly accused of offending, and send an army against the Church! Either the imperialists had seen the articles of the league made by the Pope with his most Christian Majesty, or they had not seen them; but if they had seen them, as we are certain they did, because all his Majesty's papers fell into their hands, ought they not to produce them, and make manifest whatever was in those conditions that could offend, either in respect to the time when they were concluded or to any other particulars whatever that could be of injury to his imperial Majesty, thereby justifying in some measure that which they have asserted—if, indeed, any such justification could be found in them? Or if these conditions have not been seen by the imperialists, then wherefore these iniquitous proceedings against . . . ? But since they had not found anything to offend in written documents, nor made experience of such from facts or actions, they have indeed had no cause for being offended. And it was not from want of courage or from want of power that our lord the Pope forbore (that he has both courage and power they had long proved to their own benefit); neither has he lost so much of the vigor of his years as to be deprived of the first, while the dignity to which he had attained has greatly increased the second; nor was it because his holiness had intercepted certain letters of those gentlemen, from which it was easy to see that they were puffed up by the expectation of an opportunity for avenging themselves on his holiness, though they had certainly received no injury at his hands: but his holiness, without any consideration whatever of all these things, was moved solely by his regard for justice and by his confidence in the uprightness, duty, and good dispositions of his imperial Majesty, without whose participation it was not to be supposed that anything would be attempted; and his holiness could never have persuaded himself that his majesty would sanction what has been done. Yet the very contrary to what his holiness had expected took place, for suddenly, and without any delay, the imperial army was marched

into the States of the Church, and his holiness was constrained to redeem himself from that oppression by paying a sum of 100,000 scudi, and by making a league with those forces. Then further, when that treaty was sent into Spain, the proof that his imperial Majesty gave of his ill-will to that compact was, that whatever was in it to the advantage of our lord and the Church, that he refused to ratify, although the whole that had been agreed on in Italy was done with the most ample and express command of his Majesty; among other things, there was the restoration of such revenues as proceeded from the States of Milan and which had been taken from the Church, together with the restitution of Reggio, in regard to which he would do nothing. Then our lord the Pope, having found himself so often deceived, though he had always hoped that affairs would take a better turn on the Emperor's part, however much it might seem otherwise on the particular occasions referred to, yet finding that the contrary did constantly happen, at length began to give ear to those who had always maintained and affirmed that his imperial Majesty was proposing the subjugation of all Italy, and laboring to make himself absolute master in the land; and he listened to them the rather because it did in fact seem strange to his holiness that the Emperor should govern both by himself and by his officers in that country after the manner that he did, unless he had some such design. And finding cause for this suspicion, besides being dissatisfied that no faith or promise was ever kept with him, our lord the Pope thought it right and good to attach himself, both in amity and in measures, with those who had a common cause with his holiness, and who were seeking to find means for defending themselves against such violence as was offered. Then, since it was affirmed among other things that the Emperor proposed to deprive the Duke of Milan of his territories, designing to make himself master of them, and since the truth of these allegations was fully established by many indications, it was believed needful to lose no time, but rather to anticipate, and do to others what they proposed to do to us; nor could his holiness refuse to follow in the path of those who were embarked, I say, in a common cause with him. Thus it followed that when the kingdom of France, the signory of Venice, and the rest of Italy, resolved to unite for the relief of the States and the common safety, our lord the Pope gave intimation that he would not refuse his assent to what the others proposed: furthermore, his holiness confesses ingenuously that when it was proposed to him, in the name and on the part of the Marchese Pescara, that he, being malcontent with the Emperor, and also, as an Italian, did offer himself, to take part in that company when they should have to commence their proceedings, not only his holiness gave no refusal, but, hoping to receive effectual aid, would have given him all his demands; for matters having come to such a pass that he feared both for his States and his proper safety, his holiness verily thought that no method from which he could hope for aid was to be rejected. Now the marchese is dead, and God only knows the truth, or with what intentions Pescara entered on that affair; but this is most true and certain, that such proposals were sent to his holiness, in his name, and when his holiness sent to question him on that behalf, not only did he give no denial but even confirmed himself, what, by other means, his holiness had been given to understand. Now, although these proceedings did certainly take place, yet God knows that his holiness was led into them more by necessity than by choice; and of this truth the many letters written at that time to the nuncio of his holiness at the court of the Emperor may bear witness; for in these there were commands that his imperial Majesty should be made to understand

what evils and what ruin must ensue to the whole world from the bad course he was pursuing, and that he should be entreated, for the love of God, to adopt other plans, since it was not possible that Italy—even if he should obtain it—could be held by any other means than those of kindness and by a certain form of procedure, by which it was necessary that he should abide, to content the minds of all men. But all was of no avail; rather, his Majesty gave open testimony to the truth of the suspicion that he designed to make himself master of Milan, under the pretext afforded by Girolamo Morone, and that the duke was proposing to rebel against his imperial Majesty. Nevertheless, the Pope continued to seek an accommodation by fair means, condescending to that which his Majesty desired, since his Majesty would not agree to what he requested, provided only that the Duchy of Milan might remain in possession of the duke, to which effect it was that all these wars in Italy had been set on foot. But in all these efforts his holiness had so little success, that, when the Emperor had shown himself disposed to come to terms with the most Christian King, and this wish of his holiness was made known to him, he refused to make the agreement; and while his imperial Majesty would have made a more advantageous, as well as more solid, compact with the most Christian King if he would first have made agreement with the Pope, so by refusing to make an accord with the Pope he did not render that with the King more easy, but rather made it vain and of slight avail; for if the King were not disposed to keep the terms of his treaty, he would find himself surrounded by associates also malcontent, with whom uniting himself he would then make less account of his imperial Majesty. Nor can his holiness imagine from what cause that great aversion of his Majesty to an agreement with the Pope has proceeded, for at that time the Emperor had never yet received any offence whatever from his holiness, who had sent his own nephew as legate to do him honor, and to treat with him the more effectually of those matters, that he might see how much his holiness had them at heart. The Pope had, moreover, labored to content him in every manner—among other things conceding to him the dispensation of marriage, the importance of which, and its effect in drawing closer the bonds of friendship and good intelligence between those kingdoms, is known to all, or in any case it was the means of securing to his Majesty the money of the dower, as also that succession.* Yet his imperial Majesty, being in no degree moved by all these things, compelled the pontiff to listen to the proposals of those who were entreating him—for the Emperor would offer no terms—and to accept them to the great disadvantage of his holiness. Then, when it had happened that our lord the Pope had bound himself with the most Christian King, and with the other princes and potentates, to make a league for the common defence, and when the Emperor knew of it, he would indeed then have united himself with his holiness and sent to offer him, by Signor Don Ugo di Moncada, not only what his holiness had required and entreated, but even that which he had never hoped that he could obtain. And if his Majesty, either in his own defence or to the blame of our lord the Pope, should now say that these things, being offered to the pontiff by Don Ugo, as I said above, his holiness would not accept them; let not this be said in reproach of his holiness, who, while the matter was in his own hands, gave proof that he was ready to content himself with little enough, but let him rather blame the failure in judgment of those who, at the proper time, and when the opportunity is before them, will not agree to give one, but when the moment has passed will come out of season and be ready to throw

* This makes it obvious that the lapse of Portugal to the crown of Spain was thought of in 1525.

away a hundred. Since his Majesty refused to accept a treaty with honorable conditions at the proper time, and that the enterprises thereupon undertaken seemed likely to succed in such sort that the common object could not fail to be recovered, his holiness was entirely justified in the course he adopted. And if anyone should affirm that the enterprise of the kingdom was not likely to prove an easy one, the contrary is made manifest by the affair of Frusolone and the taking of so many places, and considering, above all, that our lord the Pope could have sent the same force into the kingdom, while the imperialists, on the contrary, were not then in a condition to gather suddenly so great a body, or to make such preparation as they did but effect after many months of waiting for help from Spain. And even in hostility, his holiness did not fail to act the part of a friend, being more ready to take on him the office of the father who menaces without offering injury, than the enemy: proceeding with all sincerity and even descending beneath his dignity by entering into terms of agreement with the Colonnas, his own subjects, that so he might remove all cause of suspicion, and in no case drive the steel so far forward, but that at all times the wound might be easily cured when the sword was withdrawn. But against his holiness was even then contrived that treason which all the world knows, and the guilt of which, as it can never be expressed, so is it most eloquently spoken by silence. And in this matter, if it be true that his Majesty was not acting or consenting, neither did he show any great displeasure or make further demonstration of dissent; nay, rather, all the armaments and preparations that the Emperor could make were intended for no other purpose than to take vengeance for the justice that had been inflicted on the Colonnas by the Pope in the ruin of four of their castles. I will not dispute concerning the truce made this September in the castle by Signor Don Ugo, whether it were kept or not; but it is certain that the absolution of the Colonnas did not so bind our lord the Pope, that he could not, and ought not, to punish them, they being his own subjects. If it had been possible to hope for the observance of that truce made between our lord the Pope and the Emperor, it would have been observed from the first; nor was our lord ever the first to break it; but it was not observed either here or in Lombardy, for whilst the truce was still in force there came 12,000 lansquenets from Lombardy into the territories of the Church, and the bands that were there did the very worst that they could. The viceroy of Naples also wrote letters from the Council, which were intercepted, and wherein he besought the Signory to accelerate the arrival of their forces that our lord the Pope might be taken unprepared, and so that might be completed which had not been effected at the first blow. Then our lord could not so far fail in what was due to himself as to refrain from gathering troops from Lombardy; but though these forces arrived in time to have made a diversion in the kingdom, our lord would even then not permit them to pass beyond the frontiers. The ruin of those fortresses of the Colonnas took place rather because they had refused, in their disobedience, to give admission to the troops, than from any other reason. And in like manner leave was given to Andrea Doria for the interception of that armament, concerning which his holiness had received so many warnings that it was designed for his ruin. The many urgent and legitimate occasions on which his holiness refused to depart from his old love and regard for the Emperor could not possibly be related without subjecting his holiness to the censure of having little care for his own welfare and dignity; and after there began to be some division between them, how many times did not our lord the Pope show willingness, I do not say to accept offers

of accommodation, but even to go out of his way for the purpose of seeking such. Yet nothing but evil resulted to his holiness, whether from the first proposition or from the subsequent reconciliations. And now, while matters were in more violent commotion than ever, comes the father-general of the Minorites, to whom, when he was going to Spain at the beginning of the war, our lord the Pope had spoken much concerning his good-will to the Emperor, and had shown him what would be the best course for obtaining universal peace, but who brought back conditions which, though in words they were as ample as might be desired, yet in fact were they extremely hard. Still our lord desiring to find an issue from these troubles, and wishing once for all to have an explanation face to face with the Emperor, that if possible there might be found some mode of making peace, did agree to those things that were desired by the Emperor from the Pope, and accepted what his Majesty was willing to grant. When his holiness would have proceeded to a conclusion, and it became necessary to treat with the viceroy, who on his part had arrived at the same time in Gaeta, with words no less large and promising than those brought by the father-general; it was found that the conditions increased continually in severity till they extended beyond all possibility of acceptance or execution. In all these matters nothing afflicted his holiness more than the being constrained to make an agreement alone with the Emperor in Italy; and what induced him to do so, even to his great prejudice and disgrace, was the hope of effecting peace and union in Italy, and also the wish to continue acting with the Emperor: but this could not be done without the consent of the Signory of Venice; and for the purpose of obtaining their consent, the viceroy being at Frusolone, a suspension of arms for eight days was agreed on, within which time a reply might be had from Venice. Then the Signor Cesare Fieramosca, being the bearer of the same, did not arrive with it until hostilities having been recommenced and Frusolone liberated from the besiegers, nothing more could be done. Now, in all this negotiation, it is certain that his holiness proceeded with sincerity, and so did the most reverend legate, but the enemy being already in presence and with arms in his hands, it was not possible to manage two different things at the same time. It may well occasion astonishment, that, after having proved the disposition of the party, and finding himself deceived, injured, and disgraced, our lord the Pope should again venture to throw himself upon a peace or truce of this kind, and that deliberately and with full knowledge, without any force or necessity, not moved by the fear of losing, nay, certain of gain, far from sure of what friendship he might acquire, but certain of alienating and exciting the enmity of all the world, and more particularly of those who loved his holiness from their hearts. But his holiness had proved that it was not pleasing to God that war should be made, for since he had made every effort to avoid war, and then, having commenced it with so many advantages on his part, could yet obtain only disastrous results—this could be attributed to no other than the displeasure of God. We were ourselves afflicting and desolating unhappy Christendom in a manner insufferable to think of, and as though we had been resolved to leave the Turk little labor in completing its destruction; therefore his holiness judged that no human consideration, however weighty, should be suffered to move him from seeking peace in company with whomsoever he could, or if he could not have it in union with others, to make it for himself. Furthermore, also, the pontiff was fixed in these thoughts by the arrival of intelligence to the effect that the Emperor was disposed in a way that has been ever wont to move his holiness wonder-

fully; for there came at that time, through Signor Cesare and Paolo di Arezzo, such letters under his Majesty's own hand as were necessary to produce an agreement between his holiness and the Emperor, which agreement could not but be for the happiness of the whole world. How could it be imagined that a man could be born of a worse nature than the Emperor must have, if he were capable of contriving this means for the ruin of the Pope, which were indeed most unworthy of even the lowest and vilest man, how much more then of the greatest among Christians? But let us not even imagine such a thing; let us rather consider that God has permitted it to prove us, and to furnish occasion to his Majesty for the display of more piety, more goodness, and more faith, by giving him such opportunity for setting the world in order as was never before conceded to any sovereign born. The papers of his holiness having all fallen into the hands of the soldiers, there will have been taken by them, among others, a new treaty made by his holiness but five or six days at most before the fall of Rome; but by which, if his holiness, again uniting himself with the league, did consent to many things which were to the prejudice of his imperial Majesty, I do not think that any treating on the part of the Emperor will on that account have the right to avail themselves of it; nay, they cannot do so without making further discovery of their own defects and failings; for if we admit that Bourbon was not to be restrained from his purpose of proceeding to the ruin of the Pope, it is certain that there were many others in that camp, both of infantry, men-at-arms, and leading chiefs, who would have obeyed the commands of the Emperor if these last had been duly enforced on them; then if Bourbon had been deprived of that portion of his force, he would have been but little in condition for the carrying forward of his designs. Or admitting further that this could not be effected, yet there can be no cause given which shall avail to excuse the fact that, although his holiness had fulfilled all the conditions of the treaty that he had made with the viceroy, as your most reverend lordship will remember, and may see by reading again that copy of the treaty which you will bear with you, yet when his holiness required in return, that payment should be sent for those soldiers and men-at-arms who had attached themselves to his command, he could obtain nothing; so that our lord the Pope, not being fairly replied to on any point of that treaty, (because on the one hand things were done against him that ought not to have been done, and on the other, the succors that ought to have been given were not given;) I do not know with what face anyone can set himself to calumniate his holiness for a thing done by mere necessity—a necessity imposed by themselves, and which he so long delayed to do, that it was the very ruin of his holiness; or how any can take occasion to consider themselves offended by us on that account.

"In regard to the resolution taken by our lord the Pope to make approaches to the Emperor, even the enemies of his holiness cannot deny that he made it at a time when he could not be suspected of being moved by any other cause than by zeal for the welfare of all Christians, for he had that inspiration on a sudden, and instantly after the news was brought of the death of the King of Hungary and the loss of the kingdom, his holiness having consulted and resolved on that matter in consistory two or three days before the entry of the Colonnas into Rome. Nor do I believe that any one will be so gross as to suspect that our lord the Pope was induced to that show of favor toward the Emperor because his holiness had foreseen the storm, for it was not of such a character but that if he had had three hours' knowledge of it, to say nothing of three days, that would have enabled him to disperse it with very little effort or rumor.

"The conditions which the father-general proposed to our lord the Pope were these: first, the Emperor desired peace with his holiness; and if perchance the father-general, on his arrival, should find that the affairs of his holiness and of the Church were ruined, his imperial Majesty would yet be content that all things should be restored to their previous condition, and that peace should be granted to everyone in Italy, he having no desire to obtain a hand's breadth of the country either for himself or his brother; on the contrary, he would have all men left in possession of that which they had held from old time. As to the difference respecting the Duke of Milan, that should be examined judicially, by judges to be deputed by his holiness and his Majesty. Then, if he were acquitted, his duchy should be restored to him; but if condemned, it should be given to Bourbon, when France would be content to make an agreement in money, a thing that had been previously refused; the sum named also was that which the most Christian King had sent to offer, namely, two millions in gold. These conditions our lord accepted instantly, that is, so soon as the father-general could make proof of their validity, and he subscribed them with his hand; but it is true that they were not approved by the others, who, as your most reverend lordship knows, affixed to them most heavy and intolerable demands. Now, since it cannot be supposed but that his imperial Majesty spoke in earnest, and with that sincerity proper to so great a prince, and these his embassies and propositions showing him to be so moderate of mind and so benignant toward our lord; whilst, indeed, his Majesty did not know what might be the mind of his holiness toward him, and believed the imperial arms so potent in Italy, by his lansquenets and the armada sent thither, that everything must have been yielded to them—seeing, I say, all these things, it is not to be supposed but that when his Majesty shall be informed that if he sent evidence of good-will to the Pope, equal amity was displayed on the part of his holiness, the Emperor will not only be like himself in proving his ready kindness and good-will to the Church, offering to her and to our lord all due reparation, but will also add force to that his natural disposition, in proportion as he will desire to avoid the charge and obloquy that must else ensue, thus changing it from an ignominy which could not easily have been obliterated to a perpetual glory, making his fame all the more illustrious and firm by his own actions, as others have sought, his own Ministers, for example, to depress and obscure it. And this he should do, the rather because so great a resistance was opposed to the imperial forces, that his holiness, in laying down his arms, was conferring a benefit instead of receiving one, as I said before, and as is most clear; so that all the subsequent calamities will be laid to the name and faith of his imperial Majesty, in whom our lord the Pope confided. And with regard to what things should be done to secure this end, as well for the Church in particular and for its restoration, as for Italy and all Christendom in general, these will be readily discovered, supposing the Emperor to be more inclined to securing the universal pacification than any other emolument. The benefits by which the sufferings of Italy may be cancelled will be very easily shown, provided only there exist the wish to know the right, with the disposition and judgment to decide wherein the true good consists and may be found.

"Not to enter into the causes whereby we were compelled to take up arms, which is a thing that would require too much time, we will only say that we never took them for any hatred or ill-will that we had toward the emperor, nor from any ambition to increase our territories, or advance those of our house, but solely because of the necessity in which it appeared to us that our liberty and State, with the liberties

of the Italian States in general, were then placed; and because we desired to make it manifest to all the world as well as to the Emperor, that if he sought to oppress us, we could not and ought not to endure it without making every effort to defend ourselves. Also, that his Majesty, if he had that intention, of which we never doubted, might see that he was not likely to succeed so easily as others perhaps may have given him to understand. Or, again, if we had been deceived in supposing that his Majesty intended to do us evil—if these suspicions should be shown to have had their birth rather from the proceedings of the Ministers than from any other cause, then that his imperial Majesty, making it clearly obvious that this was the fact, and giving us good assurance thereof, might enter with us into a good and lasting peace and friendship: nor with us only, but also with other princes and sovereign powers with whom we had associated ourselves, but for no other purpose than that of defending ourselves against the wrongs and offences offered us, and of obtaining such upright and reasonable conditions as might once more secure a peace for this unhappy Christendom. And if, when Don Ugo came hither, his Majesty had sent us such conditions as most justly appeared to us necessary for attaining that end, we should have thought it the most signal grace and favor that God could bestow upon us, to be thus permitted to lay down our arms on the same day, so to speak, as they had been taken up. The disposition in which we were found by the general of the Franciscans will bear good witness to the truth of our having always been minded as we have said; for a year ago, and when he was here, on his way to Spain, we made him acquainted with the causes which we and the other princes of Italy had to be malcontent with the Emperor: these we charged him to lay before his imperial Majesty on our part, causing him to understand that if he would listen to our counsels and prayers, which all tended to the praise and service of God, and to his benefit as well as to ours, he would always find us ready to prove that friendship which he had experienced aforetime; and some months after that, when the said general was sent back to us from his Majesty, who replied to us most courteously that he was content, to use his own words, even to accept as a command that which we had sent to him as a counsel. And to give proof of this, the general bore, among other resolutions, the declaration that his imperial Majesty was willing to restore the sons of the most Christian King for that ransom, and on that condition which was offered by his most Christian Majesty, and which the Emperor would never before consent to do. Besides this, he promised that if all Italy, as there was a fashion of saying at the time when the father-general was in Rome, were in his power, he would be content to place all things therein on their primitive footing, that he might thus show the falsehood of those who desired to calumniate him by the assertion that he proposed to retain possession of the country. Further, he declared, that neither for himself nor for his most serene brother did he desire one palm's breadth of territory beyond what the crown of Spain had been wont to possess from old time in that country. And, to the end that his words might be accompanied by facts, the father-general brought the most ample commands for the arrangement of all things, either with Don Ugo or the viceroy, if the latter should have come to Italy at the time when the father-general himself arrived among us. How great was then our contentment, could not be expressed; and every hour appeared to us a thousand years, from our impatience to see the conclusion of some sort of general agreement for the laying down of arms. The viceroy also arriving at the same time, and sending us from St. Stefano, where he first took port

in that sea, by the commandant Pignalosa, the most friendly messages in the world, differing in no way from what the father-general had told us, we rendered thanks to God, that the satisfaction we had received from the embassy of the father-general was not to be disturbed by any doubt whatever, seeing that the same was confirmed to us by the signor viceroy, who by causing us to understand the commissions he had received from the Emperor, had comforted us mightily, at the same time that he sent to certify to us, that no one could be found who would set himself to execute the same with more good-will than he would do. Now, in what manner the total contrary took place, will require but little labor to tell, because there is no man who does not know the most hard and insupportable, nay, ignominious conditions, that were demanded on the part of the viceroy, we having interposed no delay whatever in sending to beg that he would not lose time in declaring to us the conditions of so much benefit. Then, while we were expecting to find still better than we had already been told, because it is customary ever to make reserve of the best things, that they may taste the more gratefully, not only did we fail to receive any of that which had been promised, but were met by propositions altogether the contrary. Firstly, no faith was to be placed in us, as if there were, in truth, no man who could produce testimony to the opposite effect; so that, for security, the best part of our States and of the Signory of Florence was demanded from us, together with a sum of money, impossible of attainment, even to anyone who should possess mountains of gold, much more then to us, who, as everyone knew, had not a groat. Next, it was required, to our infinite disgrace, or rather to that of the Emperor, that we should reinstate in their possessions, those who, in offence of all law, divine and human, and with so heavy a treason, had come to assail the person of our lord the Pope, to despoil the Church of St. Peter, and to sack the sacred palace. Furthermore, we were to be compelled, without the least respect, to bind ourselves immovably to the interests of his imperial Majesty, though all the world knew the zeal we had shown for those interests at a time when we were most of all flourishing and prosperous. And, not to insist on all other particulars, it was required that we should make a separate agreement of ourselves, apart and alone, which we could not do if we desired safely to conduct to a successful end that universal peace for which we were content to make this beginning. There was no hope of moving the viceroy from these his most insupportable demands; and he had, besides, come to invade our States, though we had always respected the territories of the Emperor in the Kingdom of Naples, and, during those few months that had elapsed, had in no way molested them. Next followed the arrival of Cesare Fieramosca, who, finding the viceroy already in the States of the Church, we believed to be the bearer of such commands from the Emperor to his excellency, that, had they been obeyed, would have prevented matters from proceeding to this pass. But his excellency the viceroy was intent on doing two very opposite things at one and the same time; the one being to show that he had not done amiss in proceeding so far, or in seeking to avoid the loss of the opportunity that he thought he had of winning the whole; and the other to give obedience to the commands of the Emperor, which were that by all means an agreement should be made; whence it followed that neither of the two has now been accomplished. For his excellency the viceroy found himself deceived, and discovered that he could not effect what he had proposed; and Signor Cesare Fieramosca returning with conditions for a truce of eight days, until a reply could be had as to whether the Signory of Venice would enter into the treaty,

when he arrived on the field he found the armies already engaged, so that, for that time, the matter could proceed no further. Yet, notwithstanding that occurrence, we, though knowing certainly that our position was most secure in Lombardy and in Tuscany, by reason of the large munitions and infinite force of troops of the whole league that there were in those parts, being well assured also that the affairs of the kingdom were in irremediable disorder, as experience had begun to make manifest—we, I say, did never dismiss from our mind the desire for peace, nor cease from seeking it. And when we found affairs promising to turn so prosperously for ourselves, we rejoiced in it, solely because that might serve to show that, if we desired peace, it was from sound judgment and our good-will, not because we were forced to it of necessity; and to prove to the Emperor that if he had spoken sincerely to the father-general, as we believe, in saying that, supposing all to be at his disposal, he would restore everything to its first condition, we, who were in that very case which he had supposed, were ready to execute what he had imagined and proposed to perform. To this our desire there was then added an extreme force, by various letters written with the Emperor's hand, more particularly two, which we received at the last by the hands of Cesare Fieramosca, and by those of our servant Paolo di Arezzo, which are of such a tenor that we should not believe ourselves to have erred if, on the faith of those letters alone, we had placed the whole world, nay, even our own soul, in the hands of his Majesty; so frequently does he therein conjure us to give credence to what he says, besides that all the words of those letters are full of such promise of aid, such assurance of satisfaction, that we, on our parts, could not even have wished for better. And as, while treating for peace, we did not in any way remit our preparations for war until we should be certain of the return we might expect, so, there being two chiefs in Italy, Bourbon and the signor viceroy, we labored to enlighten ourselves fully as to whether it would be sufficient to treat with one only, and that he would be answerable for all, or that we must negotiate with both separately; so that if that were to befall us, which has happened, the blame thrown upon others, for other causes, might not be cast upon us for our want of prudence. But having found that the power of treating with us was vested in the viceroy alone, we desired to put that matter in the clearest light, and were not satisfied to be told it by the father-general, Signor Cesare, the viceroy himself, Paolo di Arezzo, and Bourbon, but we required to be informed by the said Bourbon, not once only, but many times, and by divers persons, whether he would abide by the decision to be taken, and obey it; so that if it were proposed to treat with him particularly, he, refusing, should make no reply whatever to matters that belonged to the viceroy alone. Now it was an easy thing, and will ever be so to every man, to color any purpose he may have with a show of uprightness, and if he cannot bring his purposes to bear honestly and openly, to compass them by fraud, as it appears to us was done in our case; for from whatever quarter it may have come, this appears to us to have been the aim, though we cannot guess from whom it proceeded. It is clear that all the precautions that can be used to escape deception were used by us, and indeed so many of them were there that they appeared to us at times to be superfluous, and we thought ourselves deserving of censure for adopting them. We had the Emperor himself as testimony both by letters and word of mouth, to his own good-will, and to the obedience that Bourbon would pay the viceroy; nay, by way of caution, his Majesty gave new letters to Paolo touching this obedience to the viceroy, and directed to the said Bourbon. The treaty also was made with

powers from his Majesty, so ample that they ought to have sufficed; and Bourbon had professed to submit himself in all things to the viceroy, who, on his part, was afterward content to place himself in our power. Everything was done to draw us into our present condition, insomuch that I know not what more could be found in the whole world to render it possible that faith should again be given to the word of a private gentleman, after the many causes that concurred and intervened to that effect in our case. Furthermore, and to speak only of what concerns our own proceedings, it was both more lawful and much more easy for us, without incurring the infamy attached to a violator of his word, or any other disgrace, to use the opportunity that fortune had brought us of maintaining ourselves in all security in Lombardy; for we had there so good a position, that Bourbon could never have made his way forward if the army of the League had not been restrained and cooled by the serious negotiations for peace, or rather by its conclusion. Nay, we might have profited by that advantage to pursue the war in the kingdom, and first gaining two or three fortresses, might then have taken them all; thence extending our operations to the places surrounding, we might have inflicted both injury and disgrace on the Emperor; and attaching ourselves firmly to the company of the confederate princes, might have rendered all the designs of his imperial Majesty more difficult of execution. But because it appeared to us that the service of God and the suffering state of Christendom required peace, we proposed to ourselves to forego whatever great victory or gain we might have acquired, and were even content to offend all the Christian and Italian princes, without knowing in any manner what we were to receive in exchange, but believing we should secure enough, if the mind of the Emperor were such as his Majesty by so many intimations had labored to make us understand. For this we made but slight account of the offence given to the other Christian princes, who would indeed have found themselves in no long time greatly bound to us, if that had ensued which his Majesty had so amply promised, assuring us with redoubled arguments that if we made an accord with him he would submit to us and place in our hands the conclusion of peace, and the power to form an agreement with the Christian princes. And if any man believe that we were actuated by a different motive, such a one, knowing us, can in no way more manifestly make known his malignity; but if he did not know us, and will take pains to learn the actions of our life, he will find that we are well known never to have desired aught but good, or acted other than virtuously, to which end we have made every other interest subservient. And if now evil hath befallen us, though we receive with all humility from the hands of our Lord and God whatever he shall be justly pleased to inflict, yet shall it not be said but that we are most grievously wronged of men, and principally do we receive injury from them, who, although to a certain extent they may shield themselves by their power, and by the pretext of disobedience in others—albeit enough might be said of that matter if the question came to be discussed—yet now, and for some time past, they might well proceed very differently from that which they are doing, both as regards their own glory, and also in consideration of their duty, whether toward God or toward the world. We took part in the treaty afterward made at Florence with those of Bourbon's party, through the medium of the signor viceroy, and which afterward was not observed, because we did not wish to have the appearance of proposing to do evil against those who had been the cause of our being thus maltreated, whom may God judge with his just judgment! after whose mercy toward us and toward his Church, we have hope in no other than in

the piety, faith, and virtue of the Emperor; for seeing that we have been brought to the pass wherein we stand by our own trust in the opinion we held of him, so do we look that he should withdraw us from such condition, and place us high as we are now brought low. From whose majesty we expect such satisfaction for the infinite wrongs and disgraces that we have suffered as shall be suitable to his greatness, and to what is due, if indeed there be anything to be found in this world that may suffice to make amends for the least and smallest part of our injuries. And here we will not enter into particulars, by expressing which we might diminish the grace of those suggestions that we cannot but hope he will find occur to him, and which he will send to propose to us. Let us say, nevertheless, that we putting our demands at the lowest possible scale, it would be a disgrace to his Majesty if he did not grant more, as it would have been for us to ask less, rather than difficult to concede what we claim. Thus his Majesty ought to agree to the following provisions:

"That our person, the Sacred College, and the Court of our State, shall, in all things spiritual and temporal, be restored to that condition in which we were when the negotiations were commenced with the signor viceroy, and that we shall not be burdened by the payment of a single coin toward the expense.

"And if any shall be found who, hearing this, make a jest of our proposals, we reply, that if the matters above stated be true, and he marvel at our being appeased with so little, he is justified, and many will find it strange; but if indeed they appear to him extraordinary, let him consider with what rectitude he so judges, whether toward the Emperor or toward ourselves. As regards the Emperor, let him consider well that so long as there is not promised on his Majesty's part this and much more, he is made to be a participator in all the wrong that we have suffered; but in regard to ourselves we may say that this is an attempt iniquitously to defame us as none would venture to do directly and openly. Nor is our present position only to be considered, but also how we were led into it; and further, let it be remembered that it is better to effect at the call of sound judgment and virtue that which finally time must very certainly bring about, if not in our lifetime, yet assuredly in that of others."

No. 16

Sommario dell' Istoria d' Italia dall' anno 1512 *insino a* 1527. *Scritto da Francesco Vettori.* [Summary of the history of Italy, from 1512 to 1527; written by Francesco Vettori.]

This is a very remarkable little work, by the friend of Machiavel, a sensible man, and Guicciardini, who was intimately acquainted with the affairs of the house of Medici, as well as with those of the Italian peninsula in general. I found it in the Corsini Library in Rome, but could only take extracts; I should otherwise have requested permission to get it printed, which it well deserves to be.

The plague of 1527 drove Vettori from Florence, and it was at his villa that he wrote this review of the most recent events.

His attention is directed principally to Florentine affairs: in opinion he approximates closely to those of his friends above mentioned. In treating of the modes of government adopted in his native city by the Medici, in the year 1512, which were such that everything was in the hands of Cardinal Medici, afterward Leo X, he says: "The city was reduced to this, that nothing could be done there, excepting only what

it pleased Cardinal Medici to do." He adds, that this was called tyranny, but that he for his part knew no state, whether principality or republic, wherein there was not something tyrannical. "All those principalities or republics of which I have knowledge, whether from history or from personal observation, appear to me to have a certain odor of tyranny." The example of France or of Venice may be objected to him; but in France the nobles held the preponderance in the state and monopolized the church patronage. In Venice 3,000 men were seen to rule, and not always justly, over 100,000: between the King and the tyrant there is no other difference than this, that an upright governor deserves to be called a king, a bad one merits the name of tyrant.

Notwithstanding the intimate terms on which he stood with both the Popes of the house of Medici, he is far from being convinced of the Christian character of the papal power. "Whoever will carefully consider the law of the gospel will perceive that the pontiffs, although they bear the name of Christ's vicar, yet have brought in a new religion which has nothing of Christ but the name: for whereas Christ enjoins poverty, they desire riches; while he commands humility, they will have pride; and where he requires obedience, they are resolved to command all the world." It will be manifest that this worldliness of character and its opposition to the spiritual principle, contributed largely to prepare the way for Protestantism.

The election of Leo is attributed by Vettori above all else to the opinion entertained of his good nature. Two terrible Popes had preceded him, and people had had enough of them. "He had known so well how to dissemble, that he was considered a man of excellent moral conduct." The person who took the most active part in his election was Bibbiena, who knew the inclinations of all the cardinals, and managed to win them over even in opposition to their own interests. "When out of the conclave he induced some of them to promise, and when in it he led them to consent to the said election in despite of all the reasons against it."

The expedition of Francis I in the year 1515, with the deportment of Leo during that campaign, are admirably described by Vettori. That no more unfortunate consequences resulted from it to the Pope, he attributes principally to the clever management of Tricarico, who entered the French camp at the moment when the King was mounting his horse to oppose the Swiss at Marignano, and who afterward conducted the negotiations with the utmost prudence.

Then follow the commotions of Urbino. I have already described the reasons alleged by Vettori on the part of Leo. "Leo said that if he did not deprive the duke of his States (who, after he had taken service with him and received his money, had then gone over to the enemy in the very heat and ardor of the war, not considering that he was the Pope's subject, or being restrained by any other consideration), there was no baron so insignificant but that he would dare do the same or worse; that having found the pontificate respected he would leave it so. And it is certain that if the Pope desired to continue living as his predecessors had lived for many tens of years bygone, he could not permit the crime of the duke to go unpunished."

Vettori composed, besides, a life of Lorenzo de' Medici. He praises him more than any other writer has done, and places his administration of the Florentine government in a new and peculiar light. That biography and the summary we are now considering complete and explain each other.

He treats, also, of the election of the Emperor, which fell within that period, affirming that Leo assisted the efforts of the King of France

only because he was previously convinced that the Germans would not elect him. The calculation of Leo, according to Vettori, was that Francis I, in order to prevent the election of Charles, would give his interest to some German prince. I find the unexpected declaration, which I do not, indeed, desire to have implicitly accepted, that the King really did at length endeavor to secure the election of Joachim of Brandenburg. "The King . . . having turned his favor toward the Marquis of Brandenburg, one of the electors, was content that the money promised to those electors who would vote for himself should be given to such of them as would elect the said marquis." It is certain that the conduct of Joachim, on occasion of that election, was very extraordinary. The whole history of this occurrence—strangely misrepresented, both intentionally and unintentionally—well merits to receive, once for all, a satisfactory elucidation.*

The treaty of Leo with the Emperor Charles was considered by Vettori to have been imprudent beyond all comprehension. "The evil destiny of Italy induced him to do that which no prudent man would have done." He lays the blame of this more particularly to the persuasions of Geronimo Adorno. Of the natural considerations by which the house of Medici was influenced he does not choose to speak.

Of Pope Leo's death he relates certain of those particulars which I have adopted in the text. He does not believe him to have been poisoned. "It was said that he died of poison; and this is almost always said of great men, more especially when they die of acute diseases." He is of opinion that there was more cause for surprise at Leo's having lived so long.

He confirms the assertion that Adrian refused, in the first instance, to do anything against the French; it was only after receiving a pressing letter from the Emperor that he agreed to contribute some little aid toward opposing them.

It would lead us too far if we were here to adduce all the remarks made in this work with relation to the subsequent course of events; it is nevertheless remarkable and worthy of attention, even in cases where the author does but express his own opinion. In these, as we have said, he makes a near approach to Machiavel, and has an equally bad opinion of mankind. "Almost all men are flatterers, and are ever ready to say what is likely to please great men, even though they may think very differently in their hearts." He declares the violation of the Treaty of Madrid by Francis I to have been the best and most noble action that had been performed for many centuries. "Francis did a very proper and suitable thing in making large promises without any purpose of fulfilling them, that he might put himself in a condition to defend his country." A mode of thinking worthy of the "Prince."

But Vettori proves himself to have held a kindred spirit in other respects with the great authors of that age. The work before us is full of originality and spirit, and is rendered all the more attractive by its brevity. The author speaks only of what he actually knows, but that is of great importance. It would require a more circumstantial examination than we have given to do him justice.

* I have myself endeavored, since writing the above, to make a somewhat nearer approach, in my German history, to the truth as regards this matter.—Note to the second edition.

No. 17

Sommario di la relatione di S. Marco Foscari, venuto orator del sommo pontefice a dì 2 Marzo 1526. [Summary of the report presented by Marco Foscari on returning from his embassy to the Supreme Pontiff, March 2, 1526.] In Sanuto, vol. 41.

Marco Foscari was one of those ambassadors who proceeded to Rome to offer allegiance to Pope Adrian VI. He appears to have remained in Rome from that time until 1526.

He treats, to a certain extent, of the times of Adrian; but his remarks in relation to Clement VII are all the more important from the fact that, in consequence of the close connection existing in those days between Venice and the Pope, he had uninterrupted and animated intercourse with that pontiff.

He describes Clement in the following manner: "A prudent and wise man, but slow to resolve, and thence it is that he is irresolute and changeable in his proceedings. He reasons well, and sees everything, but is very timid. In matters of state, no one is permitted to influence him; he hears all, but then does what he thinks most fitting. He is a just man, a man of God; and in the segnatura, which is composed of three cardinals and three referendaries, he will never do anything to the prejudice of others, and when he signs any petition he never revokes what he has granted, as Pope Leo used to do. This pontiff does not sell benefices, nor bestow them simonically. When he gives benefices, he does not take offices in their place that he may sell them, as Pope Leo and other popes have done, but will have everything proceed regularly and legally. He does not squander the revenue or give it in presents, nor does he take from others; hence he is reputed to be parsimonious. There is, likewise, some dissatisfaction in Rome on account of Cardinal Armelino, who has devised many expedients for raising money and has imposed new duties, even taxing those who bring thrushes and other eatables into Rome. . . . He is extremely continent, and is not known to indulge in any kind of luxury or pleasure. . . . He will have no jesters, comedians, or musicians; nor does he hunt. His only amusement is the conversation of engineers, with whom he talks about waterworks and such matters."

He next speaks of the Pope's advisers. He would not permit his nephew to exercise any power; even Giberto had very little influnce in state affairs. "The Pope hears him, but then proceeds in his own manner." He considers that Giberto, "who is pious and wise," is favorable to the French, but that Schomberg, "who uses great freedom of speech," was disposed to the imperialists. The Emperor had a firm adherent also in Zuan Foietta, who was less frequently in attendance on the Pope from the time that Clement had formed his league with France. Foscari alludes also to the two secretaries of the Pope, Giacopo Salviati and Francesco Vizardini (Guicciardini); he considers the latter the more able man, but quite in the French interest.

Is is worthy of remark that the Pope was not on much better terms with the French than with the imperialists. He perceived clearly what he had to expect at their hands. He felt himself to be truly allied with Venice alone. "He knows that if it were not for our Signory he would be ruined and hunted out of Rome."

Rome and Venice maintained and fortified each other in their efforts for Italian interests, and considered their honor to consist in upholding them. The Pope was proud of having prevented Venice from coming

to an understanding with the Emperor. Our ambassador, on the other hand, directly asserts that it was himself (Foscari) by whom Italy had been made free. He tells us that Clement had already determined to acknowledge Bourbon as Duke of Milan, but that he had so earnestly dissuaded him from doing so, as at length to prevail on him, and he changed his purpose.

He affirms that the Pope would grant the Emperor the dispensation needful for his marriage only on certain conditions; a fact not alluded to in the instruction given above,* but that the Emperor had contrived to obtain it without these conditions.

There is a certain peculiarity to be remarked in respect to this "Relatione." When the ambassadors were directed at a later period to prepare and present their reports in writing, Marco Foscari did so as well as the others, but we are instantly struck by the fact that the second relation is infinitely feebler than the first. The latter was written immediately after the occurrences described in it, and while all was fresh in the recollection of the writer; but so many important events took place afterward, that the recollection of the earlier facts had become faint and obscure. We learn from this how much we are indebted to the diligence of the indefatigable Sanuto. This is the last report, of which my knowledge is derived from his chronicle. There follow others which were preserved in private copies revised by their authors.

No. 18

Relatione riferita nel consiglio di pregadi per il clarissimo Gaspar Contarini, ritornato ambasciatore del papa Clemente VII e dal imperatore Carlo V, Marzo, 1530. *Informationi Politiche XXV.* [Report presented in the Council of the Senate by the Most Illustrious Gaspar Contarini on returning from his embassy to Pope Clement VII, and to the Emperor Charles V, March, 1530. Information Politiche, 25.] Berlin Library.

This is the same Gaspar Contarini of whom we have had occasion to speak so highly in our history.

After having been already engaged in an embassy to Charles V (his report of which is extremely rare—I have seen one copy of it only in the Albani palace in Rome—he was chosen as ambassador to the Pope in 1528, before the latter had returned to Rome, after so many misfortunes and so long an absence. Contarini accompanied the pontiff from Viterbo to Rome, and from Rome to the coronation of the Emperor at Bologna. In the latter city he took part in the negotiations.

Of all that he witnessed in Viterbo, Rome, and Bologna, he here gives a relation, to which we have but one objection, namely, that his narrative is so extremely brief.

The embassy of Contarini took place at that important period when the Pope was gradually becoming disposed again to enter into such an alliance with the Emperor as had formerly been concluded between that monarch and the Medici. The ambassador very soon remarks with astonishment, that the Pope, notwithstanding the grievous injuries and offences he had received from the imperialists, was yet more inclined to give his confidence to them than to the allies, a disposition in which he was confirmed principally by Musettola; "a man," says Contarini, "of sufficient ability and talent, but of still more loquacity and boldness." While the fortune of war remained undecided, the Pope would

* See No. 15.

come to no resolution; but when the French were defeated and the imperialists gradually evinced a readiness to resign the fortresses they had occupied, he no longer hesitated. In the spring of 1529, the Pope was already on good terms with the Emperor, and in June they concluded their treaty, the conditions of which Contarini could not obtain sight of without great difficulty.

Contarini also describes the persons with whom he acted.

The Pope was rather tall and was well formed. He had at that time scarcely recovered from the effects of so many misfortunes and those of a severe illness. "He is neither affected by strong attachment nor violent hatred," says Contarini; "he is choleric, but restrains himself so powerfully that none would suspect him of being so. He is certainly desirous of relieving those evils by which the Church is oppressed, but does not adopt any effectual measures for that purpose. With regard to his inclinations, it is not easy to form a positive opinion: it appeared for some time that he took the matter of Florence somewhat to heart, yet he now suffers an imperial army to march against the city."

Contarini remarks that many changes had been made in the ministry of Clement VII.

The datary Giberto always retained a larger share than any other person of his master's confidence; but after the measures adopted under his administration had resulted in so disastrous an issue, he retired of his own accord, and thenceforward devoted himself to his bishopric of Verona. Niccolo Schomberg, on the contrary, after an embassy on which he had been sent to Naples, had returned to take active part in the most important affairs. Contarini considers him to lean greatly to the imperialists, a man of good understanding and beneficent habits, but violent withal. Giacopo Salviati had also great influence, and was at that time still believed to be in the interests of France.

Although this paper is very short, it nevertheless supplies us with much instructive matter.

No. 19

Instructio data Cæsari a Reverendissimo Campeggio in dieta Augustana, 1530. ["Instructions" given to the Emperor by the Most Reverend Cardinal Campeggio at the Diet of Augsburg, 1530.] MS. Rom.

Up to this time political affairs had been treated as most important, but ecclesiastical matters now gradually obtained the larger share of attention. At the very commencement of this change we meet with that sanguinary proposal for the reduction of Protestantism to the Catholic power of which I have previously spoken, and which is here even called an "Instruction."

The cardinal remarks that, in conformity with the position he holds and with the commission of the Apostolic See, he would proceed to set forth the measures which, according to his judgment, ought to be adopted.

He describes the state of affairs in the following manner: "In certain parts of Germany, all the Christian rites which were given to us by the ancient holy fathers have been abrogated in accordance with the suggestions of these scoundrels; the sacraments are no longer administered, vows are not observed, marriages are contracted irregularly, and within the degrees prohibited by the laws," etc., for it would be superfluous to transcribe this *capucinade*.

He reminds the Emperor that "this sect" would not procure him any increase of power, as he had been promised; and assures him of

his own spiritual aid in the event of his adopting the counsels suggested. "And I, if there shall be need, will pursue them with ecclesiastical censures and penalties, omitting nothing that it may be needful to do. I will deprive the beneficed heretics of their benefices, and will separate them by excommunication from the Catholic flock. Your highness also, with your just and awful imperial ban, will subject them to such and so horrible an extermination that either they shall be constrained to return to the holy Catholic faith, or shall be utterly ruined and despoiled both of goods and life. And if any there be, which God forbid, who shall obstinately persevere in that diabolical course, . . . the aforesaid (your Majesty) will then take fire and sword in hand, and will radically extirpate these noxious and venomous weeds."

To the Kings of England and France, also, Campeggio proposes the confiscation of all property held by heretics.

He generally keeps his attention fixed, however, on the affairs of Germany, and shows how it was believed that the articles of the Treaty of Barcelona, to which he continually recurs, might be interpreted. "It will be well and to the purpose that when this magnificent and Catholic undertaking shall have been put firmly and directly on its way, there should be chosen, some few days after, efficient and holy inquisitors, who, with the utmost diligence and assiduity, should go about seeking and inquiring if there be any (but far be it from them) who persist in these diabolical and heretical opinions, nor will by any means abandon them, . . . in which case they shall be castigated and punished according to the rule and practice observed in Spain with regard to the Moors."

Happily all were not of this opinion; nor indeed can such recommendations be said to prevail to any great extent in the documents that we have examined.

No. 20

Relatio viri nobilis Antonii Suriani doctoris et equitis, qui reversus est orator ex curia Romana, presentata in collegio 18 *Julii,* 1533. [Report of the most noble Antonio Suriano, doctor and knight, on his return from an embassy to the Roman court, presented in the college July 18, 1533.] Archivio di Venetia.

"Among the most important circumstances," he begins by remarking, "that ambassadors accredited to princes are bound to observe, are the personal qualities of those sovereigns."

He first describes the character of Clement VII. He is of opinion that if the regularity of this pontiff's life and habits be principally considered, his unwearied diligence in giving audience and assiduous observance of all ecclesiastical ceremonies, he will be supposed to have a "melancholy temperament;" but that those who know him well declare him to be rather of "sanguine temperament," only cold at heart—so that he is very slow to resolve, and readily permits himself to be dissuaded from his resolutions.

"For my own part, I do not think that in matters pertaining to the State, his holiness proceeded with any great dissimulation, being cautious indeed; but such things as his holiness does not wish to be known, he passes over silently in preference to describing them under false colors."

With regard to the Ministers of Clement VII, those to whom the earlier reports allude most frequently, are no longer in power—they are not even mentioned. Giacopo Salviati, on the other hand, comes

prominently forward, holding the principal administration of Romagna and directing the government of the ecclesiastical dominions generally. With respect to these matters, the Pope relied implicitly on him. It is true that the pontiff perceived him to have his own interests too constantly in view, and had complained of this even in Bologna, but he permitted him to continue employed in public affairs.

But precisely for that cause, Salviati was detested by the other connections of the Pope. They considered him to stand in their way; and when Clement was less liberal to them than they desired, they ascribed it to Salviati. "It appears to them that he persuades the Pope to keep his hands closed, and not to furnish them with money according to their appetite, which is great for spending and dissipating."

But the kinsmen of Clement were also very much at variance among themselves. Cardinal Ippolito Medici would have preferred remaining in a secular state, but the Pope did but remark, in relation to this matter, that he was "a mad devil, and did not wish to be a priest." It was, nevertheless, exceedingly vexatious to the Pope when Ippolito really made attempts to expel Duke Alexander from Florence.

Cardinal Ippolito lived on terms of strict friendship with the young Catherine de' Medici, who is here called the "Duchessina." She was his "cousin, in the third degree, with whom he lives in great affection, being equally beloved by her in return; there is no one in whom she more confides, and in all her wants and wishes she applies to no one but to the said cardinal."

Suriano describes the child who was destined to hold so important a position in the world as follows: "Her disposition is lively, her character firm and spirited, her manners good. She has been brought up and educated by the nuns of the convent "Delle Murate," in Florence, ladies of excellent reputation and holy life. She is small in person and thin; her features are not delicate, and she has the large eyes peculiar to the house of Medici."

Suitors from all quarters presented themselves to seek her hand. The Duke of Milan, the Duke of Mantua, and the King of Scotland desired her as their consort; but various objections were made to all these princes: the French marriage was at that time not yet decided. "In accordance with his irresolute nature," remarks Suriano, "the Pope speaks sometimes with greater, and sometimes with less earnestness respecting this match."

But he thinks that the pontiff is certainly disposed to conclude the French alliance, in order that he may win the French party in Florence to his own side. On other points he treats of the foreign relations of the Papal See very briefly, and with much reserve.

No. 21

Relatione di Roma d' Antonio Suriano. [Report from Rome, by Antonio Suriano, 1536.] Foscarini MS. in Vienna and Library of St. Mark, Venice.

The copies of this report are of varied date, from 1535 to 1539. The correct date I consider to be 1536; first, because the Emperor's return to Rome is mentioned in the report, and this took place in April, 1536; and next, because there is a letter extant, from Sadolet to Suriano, dated Rome, November 1536, which proves that the ambassador must have left the papal capital before that date.

This is a letter (Epp. Sadoleti, p. 383), of which the purport is

greatly to the honor of Suriano: "You rendered to me those good offices which a brother is wont to lend a brother, or a kind father a son, although nothing on my part called forth these services."

Three days after the communication of the preceding report, on July 21, 1533, Suriano was again appointed ambassador to Rome.

The new report describes the further progress of those events previously alluded to, more particularly the conclusion of the French marriage, which does not appear to have been satisfactory to all the papal connections. "I will not conceal that this marriage was contracted against the wish of Giacopo Salviati; and still more against that of the Signora Lucretia, his wife, who labored to dissuade the Pope from it, even to the extent of using reproachful words." This was doubtless because the Salviati were then disposed to favor the imperialists. Suriano further treats of that remarkable interview between the Pope and Emperor, to which we have already called attention. The Pope conducted himself with the utmost caution and forethought, and would have no written agreement prepared. "Clement lent himself to all that was desired, with words of such a character that he made him believe his holiness to be disposed in all things to his will, but without making any arrangement in writing." The Pope wished to have no war—none, at least, in Italy; he desired only to keep the Emperor in check. "By means of these fears, to secure himself from the dread of a council."

Gradually the council became the principal consideration of the papal policy. Suriano discusses the points of view under which the Roman Court considered this question, in the commencement of the pontificate of Paul III. Already Schomberg declared that it would be agreed to only on condition that whatever was brought before it should be first submitted to the Pope and cardinals, to be examined, discussed, and determined on in Rome.

Section II.—Critical Remarks on Sarpi and Pallavicini

The Council of Trent, its preliminaries, convocation, twice repeated dissolution, and final assemblage, with all the motives contributing to these events, engrosses a large portion of the history of the sixteenth century. The immeasurable importance of its effect on the definitive establishment of the Catholic system of faith, and its relation to that of the Protestants, I need not here insist on. This council forms precisely the central point of those theological and political discords which mark the century.

It has accordingly been made the subject of two elaborate historical delineations, each original, and both in themselves of great importance.

But not only are these works directly opposed to each other, they have also been made a cause of quarrel by the world, in regard to the historian as well as to facts recorded. Thus, even to our own times, Paolo Sarpi is received by one party as honest and trustworthy, while Pallavicini is accounted fallacious and unworthy of belief; by the other party, Pallavicini is declared to merit implicit credence, while Sarpi is affirmed to be almost proverbially mendacious.

On approaching these voluminous works, we are seized with a sort of terror. It would be a sufficiently difficult task to make one's self master of their contents, even did they treat only of authentic and credible matters; but how much more formidable is that task rendered

by the fact that we have to be on our guard at every step, lest we should be falsely directed by one or the other, and drawn into a labyrinth of intentional deceptions!

It is, nevertheless, impossible to test their authenticity step by step, by means of facts better known to other authorities; for where could impartial information respecting this subject be found? And even could we find them, fresh folios would be required before we could effect a satisfactory investigation.

There is, then, nothing remaining to us but the attempt at gaining a clear comprehension of the method pursued by each of our authors.

For we are not to consider all that appears in the works of a historian as belonging to himself, more particularly in works so comprehensive and so rich in matter as those in question. He receives the great mass of his facts from various sources, and it is in the mode of treatment to which he subjects his materials, and the mastery he obtains over them, that we first become acquainted with the individual man, who is himself the pervading spirit of his work and in whom its unity must be sought. Even in these folios, from which industry itself recoils in terror, the presence of a poet makes itself felt.

Storia del Concilio Tridentino di Pietro Soave Polano.

It was in England, and by the agency of Domini of Spalatro, an archbishop converted to Protestantism, that this work was first published. Although Fra Paolo Sarpi never acknowledged himself to be the author, there is yet no doubt that it is due to him. It may be gathered from his letters that he was occupied with such a history. There is a copy in Venice, which he had himself caused to be made, and which has corrections by his own hand; and it may be affirmed that he was precisely the only man who could, at any time, have composed a history such as that now before us.

Fra Paolo stood at the head of a Catholic opposition to the Pope, the hostility of which proceeded originally from political motives; but this party held views similar to those of the Protestants on many points, from having adopted the principles of St. Augustine, and were indeed occasionally charged with Protestantism.

But Sarpi's work is not to be at once regarded with suspicion on account of these opinions. The whole world may be said to have been then divided between decided adherents and decided opponents of the Council of Trent; from the former there was nothing but eulogy to be expected, from the latter nothing but reproach. The position of Sarpi was, upon the whole, removed from the influence of both these conflicting parties; he had no inducement to defend the Council on every point, nor was he under the necessity of wholly condemning it. His position secured to him the possibility of examining passing events with an unprejudiced eye; it was only in the midst of an Italian Catholic republic that he could have gathered the materials requisite for that purpose.

If we desire to attain a correct idea of the mode in which he proceeded to his labor, we must first recall to memory the methods by which great historical works were composed down to Sarpi's time.

Writers had not then imposed on themselves the task either of gathering materials into a complete and uniform body, a thing always so difficult to do, nor yet of subjecting them to a critical examination; they did not insist on exploring original sources of information, nor, finally, did they elaborate, by intellectual effort, the mass of matter before them.

How few, indeed, are they who impose on themselves this labor, even in the present day.

At that time, authors were content not only to take those authorities which were generally considered authentic as the basis of their histories, but they proceeded further, and even adopted whole passages, simply completing the narration where that was practicable, by means of the new materials which they had brought together and which were interpolated at the points requiring them. This done, their principal care then was to give all this matter a regular and uniform style.

It was thus that Sleidan formed his work out of the documents relating to the history of the Reformation, as he could best procure them; these he then linked together without much discrimination or critical labor, transforming them by the coloring of his Latinity into one uniform whole.

Thuanus has transferred, without scruple, long passages from other historians to his own pages. He has taken Buchanan's "Scottish History," for example, has separated its various parts, and inserted them amid the different portions of his work. His English history was supplied to him from materials sent by Camden; the German he takes from Sleidan and Chytræus, the Italian from Adriani, and the Turkish he has brorowed from Busbequius and Leunclavius.

It is true that this was a method whereby there was but little chance for securing originality, and, as one of its consequences, the reader frequently receives the work of another as that of the author whose name is on the title-page. It has been revived and again adopted in our own day, more especially by the writers of French memoirs, who are, indeed, altogether without excuse, for it should be the peculiar characteristic of these works to communicate the unaltered original.

To return to Sarpi. In the very commencement of his work he places before us the following undisguised account of his own position.

"It is my purpose to write the History of the Council of Trent. For, though many renowned historians of our age have touched upon separate points thereof in their various works, and Johann Sleidan, a very accurate writer, has related the previous causes which gave rise to it *('le cause antecedenti')* with infinite diligence, yet were all these matters put together, they would not present a circumstantial narration. As soon as I began to concern myself with the affairs of mankind, I felt a great desire to obtain a thorough knowledge of that history; and when I had gathered all that I found written regarding it, whether such documents as had been printed or those that had been scattered about in manuscript, I began to seek further among the papers left by the prelates and others who had taken part in the council, and so to examine such intelligence as they had furnished in regard to the matter, with the votes they had given, as recorded either by themselves or others, and all information transmitted by letters from the city of Trent at the time of the Council. In doing this, I have spared no pains or labor, and have had the good fortune to procure a sight of whole collections of notes and letters from persons who took a large part in those negotiations and transactions. When I had thus brought together so many documents, furnishing more than sufficient materials for a narrative, I resolved to put them in order and form a connected relation of them."

Sarpi has here described his position with evident simplicity. We see him on the one side placed amid the historians whose accounts he arranges and links together, but which he does not find sufficient, and on the other side we perceive him to be provided with manuscript materials, from which he completes what has been left deficient by his printed auxiliaries.

Unhappily, Sarpi has not supplied us with a detailed enumeration of these authorities, whether manuscript or printed, neither had that been the method of his predecessors; he gave his whole care, as they had done, to the purpose of weaving a well-ordered agreeable history, and which should be complete in itself, out of the mass of intelligence that he had found.

Meanwhile we are enabled to ascertain of what printed historians he availed himself, even without requiring these particulars, and we find that these were for the earlier periods Jovius and Guicciardini; next Thuanus and Adriani, but principally Sleidan, whom he has besides mentioned by name.

For example, in the whole of his narrative describing the state of affairs at the time of the Interim, and after the transfer of the Council to Bologna, he had Sleidan before him. It was but in a few instances that he consulted the sources whence that author had derived his information; in all other cases he has nothing but Sleidan.

It will repay our labor to examine his mode of proceeding, and will conduct us a step further in the examination we have undertaken.

He not unfrequently gives a direct translation of Sleidan—a free one certainly, but still a translation. In regard to the negotiations of the Emperor with the princes, for example, as touching their preliminary submission to the authority of the Council of Trent (Sleidan, lib. xix. p. 50):

"And the palatine was indeed afraid that unless he complied evil might ensue, because of the offence given the year before, of which the wound, as we have said, was scarcely closed. Maurice, also, desiring that his father-in-law, the landgrave, should be liberated, and having besides lately received advantages from the Emperor, perceived that something must be done. Thus when the Emperor had sent them by his envoys repeated promises and assurance of his friendly intention, entreating them to remit those matters to his good faith, they finally consented, on the twenty-fourth of October. All that remained was the free cities, but they perceived that it would be a perilous thing for them to submit to the decrees of the Council without exception. Then Granvella and Hasius labored with them for many days, and in the meantime it was declared throughout the city that those who refused to yield to what all the princes had approved, were to be held refractory; menaces also were bruited abroad to the effect that they would be curbed more sharply than before. Finally, a method was discovered by which the Emperor might be satisfied, and which was also safe for themselves. When, therefore, they were called before the Emperor, they declared that they did not take it upon them to correct the response of the princes; but at the same time they presented a document, wherein they had testified under what conditions they would approve the Council. The Emperor having heard their words, replied by means of Seld, that it was pleasing to him that they should follow the example of the others, and agree with the rest to leave the matter with him." (Sarpi, lib. iii. p. 283.)

"Entreaties to the Elector Palatine were a kind of menace, on account of his recent offences, which had been lately pardoned: in the case of Maurice, Duke of Saxony also, there was a necessity for compliance, because of the many benefits that he had just received from the Emperor, and also because he desired to liberate the Landgrave, his father-in-law. For which causes, and on the Emperor's promising them that he would take measures to secure them all due satisfaction from the Council, at the same time that he requested them to confide in him, they ultimately consented to do so, and were followed by the ambassadors

The question first, in regard to these authorities, is, of what kind and nature they were.

And in reference to this, I cannot believe that he could obtain much information as to particulars from such a man as Oliva, secretary to the first legate sent to the Council; or from Ferrier, French ambassador to Venice, who was also at the Council. With respect to Oliva, indeed, Sarpi has committed a great error, since he describes him as leaving the Council before he really did so. The French documents were very soon printed. The influence of these men, who belonged to the malcontent party, with Sarpi, consisted in this, that they confirmed and strengthened the aversion he felt to the Council. The Venetian collections, on the other hand, supplied him with the original acts and documents in great number and completeness: letters of the legates, for example, as those of Monte; notes of secret agents, such as Visconti; reports of the nuncios, Chieragato, for example; circumstantial diaries, that had been kept at the Council; the "Lettere d' Avisi," and other memorials in vast numbers, and more or less authentic. Sarpi was in this respect so fortunate that he had opportunity for availing himself of some documents which have never since come to light, and which Pallavicini, notwithstanding the important and extensive aids afforded him, was not able to procure. For these, the inquirier into history must have recourse to the pages of Sarpi through all time.

There now remains only the question of how he employed these materials.

He has, without doubt, directly transferred some portions of them to his own work, with very slight modifications. Courayer assures us, that he had held in his hands a manuscript report on the congregations of the year 1563, which had been used and almost copied by Sarpi: "Que notre historien a consultée, et presque copiée mot pour mot."

I have in my possession a manuscript "Historia del S. Concilio di Trento scritta per M. Antonio Milledonne, Secr. Veneziano," which was also known to Foscarini (Lett. Venez. i. p. 351) and to Mendham, by a contemporary and well-informed author, and this, notwithstanding its extreme brevity, is by no means unimportant, in relation to the later sittings of the Council.

Now, I find that Sarpi has occasionally adopted this manuscript word for word. For example, Milledonne says: "Il senato di Norimbergo rispose al nontio Delfino, che non era per partirsi dalla confessione Augustana, e che non accettava il concilio, come quello che non aveva le conditioni ricercate da' protestanti. Simil risposta fecero li senati di Argentina e Francfort al medesimo nontio Delfino. Il senato di Augusta e quello di Olma risposero, che non potevano separarsi dalli altri che tenevano la confessione Augustana." The following are the words of Sarpi (p. 450):

"The Senate of Nuremberg replied to the nuncio Delfino, that they would not separate themselves from the Confession of Augsburg, and did not accept the Council, because the conditions required by the Protestants had not been accepted. The Senates of Strasburg and Frankfort made him a similar reply. The Senates of Augsburg and of Ulm, also, declared that they would not separate themselves from the others who held the Confession of Augsburg." *

Sarpi refrains from following Milledonne there only where the latter has used terms of praise, even though these eulogies are wholly unprejudiced.

* The translation here given is of the passage from Milledonne. The differences in Sarpi are simply verbal, and would scarcely be appreciable in a translation.—Tr.

Thus Milledonne remarks that "Cardinal Gonzaga is well versed in affairs of state, from having governed the Duchy of Milan many years after the death of the duke, his brother, and while his nephews were in their minority. He is a gentleman of handsome presence, and elegant manners, frank and simple in speech, of upright mind and good disposition. Seripando, Archbishop of Salerno, is a Neapolitan and an Eremite friar; he is a most profound theologian, exceedingly conscientious, and singularly kind-hearted; he sincerely desires the universal welfare of Christendom."

Sarpi is much more reserved and frugal of praise in regard to these men: he remarks, for example: "He selected for the Council Fra Girolamo, Cardinal Seripando, a theologian of much renown." That he considers to be enough.

The letters of Visconti, which Sarpi had before him, were subsequently printed, and we perceive, on comparing them with his pages, that he has in some places kept very close to them. We have one example of this in vol. ii. p. 174, of Visconti, "Lettres et Négotiations:" "But some of the Spaniards who were there had received orders to affirm, in speaking of the institution of bishops and of residence, that these opinions were as true as the precepts of the Decalogue. On these two questions Segovia followed the opinion of Granada, declaring it to be an obvious truth that the residence and institution of bishops was of divine appointment, and that no one could deny it; adding, that it was all the more needful to make such a declaration in order to condemn the opinion of the heretics who held the contrary. Cadiz, Aliffe, Montemarano, and many other Spanish prelates adhered to the opinion of Segovia and Granada, but it pleased God that they should ultimately come to a right determination."

Then follows Sarpi, viii. 753: "Granada declared that it was an unworthy thing to have so long derided the fathers, by bringing the fundamental principle of the institution of bishops into question, and afterward entirely neglecting it; he required a declaration of divine right, affirming that he marvelled wherefore they had not maintained that point to be most true and infallible. He added, that they ought to prohibit as heretical all books that should assert the contrary. To which opinion Segovia adhered, declaring that it was manifest truth, that none could justly deny it, and that it ought to be affirmed, for the purpose of condemning the opinion of the heretics who held the contrary. Then followed also, Cadiz, Aliffe, and Montemarano, with the other Spanish prelates, of whom some maintained that their opinion was as true as the precepts of the Decalogue."

We perceive that Sarpi was no common transcriber, and the more we compare him with his sources, the more we become convinced of the talent he possessed for completing the connection of his materials, and for giving force and elevation to the manner of his authorities by some slight turn of expression. But equally obvious are the efforts he makes to strengthen all impressions unfavorable to the Council.

His unprinted sources are treated precisely in the same manner with his printed materials; nor could we indeed expect that it should be otherwise.

But it will be readily perceived that this method has occasionally much influenced his mode of presenting matters of fact. This appears among other instances in his account of the most important of the German religious conferences—that held at Ratisbon in 1541.

He here again follows Sleidan, and very closely; he had also, without doubt, the report which Bucer drew up in relation to this conference before him.

But in his mode of using these German authorities he again commits the same faults. The States twice returned replies to the proposals of the Emperor in this Diet, and each time they were divided among themselves. The electoral college was favorable to the Emperor's purpose; the college of princes was opposed to it. But there was a further difference, namely, that the princes gave way the first time, and did not do so on the second occasion; on the contrary, they returned a dissentient reply.

Sleidan seeks to explain the opposition of the college of princes by remarking that there were so many bishops among its members—certainly a very important point as regarded the constitution of the empire. But Sarpi completely destroys the essential meaning of this passage by persisting in calling the college of princes directly "bishops." Speaking of the first reply, he says, "the bishops refused;" of the second, "the bishops, with some few Catholic princes;" whereby, as we have said, he completely misrepresents the constitution of the empire.

But we will not dwell further on this point. The principal question is, in what manner he used those secret sources that were attainable to himself only, and which he might venture to believe would long remain unknown.

Toward the history of that Diet, he had the "Instructions" given to Contarini, and which Cardinal Quirini afterward caused to be printed, also from a Venetian manuscript.

And here we have first to remark, that what Sarpi found in the "Instructions," he has interwoven here and there into the conferences held between the legate and the Emperor.

We find in the "Instructions" for example: Those articles with respect to which they cannot agree among themselves, let them remit to us, and we, on the faith of a good pastor, and as universal pontiff, will give then due labor, either by a general council or by some other equivalent method, to see that an end be put to these controversies, not precipitately, but after mature consideration, and as a work of so much moment demands, to the effect that the remedy which is to be applied to these evils shall endure as long as may be."

Sarpi makes Contarini require, "that everything should be referred to the Pope, who promised, on the faith of a good pastor, and as universal pontiff, to secure that all should be determined by a general council, or by some equivalent means, with uprightness and without bias of human affection, not precipitately, but maturely."

In another place the "Instructions" proceed as follows: "Wherefore, from the beginning of our pontificate, to the end that this religious dissension might the more easily be brought back to the primitive concord, first, we very frequently exhorted the Christian princes to peace and true agreement by letters and by our nuncios; afterward, for that same cause, a general council was signified by us to Christian kings and princes, even by our own nuncios. Many things were treated and done in Germany on account of religion, without that reverence which is due to our authority, whereunto belongs the cognizance, examination, and judgment of all things appertaining to religion, the which we have understood not without heavy sorrow of heart. Yet, moved by the state of the times, and by the promises and assurances of imperial and royal sovereigns or their ambassadors, that the things there done had been done for the sake of some good end that was to follow, we have patiently borne for a time, etc."

Sarpi adds to this; "As his holiness in the beginning of his pontificate had for this very cause sent letters and nuncios to princes for the

convocation of a council, and afterward signified the place and sent his legates to it, so if he had endured that religion and its concerns should so often have been spoken of in Germany with little reverence toward his authority, to which it belongs to treat of them, he had done so because his Majesty had given him assurance and promises that this was done for a good end."

We have said enough to show that the declarations which Sarpi puts into the mouth of Contarini are taken directly from the "Instruction" itself; and when we are once made aware of how the matter stands, we can readily excuse him; yet it is not to be denied that truth is sometimes placed in jeopardy by this method of proceeding. The legate received instructions constantly altered to meet the exigencies arising from daily changes in the course of events. Sarpi represents him as proposing reasons for referring to Rome only the points on which no agreement had been come to, at a time when it was required in Rome that all should be submitted to the approbation of the Roman Court, not excepting even those points on which the parties had already agreed.

But to this first departure from his authority, where he has applied the words of an "Instruction" to a case for which they were never intended, he adds others of still greater importance.

The Pope declares himself in the "Instructions" to be strongly opposed to a national council: "You will recall to the memory of his imperial Majesty how much he always detested that council, and as well at Bologna as elsewhere, and said that nothing could be equally pernicious to the apostolical and to the imperial dignity as a national council of the Germans. He confessed also that there was no better way to avoid this than a general council; and furthermore, that his Majesty, after the Diet of Ratisbon in 1532, had ever labored, as was to be expected from his singular prudence, to prevent the holding of any imperial diet from that time forth, lest from that imperial diet there should arise occasion for a national diet."

This also Sarpi gives literally, and even cites it as taken from the "Instruction," but still with a remarkable addition: "That he should remind the Emperor how much he had himself detested the national council when he was at Bologna, as knowing it to be pernicious to the imperial authority; because subjects, taking courage from finding themselves granted power to change affairs of religion, would next think of changing matters of state; so that his Majesty, after 1532, would nevermore have an imperial diet held in his presence, that he might not give occasion for demanding a national council."

Who could avoid supposing from this that the Emperor had himself expressed the idea of a nation readily changing the form of its government, when once it had altered that of its religion? Yet, on this point, I cannot believe the author simply on his own assertion; nothing of the kind is to be found in the "Instruction": it is, indeed, a thought that did not obtain currency in the world until after the events of a later period.

I do not think my criticism will appear too minute. How shall we ascertain whether a writer speaks the truth or not, except by comparing him with the original authorities that he has had before him?

And I discover a deviation still more important than those that we have already observed.

Even in the first conference that he describes as taking place between the Emperor and Contarini, we find him interweaving the words of the "Instruction"—those important words to which we have already referred.

The Pope excuses himself for not having given to the cardinal so

full and extensive an authority as the Emperor and King desired to see him invested with. "First, because it is, before all, to be seen whether the Protestants will agree with us in our most essential principles, of which kind are these; that the primacy of this holy seat was instituted by God Himself and by our Saviour; those concerning the holy sacraments of the Church, with certain other matters which have been always observed and approved, as well by the authority of holy writ as by the perpetual observance of the Church, and with which we know you to be well acquainted; if these things were at once admitted from the beginning, an argument might be attempted on all other points of controversy."

Sarpi makes Contarini say, "That his holiness had given him all power to agree with the Protestants, provided they would admit the first principles, which were, the primacy of the Apostolic See instituted by Christ, and the other things determined in the bull of Leo, offering, in respect of all other questions, to give full satisfaction to Germany."

We see how a great difference is here; it was in the vague and undefined character of the Pope's words that the only possibility of an amicable issue lay. The conference could have had no conceivable object if this expedient had not left it the prospect of such an issue; but in Sarpi this is altogether done away with. The Pope is not merely desiring *"quædam quæ tibi nota esse bene scimus,"* but openly demands the recognition of the decrees contained in Leo's bull, the condemnation, that is, of the Lutheran tenets; this was a thing which was utterly impracticable.

Sarpi will by no means acknowledge that the Papal See gave proof of a disposition to conciliatory measures of any kind whatever. According to him, Contarini was compelled to assert the papal authority in its most rigorous forms. In Sarpi, Contarini begins at once with the declaration that "the Pope could by no means share the power of deciding on doubtful points of faith with any person whatsoever; to him, alone, was the privilege of infallibility accorded, in the words, 'I have prayed for thee, Peter;'" matters concerning which, in the "Instructions" at least, there is not a word to be found.

Upon the whole, Sarpi considered the papacy in the light proper to his times. After the restoration was accomplished, it became much more despotic and inflexible than it had been during the times of its danger and depression. But it was in its plenitude of power and in the perfection of its self-confidence that it stood before the eyes of Sarpi. He transferred to earlier times what he perceived and felt in his own: all the information he obtained, all the documents that passed through his hands, were interpreted in this spirit, which was entirely natural to him, and was derived from the position held by his native city, and by his party in that city, as also from his own personal condition.

We have yet another historical work by Paolo Sarpi, which relates to the dissensions between Rome and Venice in the year 1606: "Historia particolare delle cose passate tra 'l summo pontefice Paolo V. e la Serenissima Repubblica di Venetia; Lion, 1624." This is written, for the most part, in a similar spirit. It is a masterly delineation, and, upon the whole, is true; still it is a party work. With regard to those dissensions existing among the Venetians themselves, which broke forth on that occasion and formed so important a characteristic of their domestic history, there is little or nothing to be found in Sarpi. To judge from what he says, it would appear that there was but one opinion in Venice; he is continually speaking of the *"princeps,"* by which name he designates the Venetian government. The employment of this

fiction scarcely permits him to attain to any very minute or exact representation of internal relations. He glides very lightly over such things as were but little to the honor of Venice—over that peculiar case mentioned in the text of the delivering up of the prisoners, for example, speaking as if he did not know why they were first given up to the ambassador, and then, with a different form of words, to the cardinal. Nor does he mention the fact that the Spaniards were favorable to the exclusion of the Jesuits. He had vowed an implacable hatred to both, and will not give himself the trouble to remark that their interests were on this occasion at variance.

It is much the same with his "History of the Council"; the original authorities, the sources of information, are collected with diligence, elaborated carefully, and used with the highest intelligence. Neither can we affirm that they are falsified, or that they are frequently and essentially perverted; but the conduct of the work is in the spirit of a decided opposition.

By this method, Sarpi laid open a new path. To what had been mere compilation, he gave the unity of a general and definite tendency. His work is disparaging, reproachful, and hostile. It is the first example of a history in which the whole development of the subject is accompanied by unceasing censures. The character of his work is far more decided in this respect than that of Thuanus, who first made a slight approach to that manner wherein Sarpi has found innumerable followers.

Istoria del Concilio di Trento scritta dal Padre Sforza Pallavicino della Compagnia di Gesu, 1664.

A book like the "History" of Sarpi, so richly furnished with details never before made known, so full of spirit and sarcasm, treating of an event so important, and one of which the consequences exercised a commanding influence on those times, could not fail to produce the deepest impression. The first edition appeared in 1619, and between that year and the year 1622 four editions of a Latin translation had been published. There were, besides, a German and a French translation. The Court of Rome was the more earnestly determined to have this work refuted, from the fact that it contained many errors which were immediately obvious to all who were accurately acquainted with the events of that period.

A Jesuit, Terentio Alciati, prefect of the studies in the Collegio Romano, immediately occupied himself with the collection of materials for a refutation, which should be also a circumstantial exposition of the subject. His book received the title of "Historiæ Concilii Tridentini a veritatis hostibus evulgatæ Elenchus;" * he amassed an enormous body of materials, but died in 1651, before he had brought them into order.

The general of the Jesuits, Goswin Nickel, selected another member of his order, Sforza Pallavicini, who had already given evidence of some literary talent, for the completion of the task, and for this purpose relieved him from all other occupations. The general appointed him to that work, we are told by Pallavicini himself, "as a *condottiere* appoints one of his soldiers."

He published the results of his labors in three thick quartos, of which the first appeared in the year 1656.

It is a work comprising an immense accumulation of material, and is

* It is so called in Mazzuchelli.

of the utmost importance to the history of the sixteenth century, beginning, as it does, from the commencement of the Reformation. The public archives were all thrown open to the author, and he had access to all that could promote his purpose, in the several libraries of Rome. Not only were the acts of the Council, in all their extent, at his command, but he had also the correspondence of the legates with Rome, together with various other collections of documentary evidence, and sources of information innumerable, all at his entire disposal. He is far from attempting to conceal his authorities; he rather makes a parade of their titles on the margin of his book; the number he cites is nearly countless.

His principal object is to refute Sarpi. At the end of each volume, he places a catalogue of the "errors, in matters of fact," of which he maintains that he has convicted his opponent; he reckons 361, but adds that he has confuted innumerable others which do not appear in the catalogue.

In his preface he announces that he "will not suffer himself to be drawn into any slight skirmishing; whoever shall propose to attack him may advance in full order of battle, and refute his whole book as he had wholly refuted Paolo Sarpi." But what an undertaking were that! We are not to be tempted into any such mode of proceeding.

We must be content, as we have said, with giving the means of forming an idea of Pallavicini's method by the collection of some few examples.

Since he drew from so many concealed records and other sources previously unknown, and in fact derived his whole work from their combination, our first inquiry must be directed to the manner in which he availed himself of these resources.

We shall do this with the more facility in cases where the original authorities used by Pallavicini have since been printed; but I have also been so fortunate as to have had a whole series of such documents as never have been printed, and which he has quoted, laid open to my examination; our first business must now be to compare the originals with his elaboration of their contents.

I will do this in respect to some few points consecutively.

1. And first, it must be acknowledged that Pallavicini has in many instances made very satisfactory use of the "Instructions" and other papers laid before him, and given faithful extracts. I have compared an "Instruction" received by the Spanish ambassador in November, 1562, for example; as also the answer returned to him by the Pope in March, 1563, and the new instructions despatched by the Pope to his nuncio, with the extracts made from these papers by Pallavicini, and have found them to be throughout in perfect harmony. (Pall. xx. 10: xxiv. 1.) He has simply availed himself of a right, when, in certain cases, he has made transpositions which do no injury to truth. It is indeed true that he occasionally softens the strength of the expression; as for example, where the Pope says that he had opened the Council again, only because he relied on the support of the King, and in the persuasion that the King would be his right arm, a guide and leader in all his purposes and proceedings. "The reliance we placed on the promise of his Majesty and his Ministers that they would assist us, caused us to enter boldly into this undertaking, expecting to have his Majesty for our right arm, and as a guide or leader in our every thought and action." He thus makes the Pope merely say that he would not have reopened the Council had he not cherished the expectation that the King would be his right arm and leader; but since he has suffered the substance to remain, there is no great cause for censure. In regard to

the mission of Visconti to Spain, and that of another ambassador to the Emperor, Sarpi is of opinion (viii. 61) that their commission to propose a meeting was a mere pretence; but this is too subtle a suspicion; the proposal for a congress, or a conference as it was then called, is one of the points most urgently insisted on in the "Instruction." Pallavicini is without doubt quite right in maintaining this.

2. But Pallavicini is not always the more correctly informed of these two writers. When Sarpi relates that Paul III had proposed to the Emperor Charles V, at the conference of Busseto, the investiture of his nephew, who had married a natural daughter of Charles, with the Fief of Milan, Pallavicini devotes an entire chapter to the refutation of this assertion. He will not believe the historians in whose works it appears. "How," he exclaims, "could the Pope then have ventured to write letters to the Emperor in such a tone as that he employed?" The Emperor might have at once reproached him with shameless dissimulation (simulatione sfacciata). Now, since Pallavicini is so much in earnest, we must needs believe that he is here writing *bonâ fide*. Yet the facts as related by Sarpi are nevertheless founded in truth. By the despatches of the Florentine ambassador, "Dispaccio Guicciardini, 26 Giugno, 1543," this is established beyond contradiction.

In a manuscript life of Vasto may be found still more circumstantial details respecting this matter. We will here cite a "Discorso" of Cardinal Carpi which tends to the same purpose. Nay, the Pope had not given up this idea even in the year 1547—Le cardinal de Bologne au roy Henry II., Ribbier, ii. 9: "One—the Pope—demands Milan, which he will never have; the other—the Emperor—requires 400,000 scudi, which he will not get without giving up Milan." Notwithstanding this, Pope Paul III did certainly write those letters.

3. But the question next arises whether Pallavicini's errors are generally made *bonâ fide*. This cannot have been the case in every instance; it sometimes happened that his documents were not so orthodox and Catholic as himself. While the passing events of the time were still in progress—while they were displaying themselves in all their varying aspects, and presenting the possibility of changing development and differing results, it was not possible to take views so rigorous in regard to them as were entertained when all was again established on its former basis. Such an agreement as that made at the Peace of Augsburg could not possibly be approved by the rigid orthodoxy of the seventeenth century. Pallavicini accordingly bemoans the most heavy injuries (*detrimenti gravissimi*) resulting from it to the Roman See; he compares it with a palliative which only brings on a more dangerous crisis. He had nevertheless found the report of a nuncio in relation to it, by whom its necessity was clearly perceived. This was Delfino, Bishop of Liesina. Pallavicini brings forward the report presented by that bishop to Cardinal Caraffa, and has, in fact, made use of it. But in what manner has he done this?

All the reasons by which Delfino proves the absolute necessity for this agreement, are changed by Pallavicini into so many grounds of exculpation alleged by the Emperor Ferdinand in defence of himself.

The nuncio says that there was at that time no prince and no city which had not some quarrel with its neighbors; these he specifies, and declares that the land was going to ruin—Brandenburg, Hesse, and Saxony, as if constituting an opposition diet, affirmed that they would hold together. The King had entreated the Emperor to make peace with France and to direct his attention to Germany, but he refused to do so. In the midst of all these disorders, the States assembled; the King then confirmed the points on which both parties had agreed, and

so joyfully had they done this (sì allegramente), that since the days of Maximilian, Germany had never been so quiet as it then was.

Now on all these matters Pallavicini also touches (l. xiii. c. 13); but how much does he weaken the effect by placing these remarks in the mouth of a prince who is merely seeking to excuse himself!

"He excused himself for that by alleging that he had requested specific orders from the Emperor exhorting him to peace with France; and had reminded him that this was the only weapon wherewith they could crush the pride of the Protestants, etc." Let us contrast these ambiguous phrases with the words of Delfino. "The most serene King beholding these proceedings, wrote to his imperial Majesty, entreating him to make peace with the most Christian King, to the end that he might attend to the affairs of Germany, and might make himself obeyed, etc."

It is without doubt a great inaccuracy, and in a writer who boasts so loudly of his authentic information, altogether unpardonable, that he should convert the relation of a nuncio into the exculpation of a prince; but the worst aspect of this proceeding is, that the correct view of the occurrence becomes obscured by it.

The whole of the documents used are generally translated from the style of the sixteenth century into that of the seventeenth; but they are dishonestly treated.

4. If we confine ourselves to the relations existing between the Pope and Ferdinand I, we have still some few remarks to make. We know that the Emperor pressed and wished for a reform which was not very agreeable to the Pope. In the course of the first months of the year 1563, Pius twice sent his nuncios—first Commendone, and afterward Morone—to Innspruck, where the Emperor resided at that time, in the hope of prevailing on him to desist from his opposition. These were very remarkable missions, and had important consequences as regarded the Council. The manner in which Pallavicini (xx. 4) has given the reports of these missions is an interesting subject of observation. We have the report of Commendone, February 19, 1563, which Pallavicini had also before him.

And respecting this we have first to remark that Pallavicini materially weakens the expressions employed at the imperial court, as well as the purposes entertained there. With regard to the alliance subsisting at that time between the Emperor and the French, as represented by Cardinal Lorraine, he makes Commendone say: "It was to be expected that they would confirm each other in opinion, and promise aid each to the other in their undertakings." Commendone expresses himself in a totally different manner. The imperial court did not merely propose to seek reform in common with the French. "They seem intent on ways and means for securing the greater weight and authority in the present Council, that, in conjunction with France, they may carry through all their measures."

But there are many things that Pallavicini omits entirely. An opinion prevailed at the imperial court that, with a more conciliatory disposition and by more earnest reforms, much better progress might have been made and more good effected with regard to the Protestants. "The sum of the matter is, that I think I have seen, not indeed in his Majesty, but in the principal Ministers, such as Trausen and Seld, a most earnest desire for reform and for the progress of the Council, with a firm hope that by remitting somewhat of the positive law, and by the reform of morals and discipline in the Church, they might not only preserve the Catholics in their faith, but even win over and bring back heretics; but there is also too fixed an opinion and impression that there are some here

who are resolved against all reform." I will not attempt to discover who those Protestants may have been from whom there was ground for expecting a return to the Catholic Church in the event of a regular reform; but these remarks are much too offensive to the courtier prelate to permit of Pallavicini's reporting them. Allusion being made to the difficulties found in the Council, Seld answered laconically: "Just counsels ought to have been adopted from the beginning." The complaints in respect of difficulties presented by the Council are reported by Pallavicini, but he suppresses the reply.

But, on the other side, he gives at full length a judgment pronounced by the chancellor in favor of the Jesuits.

We have said enough to show that he dwells on whatever he finds agreeable to his own ideas, but whatever does not suit himself and the Curia he passes lightly over, or chooses to know nothing of it. For example, the legates were opposed to the purpose of the bishops, who desired to exclude abbots and the generals of religious orders from voting on the question on the ground that they might not give offence to so many thousands of the regular clergy, among whom, in fact, the true theology must nowadays be sought." ("Registro di Cervini, Lettera di 27 Decem. 1545." Epp. Poli, iv. 229.) Here Pallavicini takes occasion to set forth the motives actuating their decision in a light very honorable both to the bishops and the orders. "They desired the admission of the regular clergy, because it was among them that the theology, whereby the tenets in dispute were to be judged, had taken up its abode, and it was manifestly desirable that many of the judges should possess the clearest comprehension and the most finished judgment respecting the articles to be submitted to their decision."

5. Now it is obvious that this method cannot have failed to impair the accuracy of the views presented by Pallavicini to his reader.

For example, in the year 1547, the Spaniards brought forward certain articles of reform known under the name of Censures. The transfer of the Council followed very soon afterward, and there can be no question as to the fact that this event was greatly influenced by these Censures. It was, without doubt, of the utmost importance that the immediate adherents of the Emperor Charles should present demands so extraordinary at the very moment when he was victorious. Sarpi has given them at full length, lib. ii. p. 262, subjoining the replies of the pontiff shortly after. But demands so outrageous on the part of orthodox prelates do not suit the purpose of Pallavicini. He tells us that Sarpi relates many circumstances concerning this matter, of which he can find no trace; and says he can discover nothing more than a reply of the Pope to certain proposals of reform presented to him by several fathers, and which had been made known to him by the presidents, "sopra varie reformazioni proposte da molti de' padri." What these were he takes good care not to say. To have done so might have impeded him in his refutation of Sarpi's assertion that the transfer of the Council was attributable to worldly motives.

6. In the art of holding his peace in relation to such matters as may not conveniently be made public, he has proved himself quite a master.

In the third book, for example, he has occasionally cited a Venetian report by Suriano. And in allusion to this report, he says that the author asserts himself to have made diligent search, and acquired unquestionable information respecting the treaties between Francis and Clement; nor does Pallavicini think of contradicting him on this point, (III. c. xii. n. 1.) He adopts portions of Suriano's work, on the con-

trary, and gives them in his own narrative; such, for example, as that Clement had shed tears of pain and anger on hearing that his nephew was taken prisoner by the Emperor. It is evident, in short, that he puts faith in Suriano's statements. He declares also that this Venetian is directly opposed to his countryman Sarpi. The latter affirms, namely, that "the Pope negotiated an alliance with the King of France, which was rendered more stable, and concluded by the marriage of Henry, the second son of the King, with Catherine." Respecting this matter Pallavicini exclaims aloud. "The Pope," says he, "did not ally himself with the King, as P. Soave so boldly maintains." He appeals to Guicciardini and Suriano. Now what does Suriano say? He traces at great length the whole course of the inclination of Clement toward the French, shows when and where it began, how decidedly political a color it bore, and finally speaks of the negotiations at Bologna. He certainly denies that matters had proceeded to the formation of an actual treaty, but he merely refutes the assertion that a positive draft in writing was prepared. "Clement agreed to all the wishes of the King, using such words as to make him believe his holiness disposed to comply with his requisitions in every particular; but, nevertheless, without having made any condition whatever in writing." He subsequently relates that the King had pressed for the fulfilment of the promises then made to him. "His most Christian Majesty required that the promises of his holiness should be fulfilled." And this, according to the same author, was one of the causes of Clement's death. Here we have the extraordinary case of falsehood being in a certain sense truer than the truth itself. There is no doubt that Sarpi is wrong, where he says that an alliance was concluded; the treaty, commonly so called, never was put into legal form. Pallavicini is right in denying the existence of this treaty; and yet, upon the whole, Sarpi comes much nearer to the truth. There was the closest union, but it was entered into verbally only, and not by written forms.

7. Similar circumstances may be remarked in the use made by Pallavicini of the letters of Visconti. Sarpi has sometimes borrowed more from these letters than is literally contained in them: for example, he says, vii. 657, "In respect to the decree for enforcing residence, that Cardinal Lorraine had spoken at great length and very indistinctly, so that it was not possible to ascertain whether he was favorable, upon the whole, to that decree or not." Hereupon he is stoutly attacked by Pallavicini: "Si scorge apertamente il contrario" (xix. c. 8); he even cites Visconti to support his contradiction. But let us hear Visconti himself, (Trento, 6 Dec. in Mansi Misc. Baluzii, iii. p. 454:) "None but a few prelates could follow his words, because he enlarged greatly." Thus it was perfectly true that his hearers could not follow him, and that his meaning was not properly understood. Further on Pallavicini is enraged with Sarpi for having given it to be understood that the cardinal had refrained from appearing in one of the congregations, because he desired to leave the French at full liberty to express their opinions, and that he made the intelligence he had received of the death of the King of Navarre his pretext for absenting himself. Pallavicini protests, with vehemence, that this was the true and sole motive of the cardinal. "Nor do I find among so many records full of suspicions that this had ever occurred to anyone." How, was there no one in whose mind this absence had awakened suspicion? Visconti says, in a letter published by Mansi in another place: "Lorraine called those prelates, and told them that they were to speak freely of all they had in their minds without fear of anyone; and there were some who thought that the cardinal had remained at home for that express pur-

pose." Of the assertion that the cardinal had used the King's death as a pretext, it is true that Visconti says nothing, unless, indeed, he did so in other letters; which is the more probable, from the fact that Sarpi had evidently other sources of information under his eyes at this place. But as to the true point in question, that the cardinal was suspected of remaining at home for the reason assigned, that is certainly to be found literally expressed in these writings. And what are we to say to this, since Pallavicini unquestionably saw them?

8. The general purpose of Pallavicini is, in fact, to refute his opponent without having any interest in the question as to how truth might best be brought to light. This is in no case more obvious than in that part of his work which relates to the conference of Ratisbon, of which we have already treated so fully. Pallavicini also was acquainted with the "Instruction" here referred to, as will be readily imagined, only he considered it to be more secret than it really was; but from the mode in which he handles it, we gain a perfect acquaintance with himself. He makes a violent attack on Sarpi, and reproaches him for representing the Pope to declare that he would accord entire satisfaction to the Protestants, provided they would agree with him in the main points already established of the Catholic tenets: "That when the Lutherans should agree to the points already established by the Roman Church, entire satisfaction should be given to Germany in other respects." He affirms this assertion of Sarpi's to be directly contrary to the truth: "This is directly contrary to the principal point, the chief head of the 'Instruction.'" How! Can he venture to affirm that the opposite of this was the truth? The Pope's "Instruction" is thus expressed: "It must first be seen whether they will agree with us in the principal points, . . . which being admitted, an agreement might be attempted on all other controverted questions," and the other words which have been quoted above. It is true that Sarpi has here fallen into an error by restricting the legate more closely than the truth would demand. He has also said too little of the conciliatory disposition of the Pope. Instead of discovering this error, as it most obviously was, Pallavicini describes Sarpi as saying too much. He enters into a distinction between articles of faith and others, which had not been made in the bull, and brings forward a number of things which are true indeed, but which are not the only things that are true, and cannot do away with the words really to be found in those "Instructions," nor invalidate their force. In matters altogether unessential, he is strictly correct; but he totally misrepresents and distorts things of vital importance. Nay, we sometimes find him attempting to convict Sarpi of intentional and deliberate falsehood—lib. iv. 13, for example: "Soave asserts a falsehood, when he attributes the long extension of the Diet (of Worms), without having produced any effectual result, to the acts of the popes." Yet it is clear that such was the case, as results from the whole correspondence of Morone relating to that convention, as we now have it before us.

In short, Pallavicini proceeds as might an advocate who had undertaken to carry through his sorely-pressed client, on every point, and at whatever cost. He labors hard to place him in the best light, and brings forward all that seems likely to help his course; but whatever he thinks likely to do it injury, he not only leaves out of view, but directly denies its existence.

It would be impossible to follow Pallavicini through all the lengthened discussions into which he enters; it must suffice that we have made ourselves acquainted, to a certain extent, with his manner.

It must be allowed that we do not gather from our researches the most encouraging results as regards the history of the Council.

It has indeed been affirmed, that from these two works combined, the truth may be elicited. This may perhaps be maintained if we confine our remarks to very general views, and regard the subject merely as a whole; but when we examine particulars, we find that it is not the case.

These authors both deviate from the truth; this lies between them, without doubt, but we can never obtain it by conjecture. Truth is something positive; it is an independent and original existence; it is not by a mere reconciliation of conflicting assertions that we can arrive at truth—we acquire it only by a perception of the actual fact.

Sarpi, as we have seen, affirms that a treaty was concluded at Bologna; Pallavicini denies it: now from no conjecture in the world could we deduce the fact that the treaty was made but verbally only, and was not prepared in writing, by which the contradiction certainly is reconciled.

The Instructions given to Contarini are misrepresented by them both; their discrepancies can never be brought into harmony; it is only by examining the original that we can arrive at the truth.

They possessed minds of totally opposite character. Sarpi is acute, penetrating, and sarcastic; his arrangement is exceedingly skilful, his style pure and unaffected; and although the Crusca would not admit him into the catalogue of classic writers—probably on account of certain provincialisms to be found in his works—yet are his writings, after the pompous display of words through which we have to wind our way in other authors, a true enjoyment. His style is well adapted to his subject, and in power of description, he is, without doubt, entitled to the second place among the modern historians of Italy. I rank him immediately after Macchiavelli.

Neither is Pallavicini devoid of talent. He frequently makes ingenious parallels, and often defends his party with considerable address. But his intellect has something weighty and cumbrous in its character. His talent was for the most part displayed in making phrases and devising subterfuges: his style is overloaded with words. Sarpi is clear and transparent to the very bottom. Pallavicini is not without a certain flow of manner, but he is obscure, diffuse, and shallow.

Both are positive and thorough-going partisans. The true spirit of the historian, which, apprehending every circumstance and object in its purest truth, thus seizes and places it in the full light of day—this was possessed by neither. Sarpi was doubtless endowed with the talent required, but he would never desist from accusing. Pallavicini had talent also, though in an infinitely lower degree; but at every cost he is resolved on defending.

Nor can we obtain, even from both these writers together, a thorough and complete view of their subject. A circumstance that must be ever remarkable, is the fact that Sarpi contains much which Pallavicini never succeeded in eliciting, numerous as were the archives and resources of all kinds laid open to his research. I will but instance one memoir, that of the nuncio Chieregato, concerning the deliberations at the Court of Adrian VI, which is of the highest importance, and against which Pallavicini makes exceptions that signify absolutely nothing. Pallavicini also passes over many things from a sort of incapacity; he does not perceive the extent of their importance, and so he allows them to drop. But, on the other hand, Sarpi was excluded from innumerable documents which Pallavicini possessed. Of the correspondence maintained by the Roman Court with the legates, for example, Sarpi saw but a small portion. His errors are for the most part attributable to the want of original sources of information.

But there were many important memorials to which neither of them had recourse. There is a short report of Cardinal Morone, who conducted the decisive embassy despatched to Ferdinand I, and which is of the highest moment in regard to the history of all the later sittings of the Council. This remains, without having been used by either of our authors.

Nor must it be imagined that Rainaldus or Le Plat has completely supplied this deficiency. Rainaldus frequently gives no more than extracts from Pallavicini. Le Plat often follows the latter or Sarpi, word for word, and takes the Latin translations of their text as authentic memorials of what he could not find authority for elsewhere. He has also used fewer unprinted materials than might have been expected. In Mendham's "Memoirs of the Council of Trent," there is much that is new and good. We find in p. 181, for example, an extract from the acts of Paleotto, together with his introductions, even to individual sessions, as to the 20th, for instance; but he has not given due care to the study and elaboration of his subject.

Would anyone now undertake a new history of the Council of Trent—a thing which is not to be very confidently expected, since the subject has lost much of its interest—he must begin anew from the very commencement. He must collect the several negotiations, and the discussions of the different congregations, of which very little that is authentic has been made known; he must also procure the despatches of one or other of the ambassadors who were present. Then only could he obtain a complete view of his subject, or be in a condition to examine the two antagonist writers who have already attempted this history. But this is an undertaking that will never be entered on, since those who could certainly do it have no wish to see it done, and will therefore not make the attempt; and those who might desire to accomplish it do not possess the means.

Section III.—Times of the Catholic Restoration down to Sixtus V

We return to our manuscripts, in which we find information that, even when fragmentary, is at least authentic and unfalsified.

No. 22

Instructio pro causa fidei et concilii data episcopo Mutinæ, Pauli III., ad regem Romanorum nuntio destinata. 24 Oct., 1536. MS. Barb. 3007, 15 leaves. [Instruction touching the faith, and the counsels given by Paul III to the Bishop of Modena, appointed nuncio to the King of the Romans. Barberini Library.]

A conclusive proof is afforded by this "Instruction" of the sense entertained by the Roman Court that it was highly needful to collect its strength and take heed to its reputation. The following rules were prescribed, among others, to the nuncio. He was neither to be too liberal nor too sparing, neither too grave nor too gay; he was not to make known his spiritual authority by notices affixed to the church doors, since he might thereby cause himself to be derided. Those who required his intervention could find him without that. He was not indeed entirely to remit his dues, except under peculiar circumstances, but he was never to exact them too eagerly. He was to contract no

debts, and was to pay for what was supplied him at inns. "Nor let him, on quitting his inn, be too narrow in payment of the reckoning, or perhaps, as some nuncios have done, refuse to pay it at all, whereby they have greatly exasperated the minds of those people against us. In his countenance and his discourse let him dissemble all fear or distrust of our cause. . . . Let them feign to accept invitations with a cheerful countenance, but in replying to them let them not exceed in any manner, lest, perhaps, to them there should befall that same mischance which once happened to a certain Saxon noble, private chamberlain to Leo X (Miltitz), who, being sent into Saxony to make a settlement of the Lutheran matters, brought back only so much fruit of his labor as that often, when confused by wine, he was led on by the Saxons to pour out things respecting the pontiff and the Curia—not only such as were truly done, but such as they, in the evil affections of their minds to uswards, imagined or wished done: and all these things being put down in writing, were afterward publicly brought against us at the Diet of Worms, and before the face of all Germany."

We learn from Pallavicini also (i. 18,) that the conduct of Miltitz had caused his memory to be held in very little respect at the Court of Rome.

The "Instructions" we are now considering, and which Rainaldus has adopted almost entire into his work, is further remarkable from the fact that it supplies us with the names of many less known defenders of Catholicism in Germany; among them are Leonh. Marstaller, Nicol. Appel, Joh. Burchard, preacher of his order, "who, although he has not published books against the Lutherans, has yet labored to the great peril of his life, even from the beginning of these tumults, in defence of the Church." Among those better known, Ludwig Berus, who had fled from Basle to Freiburg, in Breisgau, is particularly extolled and recommended to the nuncio, "both on account of the sound and excellent doctrine and moral probity of the man, and because by his weight and influence he can render the best service in the cause of the faith." It is well known that Ber had found means to make himself respected, even among Protestants.

No. 23

Instruttione mandata da Roma per l'elettione del luogo del concilio, 1537. [Instruction sent from Rome for the selection of the place wherein the council is to be held, 1537.] Informationi Politt., vol. xii.

It was now without doubt the intention of Paul III to convoke a council. In the "Instruction" before us he affirms that he was fully resolved (*tutto risoluto*) on doing so; but his wish was that it should be assembled in Italy. He was equally disposed to choose either Piacenza or Bologna, places belonging to the Church, the common mother of all; or he would have been content to select a city of the Venetians, since they were the common friends of all. His reason was that the Protestants were by no means earnest in regard to the council, as was manifest from the conditions which they proposed respecting it. Even here we perceive the presence of that idea which afterward acquired so high an historical importance, namely, that the council was only an affair of the Catholics among themselves.

The pontiff, moreover, gives intelligence to the Emperor of his efforts for the promotion of an internal reform: "It shall be effectual, and not a matter of words only."

No. 24

Instruttione data da Paolo III. al Cl. Montepulciano, destinato all' imperatore Carlo V. sopra le cose della religione in Germania, 1539. *Bibl. Corsini, nr.* 467. [Instruction given by Paul III to Cardinal Montepulciano, who was sent to the Emperor Charles V to treat of the religious affairs of Germany, 1539. Corsini Library, No. 467.]

It was, nevertheless, most evident that the necessity for a reconciliation was first made obvious in Germany. On some occasions both parties were placed in opposition to the Pope from this cause. At the convention of Frankfort very important concessions were made to the Protestants by the imperial ambassador, Johan Wessel, Archbishop of Lund—a truce of fifteen months, during which all judicial proceedings of the Kammergericht should be suspended, and the promise of a religious conference, in which the Pope should take no part. This was, of course, altogether abhorrent to Paul III. Cardinal Montepulciano, afterward Marcellus II, was therefore despatched into Germany for the purpose of preventing so uncatholic an arrangement.

The "Instruction" accuses the Archbishop of Lund, in the first place, of being moved by corrupt personal motives, attributing the fault of these concessions to gifts, promises, and hopes of further advancement. "He received 2,500 gold florins from Augsburg, and a promise was made to him in addition of 4,000 florins yearly, to be paid out of the revenues of his archbishopric of Lund, then occupied by that Lutheran King of Denmark." He was further said to be desirous of remaining on good terms with the Duke of Cleves and Queen Maria of Hungary; for that sister of the Emperor, who was then governess of the Netherlands, was suspected of being very decidedly favorable to the Protestants. "She secretly shows favor to the Lutheran party, encouraging them to the utmost of her power, and by sending men to their aid, she purposely injures the cause of the Catholics." She had sent an envoy to Smalkalde and expressly exhorted the Elector of Trèves to abstain from joining the Catholic league.

Maria and the archbishop, that is to say, represented the anti-French and anti-Romish tendency of politics in the imperial court. They wished to see Germany united under the Emperor. The archbishop declared that this depended only on the yielding of some few religious concessions: "That if his Majesty would tolerate the persistance of the Lutherans in their errors, he might dispose of all Germany according to his own manner and pleasure."

The Pope replied that there were very different means for coming to an end with matters in Germany. Let us listen to his own words: "The Diet of Frankfort being therefore dispersed and broken up for the aforesaid causes, and his imperial Majesty, with other Christian princes, being advised that because of the evil dispositions of these times a general council cannot for the present be held, our lord the Pope, notwithstanding that he had so long before proclaimed this Council, and has used every effort and means for convening it, is now of opinion that his Majesty would do well to think rather of the convocation of an imperial diet for the prevention of those evils which are so especially to be expected from the convocation of a national diet. And his holiness believes that such evils might easily be brought about to the disturbance of quiet in Germany, both by Catholics and Lutherans, when the Catholics, having seen infinite disorders following on the proceedings of any royal and imperial Minister, should also per-

ceive that their Majesties were slow to apply the remedies. Nor would the said national Council be less injurious to the imperial and royal Majesty, for those secret causes of which his Majesty is aware, than to the Apostolic See; for it would not fail to give occasion to a schism throughout all Christendom, as well in temporal as in spiritual government. But while his holiness is of opinion that this imperial diet may be held in the event of his Majesty's being able to be present, either in Germany or in some place near to that wherein the said diet shall assemble, he is convinced that it ought not to be convoked if, on the contrary, his imperial Majesty, engaged by his other occupations, should not be able to continue thus close at hand. Nor would his holiness advise that his Majesty should depend on the judgment of others, however numerous, capable, or good, who should solicit and endeavor to procure the holding of the said diet in the absence of his Majesty; lest the same disorders should ensue that have followed upon other special diets where his Majesty was not present. It will, nevertheless, be advisable that the report should be continually bruited about from all quarters that his Majesty intends to appear in Germany and there hold the diet. All other honest means and ways should likewise be used to restrain and keep in tranquillity those princes who solicit and demand the said diet; then when his Majesty shall arrive in good earnest, he may proclaim and hold the same. But meanwhile, his Majesty, perceiving how good and useful it may be to promote the propagation of the Catholic league, should for the present give his attention principally to that matter, and he might write to his ambassador in Germany to that effect; or if it seem good to him, may send other envoys who should labor with all diligence, and by every possible means, to increase and extend the said Catholic league by acquiring and gaining over everyone, and this, even though at first they should not be altogether sincere in the true religion, for by little and little they may afterward be brought to order; besides that for the present it is of more consequence that we take from them, than that we truly acquire to ourselves. And for the furtherance of this purpose, it would greatly avail if his Majesty would send into Germany whatever sums of money he can possibly command, because the rumor of this, being extended through the country, would confirm others in their purpose of entering the league, which they would do the more readily on perceiving that the chief sinews of war are not wanting. And for the more effectual consolidation of the said Catholic league, his holiness will himself despatch one or more emissaries to those Catholic princes, to encourage them in like manner by promises of aid in money, and other benefits, when things shall have proceeded to such an extent for the advancement of religion and the preservation of the dignity, both of the Apostolic See and of his imperial Majesty, as to give warrant that there is good ground for expecting the outlay to produce its fruit. Nor in this will his holiness be forgetful of his Majesty. And it would not be ill-advised that among these means his Majesty should adopt the pretext of the Turkish affairs, to send, under that color, a certain number of Spanish and Italian troops into those parts, and by retaining them in the territories of his brother, the King of the Romans, to secure that in case of need there should be due assistance at hand."

Pallavicini was acquainted with this "Instruction" as well as with the preceding one (lib. iv. c. 14). We perceive, from what he says, that the notices relating to Germany in the latter of these documents were obtained from the letters of Aleander, who acquired so equivocal a reputation for himself in these negotiations. Rainaldus

also gives extracts from them; but this very instance will serve to show how needful it is to consult original authorities. In Rainaldus, the rather obscure passage just quoted is to the following effect: "He should meanwhile make every effort to extend the league of the Catholics, and to win over adherents from the side of the adversaries; he should likewise despatch the aid of gold, that so he might give courage to the league, and attract all who might be wavering to himself."

No. 25

Instructiones pro reverendissimo domino episcopo Mutinensi apostolico nuntio interfuturo conventui Germanorum Spiræ, 12 Maji, 1540, *celebrando. Barb.* 3,007. [Instructions for the most reverend lord the bishop of Modena, apostolic nuncio to the German convention about to be held at Spires, May 12, 1540. Barberini Library, 3,007.]

The religious conferences then took place. We here see the light in which they were regarded at Rome: "Nor let it seem strange to anyone if neither to legates nor to nuncios full power and authority are given to decide or to make agreement in matters of faith, because it would be most absurd and opposed to all reason, nay, in the utmost degree difficult and exceedingly perilous, that the sacred rites and sanctions commended to the universal Church by the experience of so many years, and so fully sanctioned by it, should be committed to the judgment of a few persons, and even those not competent, in so short a space of time, with so much precipitation, and in a place not entirely suitable; for, if any innovation were to be made, it should not be done except by decrees of a general council, or at least by the mature and well-discussed deliberation of the sovereign pontiff, the moderator of the Church.

"The most reverend lord nuncio ought nevertheless to hear and understand from Catholic doctors in his own house, whatever shall relate to those things which are to be treated of between them and the Lutheran doctors, that he may be able to interpose with his counsel and prudence, and direct everything to a good end; always guarding the authority and dignity of our most sacred lord and the Apostolic See, as hath often been repeated, because on this depends the safety of the universal Church, as saith St. Jerome. He ought, besides, with a certain skill and prudence, particularly to confirm the Catholic princes, as well spiritual as secular, in the faith of their parents and forefathers, and should admonish them not to suffer any change or innovation to be made in it rashly, and without the authority of the Apostolic See, to which all examinations of that kind belong."

No. 26

Instructio data reverendissimo Cardinali Contareno in Germaniam legato, 28 Jan. 1541. [Instruction given to the most reverend Cardinal Contarini, legate in Germany. Jan. 28, 1541.]

This has been already printed, and is often mentioned. The Roman Court was at length induced to make certain concessions.

Between the years 1541 and 1551, our collections present a number of letters, reports, and instructions by no means inconsiderable; they comprehend all parts of Europe, and not unfrequently throw a new

light on events. We are not yet prepared minutely to investigate them in this place, for the book which these extracts would further illustrate was not designed to give a complete representation of that period. I confine myself, therefore, without much scruple, to the more important.

No. 27

1551 *die 20 Junii, in senatu Matthæus Dandulus, eques, ex Roma orator,* [Matteo Dandelo, knight, ambassador, returned from Rome, appears in the Senate June 20, 1551.]

The above is the title of the report presented by Matteo Dandolo, who, as we see from the letters of Cardinal Pole (ed. Quir. ii. p. 90), was brother-in-law to Gaspar Contarini, after a residence of twenty-six months in Rome. He promises to be brief: "Those things that have been already written do not require to be put into the reports, excepting some that it is necessary to remark."

He treats first of the latter days of Paul III. Of this part I have already cited the most important facts. He then speaks of the conclave, and all the cardinals are mentioned by name. Dandolo asserts that he arrived with members of the college belonging to the University of Padua: we see how well he must have been informed. He then communicates a tabular account of the papal finances: "I received the computation from the treasury itself."

"1. The apostolic chamber possesses of yearly revenue, from the treasury of the March, 25,000 scudi; from the salt-tax of the said province, 10,000; from the treasury of the city of Ancona, 9,000; from that of Arcoli, 2,400; of Fermo, 1,750; of Camerino, 17,000; of Romagna, including its salt-dues, 31,331; from the patrimony (of St. Peter), 24,000; from Perugia and Umbria, 35,597; from the Campagna, 1,176; from Nursia, 600; from the salt-tax of Rome, 19,075; from the customs of Rome, 92,000; from the tax on horses in Rome, 1,322; from lights, 21,250; from the anchorage dues of Cività Vecchia, 1,000; from the triennial subsidy of the March, 66,000; of Romagna, 44,334; of Bologna, 15,000; of Perugia and Umbria, 43,101; of the patrimony, 18,018; of the Campagna, 21,529; from St. Peter's tax, 24,000; from the congregation of friars, 23,135; from the double tithes of the Hebrews, 9,855; from the malefactors of Rome, 2,000. Total, 559,473 scudi. Also from the tithes of the Ecclesiastical State, when they are available, 3,000 scudi; from the tithes of Milan, 40,000; from the kingdom, 37,000; from the tax on flour, 30,000; for the impost on contracts, 8,000; making, with some other items not mentioned, 220,000 scudi. The *datario* receives, for the offices that fall vacant, in compositions and admissions, 131,000; from the spoglia of Spain, 25,000; making, with certain deductions, 147,000 scudi. Total of the revenue, 706.473(?) Besides the five portions not brought forward, and which remain at the good pleasure and disposal of our lord the Pope.

"2. The annual expenditure of the chamber is:—to different governors and legates, and for certain forts, 46,071 scudi; to the officials of Rome, 145,815; for various gratuities, 58,192; in Rome, to the governor Bargello, guards of the chamber, and other offices, 66,694; to the captain-general, 39,600; for the galleys, 24,000; to the Roman people for the Capitol, 8,950; to the master of the palace, for the support of the household, 60,000; for various contingent expenses in Rome, 35,485; to Signor Balduino, the chamberlain, 17,000; to Signor Giovanni Battista, 1,750; to the cavalry, when it was kept in service, 30,000; to our

lord the Pope, for his private expenditure, and for pensions to the cardinals, and all the *datariato,* 232,000. Total of the whole expenditure, 705,557(?) scudi."

He concludes with remarks on the personal qualities of Julius III.

"Pope Julius, most serene Signory, most grave and most wise Council, is from Monte Sansovino, a small place in Tuscany, as I have already written to your excellencies. The first who gave a name, and some degree of reputation to his house, was his grandfather, a doctor of laws and very learned therein, and he was in the service of Duke Guido of Urbino, who, having sent him to Rome on matters concerning his State, he there acquired great favor, so that his nephew, having also made good progress in the study of the said faculty, did himself acquire so much approval and reputation that he was made Cardinal di Monte; and his nephew is this present Pope. Having arrived at court, his first step was to become chamberlain to Pope Julius II, and he was afterward made Archbishop of Siponto. When in that rank it was that he was sent to your excellencies, to demand from you Ravenna and Cervia, when you held possession of them after the sack of Rome. And by reason of his great merit, which was made manifest both in respect of his legal learning, and on many occasions where his counsels were available, as well as because of the great weight and influence of his uncle, who was the cardinal di Monte, this last having died, he was himself made cardinal. And being made Pope, he took instantly the name of Julius, who had been his patron, with the intention of seeking to imitate him.

"His holiness will be sixty-four years old on October 28th. He is of a very choleric nature, yet very kindly withal; so that, however angry he may be, it quickly passes away if any man can succeed in reasoning with him. It appears to me that he does not bear ill-will to anyone, but neither, perhaps, does he regard anyone with much affection, except indeed the Cardinal di Monte, of whom I will speak hereafter. Neither Cardinal di Marsa, nor the Cardinal of Trent, would consent to give a vote for his holiness; yet they were more immediately favored by him, and more highly rewarded than any one of those who had voted for him. His most favored servant, and one of many years' standing, was the Archbishop of Siponto, to whom, when he was himself made cardinal, he gave the archbishopric, and was always well served by him. Thus it was thought that he would immediately make him cardinal; but he has, nevertheless, been left "in minoribus," and is, in a manner, worse than when his holiness was but cardinal; for after becoming Pope he seemed to make little or no account of the archbishop, so that the poor man is almost brought to despair thereby." This manuscript is unfortunately too defective to make it advisable that we should copy at greater length, more particularly as the intelligence conveyed in it frequently degenerates into mere trivialities of detail.

No. 28

Vita di Marcello II., scritta di propria mano del Signor Alex. Cervini, suo fratello. Alb. Nr. 157. [Life of Marcellus II., written by his brother Signor Alex. Cervini, with his own hand.]

There is a most useful little work respecting Pope Marcellus II by Pietro Polidoro, 1744. Among the sources whence this author derived his work we find precisely the first that he mentions to be this biography by Alex. Cervini. Unfortunately, however, the original copy was

greatly injured so early as the year 1598, by a fire that broke out in the family residence of the Cervini at Montepulciano, and we have but a fragment of it remaining. I extract from it the following passage, which refers to the attempt at a reformation of the calendar made under Leo X, and which is not to be found in Polidoro:

"His father, therefore, having accustomed him to these habits, and exercised him in grammar, rhetoric, arithmetic, and geometry, it chanced that he became also much versed in natural astrology, and more than he would have been in the ordinary course of things, the cause of which was as follows: His holiness our lord, who was Pope at that time, Leo X, caused to be made known by public edict that whoever might possess a rule or method for correcting the year, which up to that time had got wrong by eleven days, should make it known to his holiness; wherefore the above-mentioned Mgr. Riccardo (father of the Pope), as one who was tolerably well versed in that profession, applied himself to obey the pontiff, and therefore by long and diligent observation, and with the aid of his instruments, he sought and found the true course of the sun, as appears from his essays and sketches sent to Pope Leo X, to whom, and to that most glorious house of Medici, he had ever shown faithful service; more particularly to the magnificent Julian, from whom he had received favors and great offers. The death of that signor prevented the fulfilment of the design that Mgr. Riccardo should attend the person of his excellency into France, or wherever else he might go, as had been agreed between them. Neither could our lord his holiness execute the publication of the correction of the year, because of various impediments, and finally, because of his own death, which followed not long after."

It is, nevertheless, manifest that the mind of Italy was actively employed on this matter, even in the times of Leo X; and that the Bishop of Fossombrone, who recommended the reform of the calendar in the Lateran Council of 1513, was not the only person who gave attention to that subject.

No. 29

Antonio Caracciolo, Vita di Papa Paolo IV. 2 vol. fol. [Life of Pope Paul IV, by Antonio Caracciolo. 2 volumes folio.]

Antonio Caracciolo, a Theatine, a Neapolitan, and a compiler all his life, could not fail to apply himself diligently to the history of the most renowned Neapolitan Pope, the founder of the Theatines, Paul IV, and we owe him our best thanks for doing so. He has brought together a vast amount of information, and innumerable details, which but for him would have been lost. His book forms the groundwork of Carlo Bromato's elaborate performance: "Storia di Paolo IV, Pontifice Massimo, Rom. 1748," and which presents an exceedingly rich collection of materials, in two thick and closely-printed quartos.

But, from the rigid severity of the censorship exercised in the Catholic Church, there resulted the inevitable consequence that Bromato could by no means venture to admit all the information afforded him by the sources to which he applied.

I have frequently alluded to a circumstantial report from J. P. Caraffa to Clement VII, and which was prepared in the year 1532. From this Bromato (i. p. 205) makes a long extract. But he has also made several omissions, and that of matters most particularly essential; for example, the remarks on the extension of Lutheran opinions in Venice.

"Let his holiness be implored that, for the honor of God and his own, this city not being the least or the vilest object in Christendom, and there being in the said city and in her dominions many and many thousands of souls committed to his holiness, he will be content to hear from a faithful witness some portion of their wants, which are indeed very great, but of which there shall now be set forth at least some part; and because, as the apostle saith, without faith it is impossible to please God, you shall begin with this, and acquaint his holiness with the heresies and errors in the life and conduct of many who do not keep Lent, do not go to confession, etc.—in the doctrine of others, who publicly speak of and profess these heresies, putting about also prohibited books among the people, without respect to rule. But above all, you will say that this pestilence, as well of the Lutheran heresy as of every other error, contrary to the faith and to sound morals, is chiefly disseminated and increased by two sorts of persons, that is to say, by the apostates themselves, and by certain friars, chiefly "conventuali." Also his holiness should be made aware of that accursed nest of conventuals, the Friars Minorites; for he by his goodness having restricted some of his servants who would have moved in this matter, these friars have begun to put all in confusion; for, having been disciples of a heretic monk, now dead, they have determined to do honor to their master. . . . And, to say what are my thoughts in this matter, it appears to me that in so great an emergency we ought not to confine ourselves to the usual method, but, as in the menacing and increasing fury of war, new expedients are daily adopted, as the occasion demands, so in this still more important spiritual warfare, we should not waste our time in sleep.

"And since it is known to his holiness that the office of the Inquisition in this province is in the hands of those conventuals aforesaid, the Friars Minors, who will only by chance and occasionally persuade themselves to perform any real and fitting inquisition, such as was exercised by that master Martino of Treviso, of whose diligence and faith I know that his holiness was informed by the above-named Bishop of Pola, of honored memory—since he has been now transferred to another office, and is succeeded in the Inquisition by I know not whom, but, so far as I can learn, a very insufficient person, it will therefore be needful that his holiness should take the requisite measures, partly by arousing and exciting the ordinaries, who are everywhere no better than asleep, and partly by deputing some persons of authority to this country, and sending hither some legate, who, if it were possible, should be free from ambition and cupidity, that so he might apply himself to repair the honor and credit of the Apostolic See, punishing those rascal heretics, or at least driving them away from the midst of the poor Christians; for wherever they shall go they will carry with them the testimony of their own wickedness, and of the goodness of the faithful Catholics, who will not have them in their company. And since the pest of heresy is for the most part introduced by preaching, by heretical books, and by a long continuance in an evil and dissolute life, from which the passage to heresy is easy, it seems that his holiness would make a holy, honorable, and useful provision by taking measures in this respect."

There are other notices of more or less importance contained in the work of Caracciolo, which have for the most part remained unknown, but which, in a work of greater detail than that here presented to the reader, ought not to be passed over. This Italian biography is wholly distinct from another of Caracciolo's writings, the "Collectanea historica di Paolo IV;" it is entirely different, and much more useful

work. There are, nevertheless, some things in the Collectanea which are also to be found in the "Vita"; as, for example, the description of the changes which Paul IV proposed to make after he had dismissed his nephews.

No. 30

Relatione di M. Bernardo Navagero alla Serenissima Repubblica di Venetia tornando di Roma ambasciatore appresso del pontefice Paolo IV, 1558. [Report presented to the most serene Republic of Venice by M. Bernardo Navagero, ambassador to Pope Paul IV, on his return from Rome.]

This is one of the Venetian reports which obtained a general circulation. It was used even by Pallavicini, who was attacked on that account. Rainaldus also mentions it, ("Annales Eccles. 1557," No. 10), to say nothing of later authors.

It is, without doubt, highly deserving of these honors. Bernardo Navagero enjoyed that consideration in Venice which was due to his learning. We perceive from Foscarini ("Della Lett. Ven.," p. 255) that he was proposed as historiographer to the republic. In his earlier embassies to Charles V, Henry VIII, and Soliman, he had become practised in the conduct of difficult affairs, as well as in the observation of remarkable characters. He arrived in Rome immediately after the accession of Paul IV.

Navagero describes the qualities required of an ambassador under three heads: understanding, which demands penetration; negotiation, which demands address; and reporting, which requires judgment, that he may say only what is necessary and useful.

He commences with remarks on the election and power of a pope. It is his opinion that if the popes would earnestly apply themselves to the imitation of Christ, they would be much more to be feared. He then describes "*le conditioni*," as he says, "the qualities of Pope Paul IV, and of those who advise him"—that is, above all, his three nephews. I have made use of his descriptions, but the author is not always to be followed in his general conclusions. He thinks that even Paul IV had no other object than the exaltation of his own house. Had he written later, after the banishment of the nephews, he would not have expressed such an opinion.

That event marked the point of change in the papal policy, from worldly views to those of a more spiritual character. From personal descriptions Navagero proceeds to an account of the war between Paul IV and Philip II: this also is quite as happily conceived, and is full of the most intelligent remarks. There next follow a review of the foreign relations of Rome, and reflections on the probable result of a future election. It is only with the most cautious discretion that Navagero proceeds to speak of this matter. "Più," he says, "more to satisfy your excellencies than myself, I speak of this part." But his conjectures were not wide of the mark. Of the two in regard to whom he perceived the greatest probability of succession, he names, in fact, the one who was elected, Medighis (Medici), although it is true that he considered the other, Puteo, to be a still more likely successor.

"But now," he says, "I am here again. I again behold the countenance of my sovereign, the illustrious republic, in whose service there is nothing so great that I would not venture to attempt it, nothing so mean that I would not undertake it." This expression of devotedness gives heightened color to the description.

No. 31

Relatione del Clarissimo M. Aluise Mocenigo Cavaliero ritornato della corte di Roma, 1560. (*Arch. Ven.*) [Report of the most illustrious M. Aluise Mocenigo, presented on his return from the Court of Rome, 1560.] Venetian Archives.

Mocenigo remained during seventeen months at the Court of Paul IV. The conclave lasted four months and eight days: he then conducted the embassy during seven months at the Court of Pius IV.

He first describes the ecclesiastical and secular administration, that of justice, and the court under Paul IV. He makes an observation respecting these things, of which I have not ventured to make use, although it suggests many reflections. "The cardinals," he says, "divide the different cities of the legations among themselves (in the conclave), and the arrangement afterward remains, but subject to the good pleasure of the Pope." May we then consider this the origin of that administration of the state by the clergy which was gradually introduced?

Nor does he forget the antiquities, of which Rome possessed a richer abundance at that time than at any other, as is testified by the descriptions of Boissard and Gamucci: "In every place, whether inhabited or uninhabited, that is excavated in Rome, there are found vestiges of noble and ancient structures; also from many places most beautiful statues are dug out. Of marble statues, if all were placed together, there might be made a very large army."

He next comes to the disturbances that broke forth on the death of Paul IV, and which were repeated in a thousand fresh disorders, even after they appeared to be allayed. "When the people had ceased, there flocked to the city all the broken men and outlaws, so that nothing was heard of but murders, and some were found, who for eight, seven, or even for six scudi would take upon themselves the charge of killing a man; and this went to such a degree that many hundred murders were committed in a few days, some from motives of enmity, others on account of lawsuits—many that they might inherit the property of the murdered, and others for divers causes, so that Rome seemed, as the saying is, to have become a very den of Baccaro."

The conclave was very joyous—every day there were banquets. Vargas was there whole nights, at least, "at the merry-makings of the conclave." But the person who really elected the Pope was Duke Cosmo of Florence. "The Duke of Florence has made him Pope; it was he who caused him to be placed among the nominees of King Philip; then by various means he had him recommended by the Queen of France; and finally, by great industry and diligence, he gained the Caraffa party to his side." How completely do all these intrigues, described in the histories of the conclaves, lie exposed in their utter nothingness! The authors of these histories, themselves for the most part members of the conclaves, saw only the mutual relations of those individuals with whom they were in contact; the influences acting on them from without were concealed from their perception.

The report concludes with a description of Pius IV, so far as his personal qualities had at that time been made manifest.

No. 32

Relatione del Clarissimo M. Marchio Michiel, Kr. e Proc., ritornato da Pio IV, sommo pontefice, fatta a 8 di Zugno, 1560. [Report of the most illustrious M. Marchio Michiel, knight and procurator, presented on his return from Pius IV, supreme pontiff. June 8, 1560.]

This is the report of an embassy of congratulation, which was absent from Venice only thirty-nine days, and cost 13,000 ducats. As a report it is very feeble. Michiel exhorts to submission toward Rome. "The jurisdiction of the Pope should not be invaded, and that the mind of his holiness may not be disturbed, the *avogadors* should pay him all those marks of respect that are proper, but which I have often remarked them to omit."

No. 33

Despatches of the Venetian Ambassadors—18th of May 21 of September, 1560. *Informat. Politt., vol.* viii., *leaves 272.—Reports of the Venetian Ambassadors in Rome,* 1561. *Inform. Politt., vol.* xxxvii., *leaves 71.*

The reports are also despatches, dated January and February, 1561, and are all from Marc Antonio de Mula, who for some time filled the place of ambassador. (See Andrea Mauroceni, "Hist. Venet.," lib. viii. tom. ii. 153.) They are very instructive, giving interesting particulars in regard to the circumstances of the times and to the character of Pius IV. The closing fortunes of the Caraffa family occupy a prominent place, and we learn from these documents that Philip II. then wished to save these old enemies of his. This was even charged against him as a crime at the court (of Rome). Vargas replied that Philip II had given them his pardon; "that great King, that holy, that Catholic monarch, not doing as ye Romans do." The Pope, on the contrary, reproached them with the utmost vehemence: "That they had moved Christians, Turks, and heretics to war, . . . and that the letters which came from France and from the agents in Italy, were all forged," etc. The Pope said he would have given 100,000 scudi to have it proved that they were innocent, but that atrocities such as they had committed could not be endured in Christendom.

I abstain from making extracts from these letters; it will suffice to have intimated the character of their contents.

No. 34

Extractus processus Cardinalis Caraffæ. Inff. tom. ii. *f.* 465 *to* 516. *With the addition: Hæc copia processus formati contra cardinalem Caraffam reducta in summam cum imputationibus fisci eorumque reprobationibus perfecta fuit d.* 20 *Nov.* 1560. [Extract from the trial of Cardinal Caraffa. Inff. vol. ii. folios 465 to 516. With the addition of the following note: This copy of the writ instituted against Cardinal Caraffa, with the charges brought by the exchequer, and the statements in denial of the same, was completed on the 20th of November, 1560.]

From the ninth article of the defence, under the word "Heresy," we learn that Albert of Brandenburg sent a certain Colonel Friedrich

to conclude a treaty with Paul IV. The colonel had even an audience of the Pope himself; but the Cardinal of Augsburg (Otho von Truchsess) made so many objections and representations against him that he was at length sent out of Rome. To this document is annexed: "The event of the death of the Caraffas, with an account of the manner in which they died, together with the day and hour, etc."

No. 35

Report of Girolamo Soranzo—1563. *Rome. Venetian Archives.*

The date, 1561, which is on the copy in the archives, is, without doubt, incorrect. According to the authentic lists of the embassies, Girolamo was certainly chosen as early as September 22, 1560, because Mula had accepted an appointment from Pius IV, and had on that account fallen into disgrace with the republic. But that offence was forgiven, and it was not until Mula had been nominated cardinal, in the year 1562, that Soranzo superseded him. The latter frequently makes allusions to the Council also, which did not, in fact, sit at all in the year 1561.

Girolamo Soranzo has remarked that the reports were agreeable as well as useful to the Senate: "They are willingly listened to, as well as maturely considered." He prepared his own reports with pleasure, no less than with diligence. It will amply repay our labor to listen to his description of Pius IV:

"Of the mental characteristics of his holiness I will speak sincerely, describing certain peculiarities which I was enabled to observe in him during the time of my embassy, or of which I obtained knowledge from persons who spoke of them dispassionately. The Pope, as I have said above, has studied the laws, his knowledge of which, and the practice acquired during so many years, in the important governments he has held, have given him an admirable certainty of judgment in all causes, whether of justice or mere favor, that are brought forward in the Segnatura; so that he never opens his mouth without proving that he well knows what may be conceded, and what ought to be refused, which is a quality not only useful, but necessary to a pontiff, on account of the many and important matters that from time to time he has to treat and decide upon. He is very well acquainted with the Latin tongue, and has always taken pleasure in studying its beauties; so that, according to what I have been told by the most illustrious Navagiero, who has so perfect a judgment in respect to that question, he expresses himself in the consistories, where it is customary to speak Latin, with great ease and propriety. He has not studied theology, and for this reason will never take upon himself to decide by his own authority such causes as are committed to the office of the Inquisition, but is in the habit of saying that, not being a theologian, he is content to refer all such matters to those who have charge of them; and although it is well known that the ordinary manner of the inquisitors, in proceeding with so much rigor against the persons examined, is not to his satisfaction, and that he has suffered it to be understood that it would please him better to see them use the methods proper to a courteous gentleman, rather than those of a rigid monk, yet he either does not choose, or does not dare, to oppose their decisions, with which, indeed, he but rarely interferes, the congregations being held for the most part without his presence. In affairs and deliberations of state he will not take counsel of any man, insomuch that it is said there

has never been a pontiff more hardly worked, and less advised, than his holiness. And it does not fail to be made matter of wonder to the whole court that he will not take the opinion at least of some cardinal, more especially for affairs of great importance, and the rather, as many of the cardinals are men of very sound judgment. I know that Vargas one day advised him to do so, remarking to him that although his holiness was, doubtless, most wise, yet that 'one man was no man' (*unus vir erat nullus vir*); but his holiness sent him off with a rough reply; and it is in fact very evident that whether because he considers himself capable of deciding all questions that come before him, or because he knows that there are few, perhaps no cardinals, who are not in the interest of some prince, and that all are thus incapacitated for giving a free unbiassed judgment, it is, I say, evident, that he will not accept the service of any, save Cardinal Borromeo and Signor Tolomeo, who being young men of little or no experience, and ready to obey the very slightest intimation from his holiness, may rather be called simple executors than counsellors. From this want of counsel it results that his holiness, who is by nature prompt in all his actions, takes his resolutions also very quickly in respect to all public affairs, however important they may be, but as readily abandons the determination he has taken, so that when his decisions are published, and there happens afterward to be brought to him some information of a contrary tendency, he not only changes his measures, but frequently does the very opposite of what he had first designed, a circumstance that occurred in my time, not once only, but on various occasions. Toward princes the conduct of his holiness is directly contrary to that of his predecessor, for the latter used to say that the position of the pontiff permitted him to place emperors and kings beneath his feet, while the present Pope declares that without the authority of princes it is impossible to maintain that of the pontiff. Thus he deports himself with great respect toward every prince, is extremely willing to grant them favors, and when he refuses them anything, he does it with infinite address and modesty. He proceeds in like manner with exceeding gentleness and affability toward all persons whatsoever who approach him in the conduct of affairs; but if at any time he be required to do a thing which displeases him, he becomes excessively vehement, and proves himself to be really terrible, nor will he suffer the slightest contradiction. Yet it is hardly ever necessary to use address with his holiness, for when he has become pacified, he finds it difficult to refuse any request. It is true that there is more difficulty in securing the subsequent execution than in obtaining the promise. He displays the utmost respect toward the most reverend cardinals, and willingly confer favors on them; nor does he ever diminish the value of the privileges conferred in the collation to benefices, as was done by his predecessor. It is true that among those of the cardinals who have the principal influence, there exists the desire that he would give them a more active part in the affairs that occur during times of so much movement than that which his holiness is accustomed to accord them; they are dissatisfied that resolutions of the highest importance should be adopted with so little advice and deliberation, and in this respect they consider your Serenity most fortunate. Toward the ambassadors his holiness evinces the highest demonstrations of respect and good-will—better could not be desired; nor does he omit anything that can tend to their satisfaction. He conducts himself most amicably in all negotiations with them, and if at any time he falls into anger on account of some demand that has displeased him, yet anyone who uses discretion may readily appease him, and can always succeed so far as to gain at least a very friendly reply, even though he may not obtain all he demands;

but whoever attempts to place himself in direct opposition to his holiness, may be assured of receiving neither the one nor the other. Therefore it is that Vargas has never possessed the favor of Pope Pius IV, for he has at no time proceeded with the modesty required from him. When the pontiff has finished the discussion of business matters, he converses courteously with the ambassadors; mentions any important notices or advices that may have reached him, and freely enters into discourse respecting the present state of the world. With myself, in particular, he has done that very frequently, as your Serenity will remember, for I have often filled whole sheets with his remarks. Toward his domestics he proceeds in such a manner that one cannot perceive any one among them to have any influence with him; he treats them all alike, not giving one of them liberty to do anything unsuitable to his position, nor permitting them to take anything upon themselves. But he retains them all in so poor and humble a fortune that the court would willingly see more esteem and regard displayed toward the more confidential chamberlains and other old servants. He makes earnest profession of being strictly just as a judge, and readily converses of the desire he has that justice should be done, more particularly toward the ambassadors of princes, with whom he will sometimes enter on such occasions into a justification of the death of Caraffa, and the sentences of Naples and Monte, which he declares to have been pronounced in an equitable manner; for it may have come to his ears that the whole court considered these sentences, and especially that of Caraffa, to have been marked by an extraordinary and excessive severity. The Pope is naturally inclined to a life of privacy and freedom, because it is obvious that he finds difficulty in accommodating himself to that majesty of deportment remarked in his predecessor. In all his actions he displays affability rather than dignity, permitting himself to be seen at all times and by all people, and going throughout all parts of the city on foot or on horseback, with a very small train. He has a very great love of building, and in this he spends willingly and largely, listening with great pleasure when the works he has in progress are praised; and it would seem that he desires to leave a memorial of his pontificate in this manner also, for there is now scarcely a place in Rome that does not bear his name; and he frequently remarks that the family of Medici has an especial love of building; nor does his holiness pursue the method of many other popes his predecessors, who have, for the most part, commenced large and magnificent edifices, which they afterward left imperfect; but Pope Pius, on the contrary, finds pleasure in restoring such as are falling to decay, and in finishing those already begun; yet he also constructs many new ones, causing divers buildings to be erected in many parts of the Ecclesiastical States; thus, he is fortifying Civitá Vecchia, is repairing the harbor of Ancona, and proposes to constitute Bologna a fortress. In Rome also, besides the fortification of the Borgo, and the building of the Belvedere and the palace, he is causing streets to be repaired in many parts of the city, is erecting churches, and restoring the gates, at so great a cost, that in my time there were more than 12,000 scudi per month expended on the buildings of Rome alone, for many months consecutively, and perhaps more than it is suitable that a sovereign should spend in this manner; so that it has been affirmed, by many of the older courtiers, that things had never been reduced to so close a measure or so strictly ordered as at present. And now, because I think that some particulars of the mode of life adopted by his holiness will not be unwelcome, so I will furnish information on that subject also. It is the custom of the pontiff to rise so early when he is in good health, as well in the winter as in the summer, that he is always on foot

almost before daybreak, and being quickly dressed, he goes out to take exercise, in which he spends much time. Then, having returned, the most reverend Cardinal Borromeo enters his chamber, with Monsignor Tolomeo, with whom, as I have said, his holiness treats of all important matters, whether public or private, commonly detaining them for two or three hours; when he has dismissed them, the ambassadors, who have been waiting an audience, are introduced, and when he has finished conversing with them, his holiness hears mass; after which, if the hour be not too late, he goes out to give audience to the cardinals and others. He then sits down to table, which, to say the truth, is not served very splendidly, or as that of his predecessor was, for the viands are common, and supplied in no great quantity, while the service is performed by his usual attendants. His diet is of the most ordinary kind, for the most part Lombard maccaroni; he drinks more than he eats, and his wine is Greek, of considerable strength, in which he mingles no water. He does not take pleasure, as did his predecessor, in receiving bishops and other dignified prelates at his table, but rather prefers the conversation of persons who are amusing, and possess some humor. He frequently admits cardinals and ambassadors to his table, and on myself, in particular, he has frequently conferred these favors with many gracious demonstrations of kindness. When he has finished eating, he withdraws to his room, undresses, and goes to bed, where he most commonly remains two or three hours. On awaking, he quickly dresses again, then says mass, and sometimes gives audience to some one of the cardinals or ambassadors; he then returns to his exercise in the Belvedere, which he never ceases until supper-time in summer, and which he continues in winter while any light remains."

Many other notices of interest and importance, from the illustrations they afford of the history of those times, are brought forward by Soranzo. He throws light, for example, on the otherwise scarcely intelligible secession of the King of Navarre to Catholicism, and explains it clearly. This prince had received assurance from Rome, that even though Philip II should not give him Sardinia as indemnification for the lost part of Navarre, yet that the Pope would, at all events, give him Avignon. It was not theologians, says the ambassador, that were employed to effect a change in his opinions—the negotiation sufficed.

No. 36

Instruttione del re Cattolico al C. Monsignor d' Alcantara, suo ambasciatore, di quello ha da trattar in Roma. Madrid 30 Nov. 1562. MS. Rom. [Instructions from the Catholic king to his ambassador Alcantara, touching matters to be treated of in Rome. Madrid, Nov. 30, 1562.]

These "Instructions" are accompanied by the Pope's reply. Pallavicini has made satisfactory extracts from this document (Pal. xx. 10), with the exception of the following passage, which he does not appear to have clearly understood: "In regard to the article of communion in both kinds, we do not hesitate to say, with all the freedom that we know we may use toward his Majesty, that it appears to us a great contradiction to demand so much liberty and license in the Council, and at the same time to desire that we should impede the said Council, and should prevent the Emperor, the King of France, the Duke of Bavaria, and other princes, from having the faculty of proposing this and many other articles, all requiring attention, and which these monarchs have

deliberately determined to have proposed by their ambassadors, even though their doing so should be contrary to the will of the legates. With relation to this matter, his Majesty must adopt such resolutions as shall appear to him most suitable. As to what concerns ourselves, we have contrived to defer the matter until now, and will do our utmost to prolong the delay, notwithstanding the urgent representations which have been made to us in respect of it, and which continue to be made, by the above-named princes, who protest to us that if it be not conceded to them, they will lose all their subjects, and these commit no fault, as they say, except in this one particular, for in all the rest they are good Catholics. And they further say that if this privilege be not granted to them, they will take it for themselves, joining with the neighboring sectaries and the Protestants, by whom, on their having recourse to them for this use of the cup, they are compelled to abjure our religion: let his Majesty then consider in how great a strait we are placed, and what perplexity we suffer. Would to God that his Catholic Majesty were near us, so that we might speak together, or indeed that we could both meet and confer with the Emperor; for his imperial Majesty ought, by all means, to have an interview with us, and perchance we might thus give better order to the affairs of the world; but otherwise, none will ever be able to amend them, save God alone, when it shall seem good to his Divine Majesty."

No. 37

Instruttione data al Signor Carlo Visconti, mandato da Papa Pio IV. al re Cattolico per le cose del Concilio di Trento. [Instruction given to Signor Carlo Visconti, sent from Pope Pius IV to the Catholic king, touching the affairs of the Council of Trent.] Signed —Carolus Borromæus, ultimo Oct. 1563.

This document is not comprised in the collection of the nuncio's letters, which includes those only to September, 1563, but is remarkable from the fact that it investigates the motives for closing the Council. Pallavicini (xxiv. lib. i.) has adopted the greater part of this "Instruction," but in an order different from that in which it was written. The most remarkable circumstance here made known, perhaps, is that, it was proposed to bring the affairs of England before the Council, a design that was abandoned only from motives of consideration for Philip II. "Up to the present time we have not been willing to speak, or to suffer that the Council should speak, of the Queen of England (Mary Stuart), much as that subject deserves attention, nor yet of that other, (Elizabeth,) and this from respect to his Catholic Majesty; but still a plan must, at some time, be adopted respecting these things, and his Majesty should at least take measures that the bishops and other Catholics may not be molested." It is here rendered manifest that the office of protecting the Catholics of England was imposed as a kind of duty on Philip II.

No. 38

Relatione in scriptis fatta dal Commendone ai Signori Legati del concilio sopra le cose ritratte dell' imperatore, 19 Feb. 1563. [Report made in writing by Commendone to the Lord Legates, in regard to the matters touched upon by the Emperor, Feb. 19, 1563.]

"In fact, I thought I could perceive, not indeed in his Majesty, but in the principal ministers, such as Trausen and Seld, a most earnest

desire for reform and for the progress of the Council, with a firm hope that by a certain remission of the positive law, and by a reform of the morals and discipline of the Church, not only might the Catholics be preserved, but some of the heretics also might be gained and recovered, together with an opinion or impression, perhaps too powerful, that there were many here who did not wish for reform."

The activity of the Jesuits in particular had made an impression. "Seld remarked that the Jesuits have now shown clearly in Germany what effects may be hoped for, since merely by their purity of life, their preaching, and their schools they have maintained, and still wholly support, the Catholic religion in that country."

No. 39

Relatione sommaria del Cardinal Morone sopra la legatione sua, 1564, Januario. Bibl. Altieri, VII. F. 3. [Summary Report of Cardinal Morone, touching his embassy in January, 1564.] Altieri Library, VII. F. 3.

This ought properly be given word for word. Unfortunately I did not find myself in a position to take a copy. The extract that I have inserted in the third book must therefore suffice.

No. 40

Antonio Canossa: On the attempt to assassinate Pius IV. See vol. i. p. 242.

No. 41

Relatione di Roma al tempo di Pio IV. e V. di Paolo Tiepolo, ambasciatore Veneto. [Report from Rome in relation to the times of Pius IV and V, by Paolo Tiepolo, Venetian ambassador.] First found in manuscript at Gotha, afterward in many other collections. 1568.

This report is described in almost all the copies as belonging to the year 1567; but since Paolo Tiepolo expressly says that he was thirty-three months at the Court of Pius V, and the latter was elected in January, 1566, it is clear that its true date must be some time after September, 1568. The despatches also of this ambassador—the first that were preserved in the Venetian archives—come down to this year.

Tiepolo describes Rome, the States of the Church and their administration, as well as the ecclesiastical power, which, as he says, punishes by interdicts, and rewards by indulgences. He next institutes a comparison between Pius IV and V, touching on the piety, justice, liberality, habits, and general dispositions of these pontiffs respectively. Venice had found a very mild Pope in the former, in the latter an extremely rigorous one. Pius V complained incessantly of the restrictions which Venice permitted herself to impose on the ecclesiastical immunities. He instances the taxation of monasteries, the trial of priests by the civil tribunals, and the conduct of the "*Avogadores.*" Still, in despite of these misunderstandings, the comparison of Tiepolo tends entirely to the advantage of the more rigid pontiff, and to the disadvantage of the milder pope. We perceive clearly that the personal qualities of Pius V had produced an impression on this ambassador similar to that received from his character by Europe generally.

This report has been extensively circulated, as we have said; it has also been occasionally inserted in printed works; but let us remark the manner in which this has been done. In the "Tesoro Politico," i. 19, there is a "Relatione di Roma," in which all that Tiepolo says of Pius V is applied to Sixtus V. Traits of character, nay, even particular actions, ordinances, etc., are transferred without ceremony from one pope to the other. This report, thus completely falsified, was afterward inserted in the "Respublica Romana" (Elzevir), where it will be found, word for word, p. 496, under the title "De statu urbis Romæ et pontificis relatio tempore Sixti V papæ, anno 1585."

No. 42

Relatione di Roma del Clarissimo Signor Michiel Suriano K. ritornato ambasciatore da N. S. Papa Pio V., 1571. [Report presented by the most illustrious M. Suriano, ambassador to our lord Pope Pius V, on his return from Rome, 1571.]

Michael Suriano, with respect to whom, as we are told by Paruta, the study of literature placed talents for business in a more brilliant light ("Guerra di Cipro," i. p. 28), was the immediate successor of Paolo Tiepolo.

He describes Pius V in the following words:

"It is clearly to be seen that during his pontificate his holiness never addicted himself to the luxuries and pleasures of life as others that went before him did; that he made no change in his habits of living, and did not neglect the exercise of that office of Inquisition which he had held while in a private station; nay, that he was disposed to give up other occupations rather than that, esteeming all others to be of less account and importance; thus, although his dignity and fortune were changed by his elevation to the papacy, yet he was himself not changed either in his character or purposes. His holiness was of a grave presence, very spare and meagre, in person rather below the middle height, but strong and healthy; his eyes were small, but the sight was extremely acute; he had an aquiline nose, which denotes a generous spirit and one fitted to command; his complexion was bright, and he had venerable gray hair; he walked with a quick, firm, vigorous step, did not fear the open air, ate but little, drank still less, and went to bed at a very early hour; he suffered occasionally from strangury, as a remedy for which he used cassia, and sometimes asses' milk, living besides with great regularity and moderation. His holiness was of a choleric and hasty temperament, and his face would kindle and redden in a moment when anything occurred that displeased him; he was nevertheless very affable in giving audience, listened to all who came, spoke little and slowly, and often seemed to find difficulty in selecting the proper words, or such as would express the matter after his own liking. He was of exemplary life and irreproachable morals; with a most earnest zeal for religion, which he would fain have see all others partaking. He corrected his clergy accordingly, by reservations and bulls; while he punished the laity by decrees and admonitions. He made profession openly of sincerity and good faith, of avoiding all deceit, of never divulging matters confided to him in secret, and of rigorously keeping his word, all things which were the reverse of his predecessor's practice. He held all evil-doers in abhorrence, and could by no means tolerate the profligate. He loved the good, or such persons as he believed to be good; but as no worthless man could ever hope to gain his favor, because he considered it impossible that an evil man could ever become good, so a worthy man was not yet beyond the danger of losing his good-will, if ever he

fell into any fault. He loved truth above all things, and if anyone were ever discovered by his holiness, though but one sole time, in a falsehood, he lost his favor forever; this was exemplified in the case of Signor Paolo Ghisilieri, his nephew, whom he drove from his presence because he had detected him in a falsehood, as his holiness told me himself, and would never again receive him to his favor, notwithstanding that many efforts were made to prevail on him to do so. He did not possess a very lively genius, but was of a hard and suspicious nature; there was no persuasion, nor reasoning, nor consideration of courtesy or policy that could avail to move him from the impression that he had once taken. He had no experience in state affairs, because he had never practised them till his latter days; whence it happened, that when involved in the perplexities constantly resulting from the intrigues of this court, and amidst the difficulties that always attend one who is new to these affairs, any person who was acceptable to his holiness, and in whom he had faith, found it easy to lead him at his pleasure; but others, in whom he had no confidence, could do nothing with him, nor could any reasonings, regulated by mere human prudence, suffice to persuade him; and if anyone attempted to prevail with him by force of authority and influence, or by seeking to alarm him, he would cut the whole matter short and throw all into confusion, or at the least he would burst forth in the face of the adviser, telling him he did not fear martyrdom, and that since God had placed him in that office, so he could also preserve him there, in despite of all human authority and power. These qualities and dispositions of his holiness, although they are entirely true, are yet hard to be believed by anyone who has not had opportunity for closely observing him, still more so for those who have been in personal contact with other popes, for to such it will appear impossible that a man born and brought up in lowly fortune should have preserved so pure a truthfulness and sincerity; that he should resist the greatest and most potent monarchs with so much boldness; that he should be so reserved in the granting of favors, graces, dispensations, and other things, which the pontiffs for the most part conceded with so much readiness; that he should think more of the Inquisition than of any other thing—and whoever would second his holiness in that might do anything with him; that in matters of state he would yield nothing to the force of argument, or to the authority of princes experienced in government, but would be guided solely by those in whom he had faith; that he never manifested an interested feeling, nor was to be moved by ambition or avarice, either for himself or for anyone connected with him; that he put little trust in the cardinals, believing them all, or nearly all, to be led by self-interest, and that whoever sought to avail himself of their mediation with his holiness, unless he did it with great moderation and judgment, became an object of suspicion to the pontiff, and lost credit, together with the intermediaries he had placed his hopes in. And those who did not know these things, but remembered the weaknesses, the facility, the bending to expediency, the passions and the capricious partialities of other popes, accused, contemned, and reproached the ambassadors, believing, not that they could not, but that they would not obtain, or did not possess the skill to obtain, those things which were so easily to be secured in other times."

There is no difficulty in believing that the ambassadors really occupied a trying position with a pope of these dispositions. When Pius became aware, for example, that the Venetians would not publish the bull, "In Cœnâ Domini," he fell into a violent rage: "*si perturbò estremamente, et acceso in collera disse molte cose gravi et fastidiose*" [he became excessively agitated, and kindling in anger, uttered many severe and

reproachful things]. These were circumstances by which affairs were rendered doubly difficult of control. Suriano lost, in fact, the favor of his republic. He was recalled, and a large portion of this report is written for the purpose of justifying his conduct; but through this part we cannot follow him.

No. 43

Informatione di Pio V. Inform. Politt. Bibl. Ambros. F. D. 181. [Notice respecting Pius V. Inform. Politt.] Ambrosian Library.

This, it is true, is anonymous, but was written by some one who was accurately informed, and is corroborative of other descriptions. One of the facts we learn from this document, is the singular one that, notwithstanding all the rigor of this pious pope, yet factions prevailed in his household; the older servants were opposed to the younger, who attached themselves more particularly to the grand chamberlain, Monsignor Cirillo; the latter was generally accessible to all. "He would be easily won by those who would show a sense of his value and paid court to him. He has considerable elevation of mind, is on the most intimate terms with Gambara and Correggio, and is attaching himself to Morone."

No. 44

Relatione della Corte di Roma nel tempo di Gregorio XIII. Bibl. Cors. No. 714. [Report of the Court of Rome during the pontificate of Gregory XIII.] Corsini Library, No. 714. Dated Feb. 20, 1574.

Anonymous, but nevertheless very instructive, and bearing the stamp of authenticity. The author considers it difficult to judge of courts and princes. "I will show how they judge in the court, and will say what I think of it myself."

"Having attained to the pontificate at the age of 71, he seemed desirous of changing his very nature, so that the rigor which he had always blamed in others was now apparent in himself, more particularly as regarded any freedom of intercourse with women, in relation to which he was more severe than his predecessor, enforcing all rules and regulations with a still more rigorous exactitude. He displayed equal severity in the matter of gambling, for certain persons of the most distinguished rank, having begun to amuse themselves in the commencement of his pontificate, by playing for a few scudi, he reproved them with acrimony. It is true that some thought this playing was discovered to be a mere pretext to conceal intrigues that were set on foot respecting a new pontiff, in consequence of a slight indisposition which his holiness had in the commencement of his reign. From that time, the opinion that his holiness had been made Pope by the most illustrious Cardinal de' Medici, and would be governed by him, began to lose ground, and it was made clearly apparent that his holiness abhorred the thought of anyone pretending to arrogate an influence over him, or to intimate that he had need of being guided, nor will he have it supposed that he is governed by any but himself. It is indeed certain that in all judicial matters he is highly competent to act, understanding them perfectly, and requiring no advice on the subject. In affairs of state, on the contrary, his holiness might advantageously be better informed than he is, because he has never studied them profoundly. Thus he is sometimes irresolute; but when he has well considered the matter

before him, he obtains a very clear perception of its different bearings, and after listening to various opinions, readily discerns the best and soundest. He is most patient and laborious, is never unoccupied, and takes very little recreation. He is constantly giving audience, or examining papers. He sleeps but little, rises very early, is fond of exercise and of the open air, which he does not fear, however unfavorable may be the weather. In eating he is most temperate, and drinks very little, preserving himself in perfect health without quackeries or nostrums of any kind; he is gracious in outward demeanor to those who have done anything to please him. He is not profuse, nor even what would be called liberal, according to the opinion of the unthinking, who do not consider or discern the difference there is between a sovereign who abstains from extortion and rapacity, and one who tenaciously keeps what he has. This pontiff does not covet the property of others; nor does he lay plots against them to make himself master of it. He is not cruel nor sanguinary, but being continually in fear of war, either with the Turk or with heretics, he is anxious to have a good amount of money in the treasury, and to preserve it there, without spending it on things useless. He is said to have about a million and a half of gold. Yet he is much disposed to magnificence, loves splendor, and is above all things desirous of glory; by which desire it is, perhaps, that he is sometimes led to do things that are not pleasing to the court. For these reverend "padri Chiettini," who know his character well, have gained the upper hand of him, by persuading him that the influence and authority which Pius V possessed were to be attributed solely to his reputation for piety and goodness. With this they hold his holiness, as it were, in leading-strings, and compel him to do things contrary to his character and inclinations, for he has always been of a kindly and gentle disposition, and they restrict him to modes of life to which he is not accustomed, and that are uncongenial to him. It is believed that to effect this, they have employed the expedient of causing letters to be addressed to them by the fathers of their order resident in Spain and other places, which letters are filled with repetitions of the praises everywhere bestowed on the holy life of the late pontiff, and continually insist on the great glory he acquired by his reputation for piety, and by his reforms; and in this manner they are said to maintain their authority, and to persevere in governing his holiness. It is rumored, besides, that they are also assisted by the Bishop of Padua, nuncio in Spain, a creature of Pius V and of themselves. And so powerful is the pontiff's desire of glory, that he denies himself and puts restraint on his own nature, even to the extent of refraining from those proofs of affection toward his son which would be accounted reasonable and honorable by everyone, because he is influenced by the scruples inspired by the aforesaid fathers. Thus the great fortune of his holiness in having attained his high dignity from so poor a condition, is counterbalanced by this state of things, and by his having kindred from whom he can derive no satisfaction, and who do not appear to his holiness possessed of capacity or ability for important affairs, nor proper to be intrusted with the business of the state."

He proceeds to describe the cardinals in a similar manner. Of Granvella he remarks that he did not maintain his credit, he was too earnestly intent on his own gratifications, and was considered avaricious. In the affairs of the League he had nearly occasioned an open rupture between the King and the Pope. Commendone, on the contrary, is highly extolled. "He possesses virtue, goodness, and experience, with infinite soundness of judgment."

No. 45

Seconda relatione dell' ambasciatore di Roma, clarissimo M. Paolo Tiepolo K———; 3 Maggio, 1576. [Second report of the most illustrious Paolo Tiepolo, ambassador to Rome; May 3, 1576.]

The anonymous report mentioned above speaks of Tiepolo also, and in the highest terms; he is described as a man of clear head and great worth.

"He is modest, and, unlike the usual habit of the Venetians, is courteous and liberal. He is extremely well received, gives general satisfaction, and shows great prudence in the government of his course through these toils and difficulties."

When the Venetians separated themselves from the league formed against the Turks, for example, he had to maintain a difficult position. It was believed that the Pope would propose in the consistory that the Venetians should be excommunicated, and certain of the cardinals were preparing to oppose any such purpose. "With the exception of Cornaro, (a Venetian), there was not one who would come to see me or send for me, much less would any of them advise, console, or assist me." The true cause of the separate peace, Tiepolo asserts to have been that the Spaniards, after promising to be prepared and armed, in April, 1573, declared, in that month, that their armament would not be complete until June. It tended greatly to mitigate the anger of the Pope, that Venice finally determined to create his son a Venetian "*nobile.*" The manner in which Tiepolo expresses himself with regard to this son of the Pope is sufficiently remarkable:

"Signor Giacomo is son of the Pope; he is still young—about twenty-nine, that is; he is well versed in letters, graceful in manner, of a noble and liberal mind, with ability and judgment for anything to which he might apply his powers. There is little use in denying that the first, or it may even be said the sole, affection of the Pope is fixed on him, as indeed it is reasonable that it should be; wherefore, in the beginning of his pontificate, and when his holiness acted more in accordance with his natural inclinations, he first made his son castellan, and afterward governor of the holy Church, assigning him from that office an income of about 10,000 scudi yearly, and allowing him pay, besides, for a lieutenant-governor, colonels, and captains, to the end that he might make a more honorable appearance; but afterward, as if he had repented of proceeding so far in behalf of a natural son, and moved, as was affirmed, by the admonitions of certain ecclesiastics, who appealed to his conscience, and made the matter a point touching his honor, he began to retract, by refusing Signor Giacomo those favors and privileges that he asked from him, and by showing in all ways less regard for him than he had previously suffered to appear. Nay, further, as though, after having allowed him to be known to the world, he desired to conceal him, separating himself from his society, he sent him to Ancona, where he detained him for a considerable time, under pretence of fortifying that city, without ever providing him with a fixed income, or one so secured, that on his (the Pontiff's) death his son might be able to live and maintain his state with suitable dignity. For which cause, the poor gentleman, grieving over his hard fortune, which had raised him at one time only to abandon him at another, fell oftentimes into such despondency, that, shunning all converse and the society of every man, he would retire alone to a house, where he would shut himself up for many days. Then he would cause reports of perilous accidents that had befallen him to reach the ears of his father, to try whether he might thereby

more the tenderness of his holiness toward him. And in the end the natural love of the father prevailed, for vainly will a man set himself to expel or conceal it. Thus, conquered at last, the Pope, after the year of jubilee had passed, turned his thoughts toward his son, and applied himself to provide for him and give him satisfaction; then, first of all, he resolved to marry him."

Respecting the civil administration of Gregory XIII also, and more particularly in regard to the cardinal di Como, Tiepolo communicates many remarkable facts.

"He divided the arrangement of state affairs in such sort, that of those belonging to ecclesiastical matters, the cardinals, his nephews, received the care; while those relating to foreign princes were committed to the cardinal di Como. Now, as regards ecclesiastical affairs, they are, without comparison, of much less consequence, because they do not comprise either arms or fortresses, which are reserved to the general government; nor yet the finances, of which the apostolic camera and treasurer-general have the special charge; but relate merely to things of ordinary character, pertaining to the government of cities or provinces. Yet, not contenting himself with his nephews, the Pontiff has joined in authority with them a congregation, consisting of four influential prelates, among whom is Monsignor di Nicastro, who was formerly nuncio to your Serenity, with whom all matters are first discussed and to whom they must finally be reported. As regards affairs of state and negotiations with other princes, which have so much weight and importance, not only for the maintenance of a good understanding with those sovereigns, but also for the welfare and repose of all Christendom, he confides entirely and solely in Cardinal di Como, to whom the foreign ambassadors in Rome address themselves, together with the apostolic nuncios and other ministers of the Pope at the respective courts, for they write to him alone, and it is from him that they await their orders and directions. He is the Pope's sole counsellor, and it is he, as is universally believed, who suggests all the more important resolutions, gives all orders, and looks to the execution of them. It is true that some of the cardinals, those of experience and authority, and sometimes others also, will occasionally point out to the Pope what they judge fit to be done; and his holiness is accustomed to ask the opinion of some of the cardinals on certain occasions, or even of the whole College of Cardinals. This is most commonly done when it is likely to prove advantageous to him that the determination taken should be known to have resulted from the advice of large numbers, and more particularly when some request is to be refused. On certain special occasions, also, he is accustomed to depute a congregation of cardinals, as was done for the affairs of the league, and is done at this present time for those of Germany, of the Council, and some others; but for all final determinations, and in all questions of paramount importance, it is the Cardinal di Como whose advice prevails, and who ultimately acts in all matters of weight. Sometimes the Cardinal, although well convinced of his own sufficiency and judgment, will go to take counsel with Cardinal Morone or Cardinal Commendone, that he may not so absolutely rely on his own opinion as not also to avail himself of that of men so well informed and wise; but it is, nevertheless, true that all things finally depend on himself. He displays the utmost diligence and exactitude in business, and takes pains to relieve the Pope from all fatigues and anxieties, giving him such counsels as may best liberate him from daily toils and from expense, for there is nothing of which the Pope seems more desirous than of economy and repose. It is universally believed that the Cardinal is strongly disposed toward the Catholic King, not so

much because he is the vassal of his Majesty, and has the greater part of his benefices in his dominions, as on account of the many favors and advantages he has received from him in many things of great moment, and out of the usual course; in acknowledgment of which, he contrives on his part to show his gratitude on various occasions, and by certain ingenious methods which he knows how to put in practice without attracting much attention to himself. Toward your Serenity, I may also affirm, that he has, upon the whole, conducted himself tolerably well, more especially when it is considered that from the Ministers of other powers we cannot always secure what we desire; but that, on the contrary, we are often compelled to be content with a small amount of good-will."

Although this report has not been so extensively circulated as the previous one, yet it is in fact no less important and instructive as regards the times of Gregory XIII than the former is with respect to those of Pius IV and Paul V.

No. 46

Commentariorum de rebus Gregorii XIII.; lib. i. *et* ii. *Bibl. Alb.*
[Commentaries on the affairs of Gregory XIII; books i. and ii.] Albani Library.

Unfortunately incomplete. The author, Cardinal Vercelli, when after certain preliminary observations he proceeds to speak of Gregory's pontificate, promises to treat of three things: the war with the Turks, the war of the Protestants against the Kings of France and Spain, and the disputes respecting the jurisdiction of the Church.

But unluckily we find in the second book that the war against the Turks is given no farther than to the treaty of peace with the Venetians.

With the relations subsisting between Eastern affairs and those of religion we are acquainted. Our author's explanation of the perplexities involving the affairs of the year 1572, is by no means a bad one. Intelligence had been received to the effect that Charles IX was abetting the movements of the Protestants in the Netherlands. "Whereby Gregory, being offended, sent letters to the King of France, urgently requiring from him that he should not suffer his subjects to take part in that war, otherwise the pontiff would consider all these things to be done according to his wish, and at his instigation. The King promised to restrain his people with his utmost care, which he did to the best of his power; but yet, being somewhat moved by such a letter, which seemed rather menacing in its manner, being led also by certain conjectures to esteem himself almost insulted and provoked to war, he diligently placed his frontier towns in a state of defence, lest he should be attacked when unprepared; admonished his generals to take the measures needful to their safeguard, and at the same time made known all these things to Emanuel, Duke of Savoy, the relation and friend of both monarchs. Then Emanuel, who, by his singular prudence, well perceived how calamitous the dissension of these kings would be to his own people, as well as to the whole Christian commonwealth, declared all these matters to the Pope, whom he prays and beseeches to destroy this growing evil, nor suffer it to creep into strength and become inveterate. The pontiff, is nowise forgetful of what office he bore, considering that the King of France, a young man kindled with desire of glory, might, without great difficulty, be incited to this war by the enemies of the Catholic faith, whose influence was then very great in his court, yet thinking

that to the Queen his mother it would be greatly annoyed, with an [illegible] of her [illegible] and interest [illegible] the Admiral [illegible] the [illegible] of the Queen and very acceptable to her, who might strengthen [illegible] and by her means the more readily persuade the King to concede that accession of dominion and glory to the Christian commonwealth, which might be expected from the eastern expedition, but to excite within it a deadly intestine war."

In so far then, the Pope was certainly indirectly implicated in the massacre of St. Bartholomew. The interest of the pontiff, nevertheless, was to prevent by all possible means the outbreak of the war between Spain and France. It were greatly to be desired that we possessed this work—at least, so far as it relates to the religious dissensions.

I have been further induced to make the above passage by the fact that the very first lines prove it to belong to the sources of which Maffei has availed himself in his "Annali di Gregorio XIII. Pontefice Massimo." Let the reader compare the passage with Maffei, i. p. 27: "He wrote angrily to Charles, that if he suffered his subjects and ministers to mingle themselves in that war for the purpose of meddling in it, he (the Pope) should attribute all the mischief to him and his evil intentions. And he himself commanded that the Venetians should, with all diligence, despatch an ambassador to the French King for a similar purpose. Charles replied modestly that he would do his best to prevent his subjects from causing displeasure to the pontiff, and from giving the Spaniards suspicion of his intending what he had never even thought of. But he did not fail to complain to Emanuel, Duke of Savoy, of the angry manner in which the pontiff had written to him, saying it was his opinion that his holiness had suffered himself to be urged on by the Spaniards, who had themselves wished to interrupt the peace; and at the same time he began to garrison the cities of the frontiers."

I find besides that in various parts the work of Maffei is no other than an amplified transcript of the document we are examining. Yet I do not in the least desire to detract from the merit of Maffei's work by this remark: I am indebted to it for very valuable information, and though not entirely impartial, it is moderate, rich in matter, and upon the whole is worthy of confidence.

No. 47

Relatione di monsignore reverendissimo Gio. P. Ghislieri a papa Gregorio XIII., tornando egli dal presidentato della Romagna. S. i. p. 1570. [Report of Ghislieri to Pope Gregory XIII., on his return from the presidency of Romagna.] See vol. i. p. 296.

No. 48

Discorso over ritratto della corte di Roma di monsignore illustrissimo Commendone all' illustrissimo signor Hier. Savorgnano. Bibl. Vindob. codd. Rangon. No. XVIII., fol. 278–395. [A discourse or sketch, relating to the Court of Rome, presented by the most illustrious Monsignore Commendone to the most illustrious Geronimo Savorgnano.] Library of Vienna; Rangone manuscripts. No. XVIII., fol. 278–395.

To all appearance, this work belongs to the time of Gregory XIII. I would not answer for the name of Commendone; but from whomever

it may proceed, the writer was a man of talent, and deeply initiated into all the more secret relations of Roman life.

He describes the court as follows: "This commonwealth is a principality of the highest authority in a universal aristocracy of all Christians, having its seat in Rome. Its principle is religion. But if it be true (he further proceeds to say) that religion is the end, and that this is to be maintained by virtue and sound doctrine, it is impossible but that an alteration in the condition of men's minds shall involve the danger of confusion to the whole commonwealth."

He then treats principally of this conflict between the spiritual and secular efforts and interests; and above all things inculcates the necessity of a cautious foresight: "Close attention to every movement, and to all personal acts and proceedings. House, servants, equipages, should all be suitable; honorable and virtuous acquaintance only should be formed, nor should anything ever be affirmed that is not certainly known." The court requires "goodness, elevation of mind, prudence, eloquence, theology." But all is still uncertain: "This should be regarded as a voyage at sea, in which, although prudence may do much, and render most winds favorable to us, yet it cannot secure fair weather, or prescribe any determined time of arrival, neither will it give us certainty of reaching the port. Some there are who in the summer season, with a noble and well-furnished bark, will go down, or make but slow way; while others make a good speed, though the season be winter and they have but a frail or dismantled ship."

Section IV.—Sixtus V

I.—Critical Remarks on Leti and Tempesti, the Biographers of this Pontiff

Vita di Sisto V., pontefice Romano, scritta dal Signor Geltio Rogeri all' instanza di Gregorio Leti. Losanna, 1669. [Life of Sixtus V, Roman pontiff, written by Signor Geltio Rogeri at the suggestion of Gregorio Leti.] Lausanne, 1669, 2 vols.; afterward published under less singular titles, in 3 vols.

The reputation of an individual, or the mode of view taken of an event, is far more frequently determined by popular writings which have succeeded in obtaining extensive currency, than by more important historical works, which often require too long a time in preparation. The public does not make minute inquiry as to whether all the relations presented to it be really founded in truth; it is content when the recollections presented in print are equally abundant and varied with those which are furnished by the general conversation, provided they are expressed with somewhat more of concision, and, by consequence, with a more piquant effect.

The biography of Sixtus V, by Leti, is a book of this kind; the most effective, perhaps, of all the works published by that voluminous writer. It has determined the position which the memory of Pope Sixtus was to assume, and given the idea which has ever since prevailed in the universal opinion with respect to that pontiff.

The reader invariably finds himself in the utmost embarrassment on his first attempt to study such books; he cannot deny to them a certain degree of truth, and they are not to be wholly disregarded; yet it in-

stantly becomes obvious that they cannot be trusted far, although it may generally be impossible to determine where the line should be drawn.

We do not obtain the power of forming a sound judgment on this question until we have discovered the sources of the author, and carefully examined the manner in which he has employed them.

By progressive and continued research we come upon the sources whence Leti drew his materials, nor can we excuse ourselves from the labor or avoid the necessity of comparing the accounts he has given with these authorities.

1. In the whole history of Sixtus V there is nothing more talked of than the manner in which he is reported to have attained the papacy, and his conduct in the conclave. Who is there that does not know how the decrepit cardinal, tottering along, bent and leaning on his staff, had no sooner been made pope than he suddenly raised himself, a vigorous man, threw away the crutch, and threatened with the exercise of his power those very men from whom he had won it by deception? This narration of Leti's has been received and obtained credence throughout the world. We ask whence he derived it?

There exist documents in regard to every papal election, adducing the motives, or rather describing the intrigues preceding it; and with regard to the election of Sixtus V, we find a so-called "Conclave," written as these papers usually were at the time, and evincing an accurate knowledge of the persons taking part in the election. "The Conclave by which Cardinal Montalto was created Sixtus V."

We perceive on the first comparison that Leti had this document in particular before him. It will be seen, indeed, that he has done little more than paraphrase it.

Concluding manuscript: "On Monday morning early they proceeded to the Pauline Chapel, where Cardinal Farnese, as deacon, read mass, and the cardinals received the communion from his hand; afterward they proceeded as usual to the scrutiny, in which Cardinal Albani had thirteen votes, which was the greatest number that any cardinal had. The cardinals, having returned to their cells, they set themselves to the canvassing, and Altemps began with great eagerness to conduct the canvass for Sirleto, assisted by Medici and by the creatures of Pius IV, having the utmost confidence in their own power to control the matter; but suddenly they were met by the exclusion of Sirleto; Este, Farnese, and Sforza having declared themselves against him." Leti: "At an early hour on Monday morning they all assembled in the Pauline Chapel, and Cardinal Farnese, in his office of deacon, celebrated mass and administered the communion to all the cardinals; then they commenced the scrutiny, in which Cardinal Albano had thirteen votes, which was the greatest number. After this the cardinals returned to their cells to dine, and after dinner, many set themselves to negotiate, but particularly Altemps, who began eagerly to conduct the negotiations for Gugliemo Sirleto, a Calabrian, aided by Cardinal Medici and by the creatures of Pius IV., for all of them felt confident of being able to decide the election; but in a short time the exclusion of Sirleto was made manifest, Este, Farnese, and Sforza declaring against him."

And, as with the principal facts, so with the accessories; for example, the manuscript has: "Farnese, inflamed and possessed by an incredible anxiety to become pope, began openly to avow his detestation of the canvass and its object, saying: 'I do not understand what those persons can mean who propose to make Sirleto pope.'" Leti: "The first who opposed him was Farnese, who was possessed and inflamed by an incredible desire to be pope, because it appeared to him that he was more deserving of that office, as in fact he was; wherefore he began publicly to express

detestation of that canvass and its object, saying in all the corners of the conclave, 'I do not know what they mean by desiring to make Sirleto pope.'"

It is the same with regard to occasional observations; for example, the manuscript describes the effect produced on Cardinal Alessandrino by the disguise of Sixtus, and the offence it gave him. "But God, who has elected Montalto pope, did not permit those who were most in need of warning to receive any intimation, nor did he suffer either Farnese or his adherents to be awakened to opposition of the canvass, they believing that matters would never be carried to the extent of the adoration, but that there was merely a purpose of doing honor to Montalto in the scrutiny." Although so pious a mode of expression is foreign to the manner of Leti, he has yet found it convenient to copy this passage, and to insert it in his book; with some few slight changes he has transcribed it literally.

Now is this not rather an encomium on the often disputed fidelity of Leti, than an accusation against him?

But let us proceed to the one thing by which doubt is here excited—the conduct of the cardinal. It is remarkable that as regards this one point, Leti no longer agrees with his original.

Leti says: "Montalto remained apart in his chamber, and did not go into the conclave, pretending to be quite worn out and past all human aid. He went out very rarely, and when he did go to any place, as, for example, to perform mass, or to the scrutiny in the chapel, he would depart again with a certain semblance of being wholly indifferent to what was going forward."

The original, on the contrary, says: "Although he did not evince any open ambition, yet neither did he neglect the performance of those offices which the time and the place demanded, humbling himself to the cardinals, paying them visits, and making them offers, while on his part he received the visits and offers of the others."

The original says that he had taken these steps even before the conclave, with regard to Cardinal Farnese, and had afterward visited Cardinal Medici and Cardinal Este. It relates further that on the evening before his election he had paid a visit to Cardinal Madruzzi, and on the morning of the day had also visited Cardinal Altemps, receiving from both the assurance that he should be elected. In a word, Montalto is described in the original as a man in good health, active, and full of life; nay, that he was still so vigorous, and in the force of his years, is adduced as one of the motives for his election. The whole relation of his pretended debility and seclusion, and which has acquired so wide a currency, is an addition of Leti's; but the source whence he took this, whether he merely followed the popular rumor, a mere unfounded report, or found the story in some previous writer—these are questions to which we shall return.

2. A second material feature in the generally received opinion and reputation of Sixtus, is formed by the impression produced by his financial arrangements. This also is founded in part on the statements of Leti. In the second division of his book, p. 289, there is a summary of the papal revenue and expenditure, to which a certain degree of credit has been accorded, even by the most reasonable and well-informed observers: "The ordinary revenues possessed by the Apostolic See at the time when Sixtus entered on the pontificate." We ought at least to be able to give a general belief to his figures.

But even on this point, it is immediately manifest that affairs are not as Leti represents them. At the accession of Sixtus, in April, 1585, the contracts which Gregory XIII had made with the farmers of the revenue

in August, 1576, for nine years, were still in force. Of these we have an authentic statement, under the title "Revenues of the apostolic treasury under Gregory XIII, prepared in the year 1576." This document is very exact in its details, presenting, first, the sum contracted for; next, an account of such portions as were alienated; and, finally, the sums remaining—each separately stated. Now with this account, the details presented by Leti are far from agreeing. He has given the proceeds of the Roman customs and excise (*Dogana*) at 182,450 scudi, while the true amount was 133,000 only. Of all the sums that he has enumerated, there is not one correct. But where did he find the materials for this account? It is not possible that it should be altogether imaginary. There is in our possession another statement for the year 1592, two years after the death of Sixtus V. With this document the summary of Leti agrees in almost every item, and even in the order of their arrangement: in both, for example, we find the following articles in succession: "Dogana di Civita Vecchia, 1,977 scudi; di Narni, 400; di Rieti, 100; gabella del studo di Roma, 26,560; gabella del quadrino a libra di carne di Roma, 20,335," etc. But what a confusion is this! In these items all the changes effected by Sixtus were already commenced, and should have been here particularized. Neither does the confusion end here. Leti has apparently trusted to some very incorrect manuscript. If, indeed, he did not himself introduce intentional changes, it is at least certain that he has made the most extraordinary deviations from the authorities. The *Salara di Roma* produced 27,654 scudi; he makes it 17,654; the treasury and *salara* of Romagna brought in 71,395 scudi; he gives 11,395. But it will suffice to say that his statement is never correct for any one year; it is false and useless in all its parts.

3. We already perceive that he compiled without judgment or critical accuracy; he transcribed original documents, without doubt, but he did this too hastily. How, indeed, was it possible that in the restless and fugitive life he constantly led, he could have produced so many books, had he bestowed on them the due amount of labor? From what source, then, did he derive his materials on this occasion?

In the Corsini Library in Rome, there is a manuscript, "Detti e fatti di Papa Sisto V," which supplies us with sufficient information as to the life and proceedings of that pontiff.

It is manifest at the first glance that in this work are all the essentials of Leti. We have only to compare the first passages that present themselves.

The manuscript of the Corsini says, for example, "The parent of Sixtus V was called Francesco Peretti; he was born in the castle of Farnese, whence he was compelled, I know not by what accident, to depart. He set forth accordingly to seek his fortune elsewhere, and being poor and destitute he had not wherewith to live, being wont to sustain himself with what he gained at day-work, and laboring greatly, and he lived by his own industry. Departing then from Farnese, he went to seek an uncle of his."

Leti has, in like manner, in his first edition: "The father of Sixtus was called Francesco Peretti; he was born in the castle of Farnese, whence he was compelled, I know not by what accident that happened to him, to depart, which he did voluntarily, to seek his fortune elsewhere; while from the poverty of his family he had not wherewith to live, except by what he gained by his own hands at daily labor. Having set off from Farnese in the morning, he arrived in the evening at the caves to take counsel with an uncle of his."

This is obviously entirely the same account, with a few slight changes of expression.

Occasionally we find short interpolations in Leti, but immediately afterward the manuscript and his printed work correspond again.

When we further inquire whence proceed those additions with which Leti has been pleased to endow the narrative of the conclave, we shall find that these also are taken from this Corsini manuscript. The passage which we give above from Leti appears in the manuscript as follows:

"*Montalto se ne stava tutto lasso con la corona in mano et in una piccolissima cella abandonato da ogn' uno, e se pure andava in qualche parte, come a celebrar messa, o nello scrutinio della capella, se ne andava,*" etc.

"Montalto remained quite exhausted, with his rosary in his hand, and in a very small cell, abandoned by everyone; or if he did go anywhere, as for example, to read mass, or to the scrutiny in the chapel, he went," etc. It is clear that Leti uses this text with only very slight modifications of style.

I will add one more passage on account of the importance of the subject. The manuscript says:

"*Prima di cominciarsi il Montalto, che stava appresse al cardinale di San Sisto per non perderlo della vista o perche non fosse subornato da altri porporati, gli disse alle orechie queste parole: Faccia instanza V. Signorina illustrissima che le scrutinio segua senza pregiudicio dell' adoratione: e queste fu il primo atto d' ambitione che mostrò esteriormente Montalto. Non mancò il cardinale di San Sisto di far ciò: perche con il Bonelli unitamente principiò ad alzare la voce due o tre volte così: Senza pregiudicio della seguita adoratione. Queste voci atterrirono i cardinali: perche fu supposto da tutti loro che dovesse esser elette per adoratione. Il cardinale Montalto già cominciava a levar quelle nebbie di finitioni che avevano tenuto nascoto per la spatio di anni 14 l' ambitione grande che li regnava in seno: onde impatiente di tedersi nel trono papale, quando udì leggere la metà e più delli voti in suo favore, toste allungò il collo e si alzò in piedi, senza attendere il fine del scrutinio, e uscito in mezzo di quella capello gittò verso la porta di quella il bastoncello che portava per appogiarsi, ergendosi tutto dritto in tal modo che pareva due palmi più longo del solito. E quelle che fu più maravigliose,*" etc. "Before beginning, Montalto, who stood near Cardinal San Sisto, that he might not lose sight of him, and might prevent him from being suborned by other prelates, said these words in his ear: 'Your most illustrious lordship would do well to demand that the scrutiny should proceed without the prejudice of the adoration:' and this was the first evidence of ambition outwardly displayed by Montalto. The Cardinal of San Sisto did not fail to do this, and together with Bonelli, he exclaimed two or three times, 'Without prejudice of the adoration.' These words confounded the cardinals, because it was supposed by all that the candidate was to be elected by adoration. Cardinal Montalto already began to throw off those clouds of dissimulation whereby he had kept concealed, for the space of fourteen years, the ardent ambition which reigned in his breast; so that, impatient to see himself on the papal throne, when he heard that more than half the votes were in his favor, he instantly raised his head and stood on his feet, without waiting to the end of the scrutiny, and walking forward into the midst of the chapel he threw toward the door of it a little cane which he carried to support himself with, raising himself entirely upright, so that he looked a good foot (two palms) taller than usual. And what was more extraordinary," etc.

Let us compare with this the corresponding passage in Leti, i. p. 412. (Augsburg, 1669.)

"[illegible] Sisto, [illegible] ," etc. Here it is again obvious that, with the exception of a few unimportant literal changes, the passages are absolutely identical.

On one occasion Leti brings forward an authority for his narration: "I have conversed with a native of the March, who has been dead these twenty years, and was then very old, whose sole pleasure consisted in talking of Sixtus V, and who used to relate all sorts of particulars concerning him." Now, it seems in itself improbable that Leti, who arrived in Rome in the year 1644, at the age of fourteen, should have had intercourse with persons intimately acquainted with Sixtus V, or should have derived much assistance for his book from their conversation. But this is again another passage adopted from the above-mentioned manuscript: "And one day, speaking with a certain man from the March, who is dead, and who had no other pleasure than that of talking of Sixtus V." The twenty or thirty years are added by Leti, for the purpose of giving increased credibility to his relation.

Here, also, Leti appears to me to have used a defective copy. The manuscript tells us, in the very beginning, that the boy was often compelled to watch the cattle at night in the open fields—"*in campagna aperta*." Instead of this, Leti has, "*in compagnia d' un' altro*," which has all the appearance of an ill-corrected error in transcribing. The M. A. Selleri of Leti, also, must have been, according to the manuscript, M. A. Siliaci.

In a word, Leti's Vita di Sisto V is certainly not an original work. It is merely a new version of an Italian manuscript that had fallen into his hands, with certain additions and alterations of style.

The whole question, therefore, is, what degree of credit this manuscript deserves. It is a collection of anecdotes, made after a considerable lapse of years, and apocryphal in its character throughout. His narration, in respect to the conclave in particular, is altogether unworthy of belief. Sixtus V was not the person of whom this story was first related; the same thing had already been said of Paul III. In the preface to the "Acta Concilii Tridentini, 1546," an extract from which will be found in Strobel's "Neue Beiträgen," v. 233, there occurs the following passage in relation to Paul III: "On the death of Clement, he at first dissembled very cunningly . . . that because of his age, he could scarcely stand on his feet. He smiled on all, offended no one, and, indeed, submitted his own will to the wish of the rest. . . . When now he heard himself declared Pope, he who had before pretended incapacity, disease, old age, and an almost timid complaisance, was then at once made active, vigorous, and haughty, and began to exhibit his unheard-of ferocity." We perceive clearly that this is the narrative given in the Corsini manuscript, and related by Leti.

Leti did not think of first examining the truth of his manuscript,

or of rectifying its errors. On the contrary, he has done his best to distort what he found in it still further from the truth.

He was, nevertheless, received with decided approbation; his work passed through edition after edition, and has appeared in many translations.

It is a remarkable fact that history, as it passes into the memory of man, always touches on the confines of mythology. Personal qualities stand forth in bolder relief, they become more sharply defined, and in one mode or another approach to a comprehensible ideal; events receive a more distinct and positive character of delineation, accessory circumstances and co-operative causes are forgotten and neglected. It is in this manner only that the demands of the imagination appear capable of receiving entire satisfaction.

At a later period comes the learned inquirer, who is amazed that men should ever have adopted opinions so erroneous: he does his best for the dissipation of these fantasies and falsehoods, but eventually becomes aware that his purpose is by no means easy of attainment. The understanding is convinced, but the imagination remains unsubdued.

Storia della vita e geste di Papa Sisto V., sommo pontefice, scritta dal Pre. Mro. Casimiro Tempesti. Roma, 1755. [Life and measures of Pope Sixtus V, etc., by Casimir Tempesti.] Rome, 1755.

We have already spoken of the moderate, cheerful, and well-intentioned pontiff Lambertini, Benedict XIV. His pontificate is further distinguished by the fact that almost all works of any utility, in respect to the internal history of the papacy, belong to that period. It was at that time that the Annals of Maffei were printed, that Bromato prepared his work in relation to Paul IV, and that biographies of Marcellus II and Benedict XIII appeared. Then also it was that Casimiro Tempesti, a Franciscan—as was Sixtus V himself—undertook to refute the errors of Leti in respect to that pontiff.

For this purpose all desirable facilities were accorded to him. He was permitted to make unrestricted search through the Roman libraries, where he found the most valuable materials in the richest abundance—biographies, correspondences, memorials of all kinds; and these he proceeded to incorporate in his work. Perhaps the most important of all this mass of documents is the correspondence of Morosini, the nuncio in France, which fills a large part of his book; for he has generally adopted his materials into his text, with but very slight modifications.

On this point we have but two remarks to make.

In the first place, he assumes a peculiar position in regard to the authorities he uses. He believes them and transcribes them, but he is persuaded that the Pope must have been on bad terms with these writers—that he must have offended them; so that they no sooner begin to find fault with the pontiff, than Tempesti renounces them, and labors to affix some different explanations to such actions of his hero as they call in question.

But he sometimes departs altogether from his authorities, either because they are not sufficiently zealous for the Church, or because he has not attained to a clear comprehension of the matter treated. An example of this will be found in the affair of Mühlhausen, in the year 1587. The manuscript that Tempesti designates as the "Anonimo Capitolino," and which he has in very many places directly transcribed, relates this occurrence with much perspicuity. Let us observe the mode in which he uses it.

In remarking the tumult that broke out at Mühlhausen, "about a [illegible]," as [illegible] expresses [illegible] "[illegible]," [illegible] very properly [illegible] "I know not for what cause." [illegible] Tempesti makes "[illegible]" [illegible] pressing emergency. [illegible] The people of Mühlhausen put some of their Senators in prison [illegible] they imprisoned several of their [illegible] Tempesti says "[illegible]" some were imprisoned [illegible] that they were members of the Council. Fears were entertained [illegible] Mühlhausen should give themselves up to the protection of the Catholic [illegible] and separate themselves from the Protestants. "[illegible] This is in allusion to the fact that [illegible] on its first entrance into the Swiss Confederation, was not acknowledged by Uri, Schwyz, Lucerne, and Unterwalden, as these cantons afterward refused [illegible] their protection [illegible] the [illegible] (see [illegible] continuation of Müller's "Schweizergeschichte," p. [illegible].) Tempesti has not an idea of this peculiar position of things. He says very [illegible] "[illegible]" "They believed that the people of Mühlhausen desired to declare themselves Catholics." Tempesti proceeds in like manner, even where the author shows by his typographical signs that he is using the words of others. The "Anonimo Capitolino" says that Pope Sixtus V was about to send 100,000 scudi into Switzerland for the promotion of this secession, when he received intelligence that all the dissensions were appeased. Tempesti, nevertheless, declares that the Pope did send the money: for he is resolved to make his hero, above all things, magnificent and liberal, although it is certain that liberality was by no means the quality for which he was most remarkable.

I will not further accumulate examples. These are his modes of proceeding in all cases wherein I have compared him with his authorities. He is diligent, careful, and possessed of good information, but limited, dry, monotonous, and destitute of any true insight into affairs; his collections do not enable the reader to dispense with an examination of the originals. This work of Tempesti's was not calculated to counteract, by an equal impression, the effect of that produced by the book of Leti.

II.—Manuscripts

Let us now return to our manuscripts; for precise and positive information, we are, after all, constantly thrown back on them.

And first we meet with a manuscript by Pope Sixtus himself—memoranda written with his own hand, and made while he was still in his convent.

No. 49

Memorie autografe di Papa Sisto V. Bibl. Chigi, No. III. 70. 158 *leaves.*

This document was found in a garret by a certain Salvetti, who made a present of it to Pope Alexander VII. There is no doubt whatever of its authenticity.

"This book shall be for a memorial of my few small proceedings, written with my own hand, wherein that which shall be written to the praise of God shall be the naked truth, and so I pray every one who reads it to believe."

The book first contains accounts, of which, however, at least one leaf is missing, if not more.

"And here shall be written all that is owing to me, and all that I owe, with everything of moment that is done by me; and the truth will be such as shall here be found written."

To what I have already narrated in the text, I will here add one example more: "Andrea of Apiro, 'friar conventual' of St. Francis, came to Venice, and when departing, desired from me a loan of money to pay for goods which he had bought for his brother, who he told me, keeps a shop in Apiro, and I lent him thirty florins, there being present brother Girolamo of Lunano, and brother Cornelio of Bologna, and he promised to restore them to me at Montalto, paying them into the hands of Brother Salvatore, first taking all the present month of August, as appears in a writing under his own hand, of the ninth day of August, 1557, which writing is in my little chest."

We here gain an insight into these little monastic proceedings; how one lends money to another, the borrower assisting the little trade of his brother, while others serve as witnesses to the transaction. Fra Salvatore also makes his appearance.

Then follows an inventory of books—"Inventory of all the books, whether bound separately or together with others, that I, brother Felix Peretto of Montalto, have bought and possess, with the permission of my superiors. Those that are bound by themselves make separate numbers, but not those bound together with others." I am now sorry that I did not take notes from this catalogue; but it seemed to me to be very insignificant.

At length we find at page 144: "Memoranda concerning the years that I passed as a student, the offices I have held, my engagements as a preacher, and the commissions I have received."

These I will give at full length, although Tempesti has made extracts in various places of his work. It is important as being the only diary of a pope that we possess.

"In the name of God, on Wednesday, September the 1st, 1540, I entered on my studies in Ferrara, and finished the triennium there under the reverend Master Bartolomeo della Pergola. In 1543, after the chapter had been held in Ancona, I went to study in Bologna under the reverend Master Giovanni da Correggio; I arrived at Bologna in the month of July, on the day of St. James the Elder, and remained there until September, 1544, when the examiner sent me as convent-bachelor to Rimini, with the most reverend regent, Master Antonio, of the city of Penna, where I completed my time till the chapter of Venice in the year 1546. At the conclusion of the chapter I went as convent-bachelor to Siena with Master Alessandro da Montefalco, and there finished the triennium till the chapter of Assisi in 1549. But the examiner gave me a master's license on the 22d of July in 1548, and four days after I took the degree of doctor at Fermo. At the chapter-general of Assisi, I was made regent of Siena in 1549, and there I finished the triennium—Monsignore Gia Jacopo da Montefalco being general. At Naples, in the chapter-general of Genoa, I was made regent of Naples in 1553, by the most reverend general, Master Giulio da Piacenza, and there I finished the triennium. At Venice, in the general chapter of Brescia, in 1556, I was made regent of Venice, and there finished the triennium, and in the first year of my regency I was elected inquisitor

for the whole of the most illustrious [illegible] on the [illegible] of January, 1557. At the chapter-general at [illegible] 1557, Master Giovan Antonio da [illegible] being elected general, I was confirmed regent and inquisitor at Venice as aforesaid. On the death of Pope Paul IV, in August of the same year, I went to visit my relations at [illegible], apostolic inquisitor [illegible] by the great tumults prevailing. I returned to office on the 20th of February, 1560, with a brief from Pope Pius IV, and remained there until the end of June, when I was called to Rome. On the 20th of July, 1560, I was made assistant theologian to the Inquisition of Rome, and was sworn into office by Cardinal Alessandrino.

"(Preachings.) In the year 1540 I preached—as yet I had never chanted mass—in Montegargano, a place in Abruzzi. In the year 1541 I preached at [illegible], a town of Ferrara, while I was a student at Ferrara. In the year 1542 I preached at Grignano, a town of the Polesine di Rovigo, and was studying at Ferrara. In the year 1543 I preached at the [illegible] of Ravenna (Duke and [illegible] were then living), and was studying at Ferrara. In the year 1544 I preached at Cento, a town of [illegible], and was studying in Bologna. In the year 1545 I preached the festival sermons at Rimini in our own convent, because the pulpit of Monte Scutolo was already occupied by the master of the college at Bologna, and I was bachelor of the convent of Rimini. In the year 1546 I preached at Macerata di Montefeltro, and was bachelor of the convent of Rimini. In the year 1547 I preached at St. Geminiano, in Tuscany, and was bachelor of the convent of Siena. In the year 1548 I preached at St. Miniato al Tedesco, in Tuscany, and was bachelor of Siena. In the year 1549 I preached in Ascoli della Marca, having left Siena on account of the entrance of the Spaniards, who were introduced by Don Diego Mendozza. In the year 1550 I preached at Fano, and was regent at Siena. In the year 1551 I preached in the cathedral, being appointed by the most reverend bishop, and was regent at Siena. In the year 1552 I preached in the Church of the Holy Apostles, in Rome, and three most illustrious cardinals entertained me in Rome, and throughout that year I read the epistle of St. Paul to the Romans three days in every week. In the year 1553 I preached at Genoa, and the chapter-general was held there, when I was sent regent to Naples. In the year 1554 I preached at Naples, in the church of St. Lorenzo, and was regent there, and throughout that year I read the gospel of St. John in that church. In the year 1555 I preached in the cathedral at Perugia, at the request of the most illustrious Cardinal della Corgna. In the year 1556 I was called to Rome to the General Council, which was now commenced by his holiness Pope Paul IV, but I did not preach. In the year 1557 I was elected inquisitor of Venice and of its entire territory; and having to sit in court three days of every week, I did not usually preach, excepting three(?) days of the week at St. Catherine's of Venice. In the year 1558 I preached at the Holy Apostles, in Venice, and four days of the week at St. Catherine, although I still performed the office intrusted to me by the Holy Inquisition. In the year 1559 I did not preach more than three days in the week at St. Catherine's of Venice, because of the multitude of cases before the Holy Office. In the year 1560, returning to Venice as inquisitor, with the brief of his holiness, I preached in the afternoons only at St. Catherine's, as aforesaid.

"(Commissions.) In the year 1548 I received from the very reverend Master Bartolomeo da Macerata, minister of the March of Ancona, a commission to Fermo, for the purpose of liberating Brother Leonardo della Ripa from the prison of the vice-legate. I liberated him accordingly, and conducted him to Macerata. In the year 1549 I

had commissions from the same reverend father for the whole district of Ascoli, from February to Easter. In the second year, and from the same person, I had a commission to the convent of Fabriano, and I there reinstated Brother Evangelista, of the same place. In the year 1550 I had from the same party a commission in Senegaglia, where I restored Brother Nicolo to his house, and examined his accounts. In the year 1551 I had a commission from the very reverend father-general, Monseignor Gia Jacobo da Montefalco, to visit all that district of Montefeltro, Cagli, and Urbino. In the year 1552 I received from the most illustrious cardinal-protector a commission with respect to a lawsuit pending between the guardian brother Tommaso da Piacenza, and a certain brother Francesco da Osimo, who had superintended the kitchen department in Santo Apostolo. The same year I had a commission from the most reverend father-general, Monseignor Giulio da Piacenza, to the convent of Fermo, when I deprived Master Dominico da Montesanto of the guardianship, and examined the accounts of the procurator brother Ludovico Pontano; and I banished brother Ciccone da Monte dell' Olmo from the province, for having inflicted certain wounds on brother Tommaso, of the same place. In the year 1555 I had a commission from the aforesaid most reverend general to go into Calabria, and act as minister, because he had heard that the minister was dead; but being informed he was alive, I did not go. In the year 1557 I had a commission respecting Gattolino di Capo d' Istria, and respecting Garzoneo da Veglia, with several commissions besides, of brother Giulio of Capo d' Istria. In the year 1559 I was made commissioner of the province of St. Antonio; I held the chapter at Bassano, and Master Cornelio Veneto was elected minister. In the year 1560 I was appointed inquisitor apostolic for all the dominions of Venice, and on the 16th of July, in the same year, was made assistant theologian to the Inquisition of Rome.

"At the chapter-general held in Brescia in the year 1556, I was elected promoter to masterships, together with Andrea and Master Giovanni da Bergamo; and at that time eight bachelors, promoted by us, were admitted to doctors' degrees by the very reverend general, Master Giulio da Piacenza; namely, Antonio da Montalcino, Ottaviano da Ravena, Bonaventura da Gabiano, Marc Antonio da Lugo, Ottaviano da Napoli, Antonio Panzetta da Padova, Ottaviano da Padova, and Martiale, a Calabrian. Eight others were also promoted, but were not admitted to doctors' degrees, by the most reverend father: Francesco da Sonnino, Antonio da Urbino, Nicolo da Montefalco, Jacobo, an Apulian, Antonio Bolletta da Firenze, Constantino da Crema, il Piemontese, and il Sicolino. But with the authority of a knight of St. Pietro da Brescia, I did myself confer the degree of doctor on Antonio da Urbino, the Piemontese, and Constantino da Crema. In May, 1558, with the authority of the Cavalier Centani, I also admitted, in Venice, Brother Paolo da St. Leo, Brother Andrea d' Arimino, Giammatteo da Sassocorbaro, and Brother Tironino da Lunano, who were all my disciples, to be electors.

No. 50

De Vita Sixti V., ipsius manu emendata. Bibl. Altieri. 57 *leaves.*
[The Life of Sixtus V, corrected by his own hand.] Altieri Library.

This, it is true, is only a copy, but one in which the errors of the first writer, and the corrections made by the Pope, are faithfully transcribed. The corrections are seen written over the words that have been erased by a stroke of the pen.

It begins by describing the poverty of the Pope's parents, who [illegible]

This little work must have been composed about the year [illegible]. It was the intention of the author to depict the succeeding periods also. [illegible] in a more extended [illegible] with our most earnest efforts; and from the magnitude of his conceptions and [illegible] of glory it seems probable that he will supply rich materials for writing many volumes of no ordinary character."

Now the most important question arising with respect to the document before us [illegible] whether it really was revised by the pontiff.

Tempesti, who was not acquainted with the copy in the Altieri Library, was also in possession of a little work that had been recommended to him as having been composed by Graziani and revised by Pope Sixtus. He makes certain objections against it, and may possibly be correct in these remarks. But that work was not identical with that of ours. Tempesti draws attention, among other points (p. [illegible]), to the fact that Graziani makes the Pope begin his first procession from the Church of the Holy Apostles, whereas, this procession, in fact, set forth from that of the Ara Coeli. But this is a mistake much more likely to escape the observation of a man who had become pope, and had the affairs of the whole world on his hands, than that of the father Maestro Tempesti. In our "Vita," however, this error is not to be found: the fact is there stated quite correctly: "But that he might begin by doing honor to God, from whom he had received his dignity, he decreed before all things that supplication should be offered, to which end he most piously proceeded on foot with the fathers and a vast crowd of people, from the church of the Franciscans, to that of Santa Maria Maggiore."

We have still further testimony to the authenticity of our little work. Another biography, the next which we shall examine, relates that Sixtus had made a note on the margin of certain commentaries, to the effect that "*sororum alteram tenera ætate decessisse*" (another sister had died in her childhood); and we find that this very thing has been done on the manuscript before us. The first author had written "*Quarum altera nupsit, ex cujus filia Silvestrii profluxisse dicuntur, quos adnumerat suis pontifex,*" etc. (Of whom one was married, and from a daughter of hers the Silvestri family is said to be descended, whom the pontiff numbers among his kindred.) These and some other words Sixtus struck out, and wrote in addition "*Quarum altera ætate adhuc tenera decessit.*"

This second biography further says: "In those commentaries, revised by Sixtus himself, I find written by him that Mariana, the mother of Sixtus, not indeed before the conception of her son, but before his

birth, was divinely premonished of his future greatness." This also we find in our manscript. The author had said that Peretto had received the prediction in a dream, that a son should be born to him, who would one day attain to the highest dignities. The word "father" is marked out, and "*ejus uxor partui vicina*" (his wife near to her delivery) inserted.

By these corroborations our little work acquires a great authenticity: it proves itself to be immediately connected with that autograph of the Pope, and well deserves to be separately printed.

No. 51

Sixtus V., Pontifex Maximus. Bibl. Altieri. 30 *leaves.*

This is precisely the work by which we have been enabled to establish the authenticity of the preceding. I do not perceive that it was known either to Tempesti or any other writer.

The author wrote after the death of Sixtus. He already complains that the pontiff's memory was injured and misrepresented by many fabulous inventions. "Sixtus V," he begins, "Sixtus V, of memory dear to some, abhorred by others, but great in the opinion of all, shall be described by us carefully, and without false motives: our care is stimulated by the expectation of numbers (although the manuscript was never printed), and impending age precludes all sefish motives."

He considers his subject to be very important. "There have scarcely ever concurred events of greater magnitude with a pope of higher mind."

In the first part of his little work the author relates the life of Sixtus V to the period of his elevation to the papal throne. For this purpose he derives his materials from the above-named biography, the various correspondences of Sixtus, which he frequently cites, and oral communications from Cardinal Paleotto, or from a confidential member of the Pope's household, called Capeletto. From these sources he obtained many remarkable particulars.

Chap. 1. "*Sixti genus, parentes, patria.*"—We find here the strange story that Sixtus had desired in his youth to be called Crinitus (the long-haired); nay, that he even was so called in his monastery for a certain time. By this word he meant to signify a comet, and chose the name as expressing his hopes in his own future fortunes, "by reason of the illustrious name and station ever hoped by him, in consequence of the portents which I shall hereafter set forth." There is supposed to be allusion to this in the star of his armorial bearings; but that is certainly not a comet. The pontiff himself told Paleotto that the pears in his arms were meant to signify his father (Peretti), and that the mountains designated his native land; the lion bearing the pears was meant to imply at once magnanimity and beneficence.

2. "*Ortus Sixti divinitus ejusque futura magnitudo prænunciatur.*" "The birth of Sixtus and his future greatness is divinely foretold." Sixtus himself relates that his father once heard a voice calling to him in the night, "Rise, Peretti, and go seek thy wife, for a son is about to be born to thee, to whom thou shalt give the name of Felix, since he is one day to be the greatest among mortals." He was a strange fellow, without doubt, this Peretti. His wife was at that time in the service of the above-named Diana, in the town. Following the intimation of this prophetic encouragement, he stole away to the town through the night and the fogs, for he dared not show himself in the day, from

fear of his creditors. An extraordinary origin this! At a later period Peretti formally assured his creditors of their safety on the strength of his son's good-fortune. When he had the child in his arms he would declare that he was carrying a pope, and would hold out the little foot for his neighbors to kiss.

3. "*Nomen.*"—Peretti declared, when objections were made to him against the name of Felix: "*Baptismo potius quam Felicis nomine careret.*" "Rather shall he be without baptism than without the name of Felix." The bed once took fire from a light left burning near it; the mother rushed to save her child, and found it unhurt and laughing; very much as it happened to Servius Tullius, the child of the slave-girl, whose predestined greatness was announced by the flame that played around his head while asleep. After so many centuries had passed, the prodigy was repeated, or at least the belief in it was revived.

4. "*Studia.*"—That the pontiff had tended swine was a fact that he was not fond of having repeated; and finding it inserted in the above-mentioned commentaries, he forbade their continuance. The narration in this chapter describes the rapidity of his early progress, and how he occupied his master too much for his five bajocchi. "He had scarcely passed another month with the master when the latter sent to Peretti, refusing to abide by the agreement; for that Felix took so many lessons out of the usual course, and beyond what the rest could comprehend, that he, the teacher, found it not expedient to labor so much more in teaching him than he did all the others, thus doing more work where he had least pay." The future pontiff was rather severly treated by Fra Salvatore. He got many a blow for not placing his food before him in proper order. The poor child raised himself on tiptoe, but was so little that he could still scarcely reach the level of the table.

5. "His conventual life."—This is what we have related in the text when describing his mode of study, and the disputation at Assisi, the first fame of his preaching. When on a journey, the people of Belforte stopped him, and would not permit him to leave them until he had thrice preached to an immense concourse of the inhabitants.

6. "The occasion of Montalto's forming an acquaintance with Ghislieri Cardinal Alexandrino."

7. "*Per magnam multorum invidiam ad magnos multosque honores evadit.*" (To the great envy of many, he arrives at great and numerous honors.)—In Venice particularly, where he carried through the printing of the Index, he had much to endure. He was on one occasion compelled to leave the city, and hesitated to return. Cardinal Carpi, who had been his protector from the time of the often-cited dispensation, gave the Franciscans of Venice to understand that unless Montalto were suffered to remain there, no one of their order should continue in the city. Yet he could not maintain his ground there. The brethren of his own order accused him before the Council of Ten, charging him with occasioning disorders in the republic, by refusing absolution, namely, to those who were in possession of forbidden books ("*qui damnatos libros domi retineant*"). He was compelled to return to Rome, where he became consultor to the Inquisition.

8. "*Romanæ inquisitionis consultor, sui ordinis procurator, inter theologos congregationis Tridentini concilii adscribitur.*" (Consultor of the Roman Inquisition, procurator of his order, he is inscribed among the theologians of the congregation of the Council of Trent.)—By the Franciscans of Rome also, Montalto was received only on the express recommendation of Cardinal Carpi, and the latter sent him his meals; he supported him in every position, and recommended him on his deathbed to Cardinal Ghislieri.

9. "*Iter in Hispaniam.*" (Journey into Spain.)—He accompanied Buoncompagno, afterward Gregory XIII. Even at that time there was by no means a good understanding between them. Montalto was sometimes obliged to travel in the baggage-wagon. "It happened occasionally, whether by way of affronting him or from necessity, that having no animal provided for his riding, he was compelled to take a place on the vehicle which bore the baggage." Many other slights followed.

10. "*Post honorifice delatum episcopatum per iniquorum hominum calumnias cardinalatus Montalto maturatur.*" (After an honorable fulfilment of the duties of his bishopric, Montalto's advance to the cardinalate was hastened by the calumnies of evil-minded men.)—The nephew of Pius V was also opposed to him, being anxious to advance some old boon companion of his own. The Pope was told, among other things, that four carefully closed chests had been taken into the apartments of Montalto, who had lodged himself with exceeding splendor and luxury. Pius hereupon went himself unexpectedly to the monastery. He found bare walls, and asked what were the contents of the chests, which were still in the room: "Books, holy father," said Montalto, "that I propose to take with me to St. Agatha" (St. Agatha was his bishopric), and he opened one of the chests. Pius was highly pleased, and soon afterward made him cardinal.

11. "*Montalti dum cardinalis fuit vita mores.*" (The life and habits of Montalto while in his cardinalate.)—Gregory deprived him of his pension, which many thought to be significant of his future pontificate: "For there has long been a weak superstition held about the court, that a certain secret aversion steals into the minds of the pontiffs against those who are to be their successors."

12. "*Francisci Peretti cædes incredibili animi æquitate tolerata.*" (The slaying of Francesco Peretti is endured with incredible equanimity.)

13. "*Pontifex M. magna patrum consensione declaratum.*" (Is declared supreme pontiff with the full consent of the fathers.)

Then follows the second part.

"*Hactenus Sixti vitam per tempora digessimus: jam hinc por species rerum et capita, ut justa hominis æstimatio cuique to promptu sit, exequar.*" (To this point we have related the life of Sixtus in the order of time: his actions shall henceforth be arranged under their several heads, that all may readily form a just estimate of the man.)

But of this part only three chapters are to be found:—"*Gratia in benemeritos;—pietas in Franciscanorum ordinem;—publica securitas.*" (His favor to the deserving, his attachment to the Franciscans, and the public security.)

The last is by far the most important, on account of the description it furnishes of the times of Gregory XIII. I did not make a complete transcript of the whole, but will at least give an extract: "It is true that, at the first, those only who were outlawed for murder and robbery had commenced this kind of life, to escape from the hold of the magistrates. Debarred the use of fire and water, concealed in the coverts of the woods, and lurking like wild beasts among the pathless wilds of the mountains, they led an anxious and miserable existence, sustained by almost necessary thefts. But when, by the love of rapine and the hope of immunity, numbers of most depraved men were afterward allured to the same course, robbery began to be followed as though it were a permitted kind of trade or commerce. Companies of outlaws and assassins were accordingly associated for violence, murder, and robbery, under certain chiefs, distinguished for their crimes and cruelties. These chiefs esteemed their followers in proportion to their audacity and guilt; the most atrocious criminals, and those who

had dared the most savage outrages, were most extolled and held in highest honor, being endowed with titles, almost in the manner of soldiers, and made decurions or centurions. These now infested the open fields and the roads, not as mere wandering marauders, but as men who had the just right to the rule of them. . . . Then, finally, they lent out their services for money, slaughtering the enemies of those who hired them, deflowering virgins, and committing other iniquities from which the soul recoils, being ever ready to perform villanies for those who needed and would pay for the aid of desperate hands. And things had proceeded so far that he whom these outlaws agreed to protect from the consequences of crime believed himself able to commit evil with impunity, so that reckless and savage men of this sort began to be thought needful, not by the wicked only, who required their help, but even by those who were not depraved, but who considered them useful as protectors from danger. . . . These things were openly tolerated and practised by the great and nobles; . . . and Giacopo Buoncompagno was long involved in deadly feuds with the great men, because he had violated the immunities of their houses. For numbers of the nobles, either overwhelmed by debts, induced by ambition and love of pleasure to exceed their means, or led on to deeds of cruelty and violence by quarrels and revenge, afforded their patronage to robbers, and even entered into leagues with them, hiring their services to do murder in return for impunity and shelter. Then, when it became known who was the patron of the several assassins, he who had suffered robbery or violence addressed his plaint to this patron, when he, pretending to meditate, became the plunderer of both, extorting a part of their prey from the brigands, and taking reward for his pains from those who sought his help, though making a show of refunding it—the most cruel and iniquitous of all modes of plunder. Nor were there wanting men who even contrived attacks on merchants and rich persons, on their sons, their estates, or other possessions, and then sold their services to the aggrieved for the redemption or ransom of that which had been taken, pretending to so much compassion for that disaster, that they might have been believed to pity those sufferers from their hearts. . . . Lawsuits were instituted against certain others at the instance of bandits, some witnesses being compelled to swear by fear, while others by fear were prevented from bearing testimony. . . . Throughout the cities factions were established, each distinguished by head-dress or manner of wearing the hair, which some turned to the right side, and some to the left, while others raised it in knots, or brought it low on their foreheads. There were many who, to confirm their hold on the party they had adopted, killed their wives that they might marry the daughters, sisters, or other kinswomen of those with whom they desired to be leagued. Others slew the husbands of their kinswomen, either secretly or openly, that they might give the widows in marriage to those of their league. It was at that time a common thing for a man to obtain any woman to wife whose beauty or riches had pleased him, by the mediation of some noble, even though her kindred were unwilling; nor did it rarely happen that highly-born and very rich men were compelled to give their daughters in marriage with large dowries, to most abject outlaws, and men living by rapine, or to join themselves in marriage with the undowered daughters of those brigands. The most abandoned men constituted tribunals, announced their courts, arrogated judicial power, called the accused before them, urged witnesses to testify against them, extorted evidence by tortures, and finally passed sentence in regular form: or they would try those who had been thrown

into prison by the lawful magistrate, have the cause of such pleaded before themselves by attorney, then acquitting them, would condemn their accusers and judges in the penalties of the *lex talionis*. If the accused were present, immediate execution followed the sentence; if the decree were against the absent, no other delay was permitted than that needful for despatching the ministers of crime with orders written and formally sealed, who inflicted with grievous reality what had been determined in mockery of law. There were many who called themselves lords and kings of such provinces as they chose, not even dispensing with the solemnities of inauguration. . . . More than once, when they had plundered the churches of their sacred furniture, they bore the most revered and most holy Eucharist into the woods and haunts of robbers, there to desecrate it for the most execrable uses of wicked magic. The indulgent government of Gregory made bad worse. The great multitude of the outlaws easily furnished a large amount of bribes from their plunder to the servants of government, who connived at their proceedings, or only made a show of disapproving them. Then, those who would petition for an amnesty received that security; others took it of their own authority; nay, there were many of them appointed to command fortresses, towns, and soldiers. These, like men returning from some great action, were lauded wherever they went by the multitude who poured forth to behold them."

No. 52

Memorie del pontificato di Sisto V. Altieri XIV. a. iv. *fol.* 480 *leaves.*
[Memoirs of the pontificate of Sixtus V.] Altieri Library, etc.

This circumstantial work is not entirely new and unknown. Tempesti had a copy taken from the archives of the Capitol, and he describes the author of it as the Anonimo Capitolino.

But Tempesti is extremely unjust toward this work. He has copied it in numberless passages, yet in the general estimate at the commencement of his history, he declares it to be unworthy of credit.

It is yet without doubt the best work that has been written in relation to Sixtus V.

The author had the most important documents at his command. This is perfectly obvious from his narrative, and he has himself assured us of it; as regarded German affairs, for example, he says: "I have resolved to relate minutely whatever I find concerning them in authentic letters or relations."

With regard to the financial arrangements of Sixtus V he has the most exact information, and follows them step by step throughout. Yet he proceeds to this part of his task with infinite discretion. "*Gli vonivano*," says he. "The most extravagant and startling proposals were made to him for the raising of money, but all wearing a very plausible appearance: their character being such, I do not venture to commit them all to paper, and will but adduce some few, which I have seen set forth in the original letters of the inventors."

Our author had written a life of Gregory XIII, and therefore it is, perhaps, that he has been supposed to be Maffei; but I can find no other reason whatever for identifying him with that Jesuit.

It is to be regretted that this work also is only a fragment. Even from the beginning the earlier events are wanting. They were written, but the work—our manuscript, at least—breaks off in the midst of a sentence. The measures taken in the first years of the Pope are then examined, but the writer comes down only to the year 1587.

We might the better console ourselves for the loss of the first part, because we are elsewhere so well provided with good information as relates to that period; but the absence of the latter portion is exceedingly to be regretted. It is a kind of European history, which the author communicates from really authentic and credible authorities. With respect to the year 1558, the "Annus climactericus" of the world, we should, without doubt, have found most valuable information from this writer.

Let us observe the reasonable manner in which he expresses himself at the beginning of his work. "I have left no path untried by which I could arrive at the light of truth, but have diligently opened out all I could find, and walked therein with unwearied assiduity, as will be seen by the account I render of the writings and reports to which I have had recourse in the composition and texture of this history. I pray God, the author and father of all truth, that as he has given me the fixed determination to utter no falsehood with the view to deceive others, so he will grant me such light as that I shall never say what is false from having been myself deceived."

This is a prayer that is altogether worthy of an historian.

At the election of cardinals in 1587, he concludes with these words: "Hopes are often contrary to what they seem."

I have adopted a great part of his statements, after having compared them with those of other authentic sources: what remains could not be added here without exceeding the compass of this work.

No. 53

Sixti V. Pontificis Maximi vita a Guido Gualterio Sangenesino descripta. [Life of the Supreme Pontiff Sixtus V, by Guido Gualterio Sangenesino.] MS. of the Altieri Library, viii., f. 1. 54 *leaves.*

Tempesti alludes to a diary kept in the time of Sixtus V by an author of this name. It is the same author who wrote the biography now before us, and in this work he refers to the earlier one. His labors had been especially rewarded by Sixtus V.

The copy in the Altieri palace is entirely authentic and perhaps unique: it contains remarks in the author's handwriting. "When I was a boy in my native place, Sangeno," etc., he observes in these notes, so that there can be no doubt.

He wrote his work soon after the death of Sixtus V, in the early part of the pontificate of Clement VIII, of whom he often speaks. He mentions that the intelligence of the conversion of Henry IV had just arrived, so that we may with certainty assume the year 1593 as that in which he composed his book.

The author is also particularly worthy of credit. He was closely connected with the family of Peretti. Maria Felice, daughter of the Signora Camilla, was brought up in Sangeno; the wife of the author was her intimate friend. He was himself familiarly acquainted with Antonio Bosio, the secretary of Montalto's first protector, Cardinal Carpi. "*Summa mihi cum eo necessitudo intercedebat.*" Thus he was particularly well informed in regard to the earlier circumstances of the Pope's life.

He devotes to them the first part of his work.

He informs us how Fra Felice first became acquainted with Pope Paul IV. A Minorite church in the March had been burnt, but the

host remained uninjured. There must have been some particular circumstance connected with this fact; suffice it to say that a great consultation was held in relation to it. Cardinals of the Inquisition, generals of orders, and many other prelates, were assembled. Cardinal Carpi brought Montalto with him, and insisted that this favorite of his should also be allowed to give his opinion. Montalto gave it accordingly; all agreed that it was the best, and Carpi departed in great good humor. "His opinion was accepted by all. Then Cardinal Carpi, rising, said: 'I knew well what kind of man I had brought hither.'"

The description of the future pontiff's Aristotelian labors is remarkable.

The edition of Posius, who was in fact a disciple of Montalto, is directly ascribed by Gualterius to Montalto himself. "Having procured copies of the works of Aristotle and Averroes from many ancient libraries, he amended their text, and collected their works, arranged in due order, into eleven volumes, as they are called. He adapted the greater commentary of Averroes to the text of Aristotle, forming all into books, with a fitting distribution and final exposition. He discovered the medium commentary of Averroes in seven books of metaphysics, expounded them, and restored the "*epitomata quæsita*" of the said Averroes, and his epistles to their places. He further added one hundred solutions of contradictions to those published by the most learned Zunara."

He next delineates the character of his hero: "He merited the praise of magnanimity, but yet was prone to anger. Most sparing of food, and very temperate in sleep: never seen idle, but even when at leisure ever meditating either of study or business."

Thus he arrives at the conclave. Whereupon he begins to describe the acts of Sixtus V, classed under his different virtues: "*Religio, Pietas, Justitia, Fortitudo, Magnificentia, Providentia.*"

Singular as this classification is, we are, nevertheless, made acquainted with many beautiful things in proceeding through it.

Earnestly has Gualterius labored to defend the Pope against the complaints made of him on account of his imposts. But let us observe how he has done this. "First they appear not to know that the Roman pontiff has command, not of our possessions only, but also of our very persons." What would the present times say to such a right on the part of the State?

He has devoted particular attention to the architectural works of Sixtus V, and his remarks on this subject are very interesting.

He describes the condition of the old Lateran. "There was a very large hall called the hall of the council; there were also porticoes and galleries, with chapels, and cells from the hall to the chapel of St. Saba, which was called St. Salvatore; there were the steps of a holy staircase, with a most ancient portico, from which the elder pontiffs, who had inhabited the Lateran, were wont to bless the people. These ancient buildings were held in the highest veneration by the people, because there were in them no few monuments believed to have been brought even from Jerusalem. But perhaps this credence had degenerated into superstition: wherefore Sixtus, for just reasons as it is fair to believe, preserving the more assured and authentic monuments, and transferring the holy stairs to another place, demolished all the rest."

We perceive that the author submits, but he is sensible to the wrong done. No less remarkable is the description of St. Peter's as it was at that time (1593).

"In the Vatican he completely finished the great dome and the

smaller domes, and also the enclosure which they call the greater chapel, together with other smaller chapels, and the whole building of the new church dedicated to St. Peter the Apostle. But, prevented by death, he could not cover the roof with lead, nor add the ornaments, nor lay the pavement of the church, as he had intended. But such things as remain to be completed, it is believed that Clement VIII will continue and perfect; he has already covered the roof with plates of lead, has raised the banner of the blessed cross in gilded brass, has made level and beautifully laid the pavement of the church, and is giving diligent labor to the completion, and fitting ornaments to the whole; which, when it shall have been fully executed after the form proposed by Michael Angelo, will assuredly surpass all antiquity."

We learn from this that there was still nothing else contemplated but the completion of Michael Angelo's plan, and it even appears as though the whole has been really completed (*penitus absolvit*).

We have already seen one remarkable notice of the colossal statues. I will here add another.

The author is speaking of the open space on the Quirinal. Of its adornment under Sixtus V he says: "He adorned it with a perennial fountain, and with the marble horses of Praxiteles and Phidias, which being injured by age as well as the men restraining them, he restored them, with their marble pedestal, to their pristine form, and from their ancient place before the baths of Constantine he transferred them to another part of the area, near the monastery of St. Paul." In old plates also, one of which is copied in Mier (see his "Geschichte der Kunst," ii. 299, and the plates belonging to that part, Table xv), the colossal statues appear in a greatly mutilated form, very much as the Venetian ambassadors describe them to be (see *ante*, p. 189). It is obvious that they were put into their present condition under Sixtus V.

No. 54

Galesini Vita Sixti V. Vatic. 5438. *122 leaves.*

A manuscript without any particular title; on the first leaf is the following dedication:

"To the most holy father Sixtus V, supreme pontiff, most prudent prince, most wise moderator and governor of the universal Christian republic—this commentary on his life and actions, publicly and as pontiff performed from year to year, and from day to day, being arranged and clearly written, Pietro Galesino has dedicated to his great, supreme, and most benignant patron, in perpetual evidence of his singular duty and respect."

These words suffice to show that we have in this instance rather a panegyric than a biography before us.

The author considers it remarkable that Sixtus should have been the fourth child born to his parents: "For the sun was created on the fourth day," and that he was elected Pope on the day of the foundation of Rome.

Our author's narrative of the pontiff's early years is of very fragmentary character. But here, also, we find another proof that a young man of talent attains to the best development of his faculties under poverty and severity of discipline. In the Peretti family, the rule of the mother appears to have been a rigid one: "When he discovered himself to have committed any fault, he trembled in every limb for fear of his mother."

His labors at his villa are thus alluded to: "He wrought with his hands in the culture of his garden, and the planting of trees, changing their places, grafting them, and practising the most careful processes, after the manner of the most diligent husbandman."

In the various acts of his pontificate, the strict religious tendency to which Sixtus devoted himself comes very prominently forward, in regard to his buildings, for example: "That the works of the city, and the images of idolatry, monuments of a vain and false glory, and of an insane superstition, preserved too long, and made inveterate by an idle admiration of Roman things of old time, but abhorrent to Christian worship, might be converted into ornaments of Christian piety."

The origin of the Lateran palace: "The pontiff scarcely finding a chamber that might fitly lodge him, forthwith commanded buildings worthy of the pontifical majesty to be erected in the Lateran, for he thought it very absurd and inconsistent that the leading basilica of the Lateran, the mother of all the churches, the peculiar bishopric of the Roman pontiffs, should not have a dwelling suited to that high episcopal dignity."

He considers that Rome was upon the whole very religious. "It gives great proof of piety and integrity. The discipline of the clergy is nearly restored to the most holy standard of primitive manners. The mode of divine worship, and the administration of the sacred edifices, are brought back to the approved model of old times. Everywhere within the churches are seen genuflections; everywhere through nearly all the quarters of the city are found numbers of the faithful, who so miserably lacerate their own backs with stripes that the blood flows to the ground."

No. 55

Vita Sixti V. anonyma. Vatic., n. 5563.

A few leaves only relating to the early years of Sixtus V. His name Felix is here attributed to a dream of his father.

No. 56

Relatione al Papa Sisto V. [Report to Sixtus V.] 41 leaves.

From a member of the Curia who did not frequent the palace, and who knew only just so much as was known to everyone. It was originally addressed to a friend who desired to be informed respecting the acts of Sixtus V., and afterward to the Pope himself.

In works like that now before us, written by people of ordinary capacity, who do but come forth accidentally from the general crowd, we have an interesting subject of observation in remarking the general effect produced by a government on the great masses of the public.

In the little work before us, which is written throughout in the stricter religious spirit which began to prevail at the close of the sixteenth century, we perceive first of all the powerful impression produced by the conversion of pagan into Christian monuments. "The holy crosses on the summits of the obelisks, and the statues of the principal apostles on the columns, obliterate the memory of the ancient idolatries. In like manner the cross placed in the hand of the statue signifying Rome, which stands on the tower of the Capitol, shows that nowadays, Rome, that is the Pope, does not use the sword to subjugate the world, as did the

infidel Roman emperors, but the cross to mark the day of salvation to all mankind." It is a striking fact, that these ideas of spiritual domination should have been so popular even among people of inferior consideration. Further on, the author denies that the Pope intended to procure himself higher importance among foreign princes by means of his treasure, in order, as some said, to appear very wise—"*per esser savione.*" He did not need this; his purpose rather was to reward obedient princes, and to punish the refractory. "By means of the treasure he will punish the princes who rebel against the holy Church, and will aid obedient princes in their Catholic undertakings." He applauds Sixtus for having excommunicated Henry IV. "Immediately on being made pope, he turned to God for aid, and then deprived the wicked heretical King of the kingdom of Navarre, and principally by these spiritual arms the popes have made and unmade emperors and kings." That priests and monks are to be considered as a kind of papal soldiery, is here for once admitted even by the Roman side. "The Pope has large garrisons in all kingdoms, which are the friars, monks, and priests; as numerous, well paid, and provided for in peace as in war. In affairs of religion, he is resolved to be sole and absolute master, as is the will of God; and blessed are those people who shall have the most obedient princes. If sovereigns would maintain the principle of discussing affairs of state rather with priests than with their secular counsellors, believe me, that they would keep their subjects obedient and faithful." All the assertions of the politico-ecclesiastical doctrine are here brought forward in the popular comprehension of them. But what was this secular authority of the Pope when compared with the power he possesses of exalting a poor servant of God to be a saint? This canonization which Sixtus V had renewed, our author cannot sufficiently praise. "For the greater glory of God, he has dedicated certain days as festivals to saints who were not in the calendar, partly to the end that Christians may have opportunity to spend so much the more time for the honor of God and the salvation of their souls through the intercession of saints, by abstaining from servile works, and partly that the friends of God may be duly honored." Among other motives he adduces the following: "To prove to infidels and false Christians, that the true servants of Christ the Saviour are alone able to make the lame to walk, the dumb to speak, and the blind to see, or to raise the dead to life."

No. 57

Relatione presentata nell' eccelentissimo collegio dal clarissimo Signor Lorenzo Priuli, ritornato di Roma. 1586, 2 *Luglio.* [Report presented to the College by Lorenzo Priuli on his return from Rome, 2d July, 1586.]

From the Roman documents, we proceed to those of Venice.

Lorenzo Priuli had witnessed the latter years of Gregory XIII and the earlier ones of Sixtus V; he is very diffuse in relation to the contrasts they present.

But we must not permit ourselves to be too much influenced by his opinions; the early years of a pope almost always produced a more favorable impression than his later life; whether because the powers required for governing a State necessarily decline with increasing years, or because there is gradually discovered in every man some attribute that one could wish absent.

But Priuli is not unjust. He considers that the administration of Gregory also became useful to the Church. "In respect to purity of

life, provision for public worship, observance of the Council, and enforcing the residence of bishops; in excellency of learning—the one legal, the other theological—they may be said to be much alike." He thanks God for having given to his Church such excellent rulers.

We perceive that foreign ambassadors were also influenced by the modes of thought then prevailing at the Papal Court.

Priuli considers the election of Sixtus V as almost miraculous—the immediate interposition of the Holy Spirit. He reminds his native city that it had become eminent and prosperous by means of its good understanding with the pontiffs, and advises them above all things to maintain it.

No. 58

Relatione del clarissimo Signor Gio. Gritti ritornato ambasciatore da Roma, anno 1588. [Report of the most illustrious Giovanni Gritti on returning from his embassy to Rome, 1588.]

In the Venetian archives there is only a defective copy.

It was with the utmost eagerness that I took up another, which I found in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, but this also contains just so much as the former, and not a word more.

This is all the more to be regretted, because the author proceeds most systematically to his work. He proposes first to treat of the Papal States, and then of the person of the Pope, whose great admirer he announces himself to be; thirdly, he means to propound the views of the pontiff; and finally, to discourse of the cardinals and the court.

But there is only a small part of the first division remaining. The manuscript breaks off precisely where the author is about to show the manner in which the revenues increased under Sixtus V. Nevertheless, I cannot doubt that the work was completed. What we have is at least no sketch, but certainly part of an elaborate work.

Yet it is extraordinary that even in the archives there is only a defective copy to be found.

No. 59

Relatione di Roma dell' ambasciatore Badoer Kr. relata in senato anno 1589. [The ambassador Badoer's report from Rome, presented to the Senate, 1589.]

This report is not to be found in the Venetian archives. It is in the collection of the Quirini family, but only as a fragment.

There are eight leaves which contain nothing but a few notices relating to the rural districts.

Badoer remarks that Venice had estranged her adherents of the March by delivering them up so readily to the Pope, or by causing them to be put to death at his request.

The increase of the commerce of Ancona had been talked of but the ambassador does not fear that this would prove injurious to the Venetians.

"Two per cent. having been imposed on all merchandise by Sixtus V, which was afterward taken off on the complaints made by the people of Ancona. No ship had arrived in that port for the space of fourteen months."

We perceive that the two imposts of Gregory XIII and Sixtus V, although afterward repealed, yet, from the uncertainty of gain to

which the merchants suddenly found themselves exposed, contributed very largely to the decline of trade in Ancona. At that time the principal part of the business was in camlets and furs, but the Jews found no suitable opportunity for exchange in cloth or other wares. The customs were farmed for 14,000 scudi only, yet even this sum was never realized.

Badoer is moreover desirous that the example of Spain should be followed, and that such friends as Venice may have in the March should be pensioned. He breaks off just as he is preparing to name those friends.

No. 60

Dispacci Veneti. 1573–1590. [Venetian Despatches.]

No one could suppose that with so rich a profusion of documents one could still feel in want of information. Yet this had nearly been the case in the present instance. We have seen what an evil star presided over the destiny of Venetian reports; the Roman records elucidate only the first part of this pontificate with any fulness of detail. I should have seen myself reduced to Tempesti for this latter part—one of the most important points notwithstanding—had not the despatches of the Venetian ambassadors come to my assistance.

In Vienna I had already copied the whole series of Venetian despatches preserved there, from 1573 to 1590, and which are found in the archives, partly in authentic copies, and partly in rubricaries prepared for the use of the government.

In making one's self master of the first, there is indeed a certain difficulty; in their voyage by sea they have received injury from the seawater; they crumble on being opened, and the breath is affected by an offensive dust. The rubricaries are more easily managed; they are protected by covers, and their abridged form facilitates the selection of matters that are really essential, from the thousand insignificant affairs which Italian States may have had to transact among themselves, but which do not merit historical reproduction.

We find here the reports of Paolo Tiepolo to 1576, of Antonio Tiepolo to 1578, of Zuanne Correr to 1581, of Lunardo Donato to 1583, of Lorenzo Priuli to 1586, of Zuanne Gritti to 1589, and of Alberto Badoer to 1591.

In addition to these regular ambassadors, there occasionally appears envoys extraordinary: Zuanne Soranzo, from October, 1581, to February, 1582, who was deputed on account of the dissensions concerning the patriarchate of Aquileja; the embassy of congratulation to Sixtus in 1585, which consisted of Marc Antonio Barbaro, Giacomo Foscarini, Marino Grimani, and Lunardo Donato, who caused their common report to be drawn up by the secretary Padavino: finally, Lunardo Donato was again sent on account of the political complications of the year 1589. The despatches of this last are by far the most important. The relations existing at that time between the republic and the Pope assumed importance, even for the general history of the world. They are fortunately to be found in all their extent, under the following title: "Registro delle lettere dell' illustrissimo signor Lunardo Donato Kr. ambasciatore straordinario al sommo pontefice; comincia a 13 Ottobre, 1589, e finisce a 19 Decembre, 1589."

But we have not even yet enumerated all the collected documents relating to the proceedings of the ambassadors. There was besides a special and private correspondence of the ambassador with the Council

of Ten, and we find this very neatly written on parchment; the first volume has the title: "Libro primo da Roma; secreto del consiglio di X. sotto il serenissimo D. Aluise Mocenigo inclito duca di Venetia." The subsequent volumes have corresponding titles.

I am perfectly aware of the objections that may be made to the use of despatches from ambassadors. It is true that they are written under the impression of the moment, are seldom quite impartial; often bear upon particular circumstances only, and are by no means to be implicitly relied on, or directly adopted. But let any man name the memorials or writings that can be received altogether without hesitation. In all cases certain grains of allowance are indispensable. The ambassdors were at all events contemporary witnesses, present on the spot, and bound to observe what passed; they must therefore be wholly destitute of talent, if their reports, when read to some extent, do not give an impression of reality to the events which they describe, and make us feel almost as in the immediate presence of the occurrences.

Now our Venetians were men of great ability, and of much practical experience, and I consider these despatches highly instructive.

But whither should we be carried if I should proceed to give extracts in this place from this long series of volumes?

My readers will doubtless permit me to abide by the rule I have laid down, of avoiding extracts from despatches in this Appendix. A lengthened series of them would alone convey an adequate idea of their contents.

I will, on the other hand, yet touch upon two important missions, both falling within the times of Sixtus V.

No. 61

Relazione all' illustrissimo e reverendissimo cardinale Rusticucci segretario di N. Signore papa Sisto V. delle cose di Polonia intorno alla religione e delle azioni del cardinale Bolognetto in quattro anni ch'egli è stato nuntio in quella provincia, divisa in due parti; nella prima si tratta de' danni che fanno le eresie in tutto quel regno, del termine in che si trova il misero stato ecclesiastico, e delle difficoltà e speranze che si possono avere intorno a rimedii: nella seconda si narrano li modi tenuti dal cardinale Bolognetto per superare quelle difficoltà, et il profitto che fece, et il suo negoziare in tutto il tempo della sua nuntiatura; di Horatio Spannocchj, già segretario del detto signore cardinale Bolognetto. [Report presented to the most illustrious and most reverend Cardinal Rusticucci, secretary of our lord Pope Sixtus V, in relation to the religious affairs of Poland, and the proceedings of Cardinal Bolognetto during the four years that he was nuncio in that province: divided into two parts. The first treats of the injuries done by the heretics throughout that kingdom, of the extremity to which the unfortunate clerical body is reduced therein, and of the difficulties or hopes that exist respecting remedies. In the second part will be related the methods pursued by Cardinal Bolognetto for overcoming those difficulties, with the success that he obtained, and his government during the whole of his nunciatura: prepared by Horatio Spannocchi, formerly secretary to the said Cardinal Bolognetto.]

The secretary of Bolognetto, Spannocchi, who had been with him in Poland, employed the leisure of a winter's residence in Bologna for the preparation of this report, which is not only circumstantial, but also very instructive.

He first describes the extraordinary extension of Protestantism in Poland, "not leaving even the smallest town or castle untainted." He attributes this phenomenon, as may be readily supposed, principally to secular considerations; he maintains that the nobles inflicted fines on their vassals if they did not attend the Protestant churches.

There was besides in Poland, as in the rest of Europe, a state of indifference beginning to prevail: "The difference between being a Catholic or of a different sect, is treated with jesting or derision, as a matter without the least importance."

The Germans, of whom some had settled and married, even in the smallest towns, had a large share in the diffusion of Protestant doctrines; but, still more dangerous, according to our author, were the Italians, who propagated the opinion that in Italy and under the cloak of Catholicism, doubts were entertained even of the immortality of the soul; that they were only waiting an opportunity to declare themselves openly against the Pope.

He next describes the condition into which the clergy had fallen under these circumstances.

"Great numbers of the poor clergy are destitute even of food, partly because the rulers of the cities—for the most part, if not wholly, heretics—have taken into possession the goods of the Church, either to increase their own patrimony, to endow with them the ministers of their own sect, or to bestow them in different modes on profane persons; and partly, because they refuse to pay tithes, although due from them, not only by the divine law and that of the canon, but also more particularly by the especial constitution of that kingdom. Whence the unhappy priests in many places, not having wherewith to sustain themselves, abandon the churches. A third cause is, that the ecclesiastical jurisdiction has fallen to decay, together with the privileges of the clergy, so that nowadays there is no difference made between the property of churches or monasteries and that of secular persons—citations and sentences are set at naught. . . . I have myself heard the principal Senators declare that they would rather suffer themselves to be cut to pieces than consent to any law by which they should be compelled to pay tithes as a due to any Catholic whatever. It was publicly decreed in the Council six years since, that no one should be pursued for payment of these tithes by any court, whether ecclesiastical or laical; and since, from various impediments, the said composition was not made in the next Council, they continue to refuse payment, nor will the different officers execute any sentence in reference to the said tithes."

He considers it very difficult for a nuncio to effect anything. It would be impossible to introduce the Inquisition, or even more rigid laws respecting marriage; already the very name of the Pope was abominated; the clergy considered it their duty to defend the interests of the country against Rome; and there was only the King on whom they could reckon.

The Palatine Radziwill of Wilna had communicated to the King an exhortation to war against the Turks, composed by a disciple of Zuinglius. The nation was herein recommended first of all to reform its proceedings, and above all to put away the images, the worship of which was considered by the author to be idolatry. The King would not suffer the discourse to pass in that form. He wrote the following words on the margin with his own hand: "It were better to omit this than to make false imputations, and render the admonitory discourse infamous by the slander of the most ancient religion. I would that the new sects could crown us with such lasting peace as the holy Catholic religion conferred on its true followers." A declaration on which the writer of this report builds great hopes.

He next proceeds to an investigation of Bolognetto's undertakings, which he classes under seven heads:

1. Restoration of the papal authority.
2. Persecution of heretics.
3. Reform of the clergy: "Methods for restraining the licentious —life of scandalous priests."
4. Re-establishment of divine worship.
5. Union of the clergy.
6. Defence of their rights.
7. Measures with respect to the whole Christian community.

I have already described in general terms the efficiency of Bolognetto in carrying out these designs. By way of example, I add the following more minute account of his influence on the English negotiation.

"The Queen of England requested from the King of Poland a license for her English merchants, that they might introduce their merchandise, and sell it freely throughout his kingdom, where the merchants of the kingdom in Dantzic only were now permitted to sell, requiring at the same time that they should have permission to open a public warehouse in Torogno, which is the most celebrated port of Prussia, after that of Dantzic. Also that they might thence afterward carry their wares themselves to all the fairs held in Poland, whither commonly none may carry merchandise except the merchants of the country, who are for the most part Germans, Prussians, or Italians. And on the same occasion this pretended Queen further requested that in the decree for this concession, it should be declared that no molestation was to be offered to her merchants on account of their religion, but that they should be suffered to execute it freely after their own manner whithersoever they might go throughout the kingdom. This proposal gave universal satisfaction to all the Polish nobility. The people of Dantzic alone opposed it bravely, showing that from this concession the most extreme injury would result to their port, so renowned and so famous through all the world, and that the hope of lower prices would prove fallacious, principally because the foreign merchants, when they should have the power of selling at their own good pleasure, and could hold their merchandise a long time in their hands, would only sell them for a much higher price than that now required by the merchants of the country. Nevertheless, the equal privileges which the Queen of England offered to the merchants of Poland, of power to do the same thing in England, seemed already to have induced the King to grant all that was demanded; which had no sooner come to the ears of Bolognetto, than he went to seek his Majesty, and showed him with the most effectual arguments, how monstrous a thing it would be to acknowledge so scandalous a sect by his public decree; and how it was not without some concealed hope or deceit of some kind that yonder pernicious woman desired to have the Anglican sect declared by public decree in possession of power to exercise its rites in that kingdom, where all the world knows but too well that every man is suffered to believe whatever he may please in matters of religion:—by these and other most sufficient reasonings, King Stephen became so fully convinced, that he promised to make no mention whatever of religion in any agreement that he should enter into with that Queen or her merchants."

It will be perceived that this report contains notices of a purely political nature.

In conclusion, the author goes more particularly into this part of subject.

He describes Poland as divided into a multitude of factions. Dis-

sensions, in the first place, between the different provinces, and then between the clergy and the laity in each province; between the Senators and the provincial deputies; between the more ancient and higher nobles and those of inferior degree.

The high-chancellor Zamoisky is represented as extremely powerful. The grant of all appointments was vested in him, more particularly since a vice-chancellor and a king's secretary had entered wholly into his interests: "Since Baranosky has been made vice-chancellor, and Tolisky secretary of the King, persons who but a short time before were unknown."

Generally speaking, the appointments made by Stephen Bathory had been far from securing universal approbation. Attention was already directed to his successor, Sigismund, "*amatissimo di tutti i Polacchi*" (greatly beloved by all the Poles).

No. 62

Discorso del molto illustre e reverendissimo Monsignore Minuccio Minucci sopra il modo di restituire la religione cattolica in Alemagna. 1588. [Discourse of the very illustrious and most reverend Monsignor Minuccio Minucci on the means of restoring the Catholic religion in Germany.]

A very important document, of which I have made extensive use, more especially vol. i. p. 494, and following.

Minucci served long under Gregory in Germany, and makes very frequent appearance in Maffei. In the documents before us, he endeavors to explain the existing state of things, to the end, as he says, that Rome might learn to refuse the patient dangerous medicines.

He complains from the beginning, that so little pains were taken on the Catholic side to gain over the Protestant princes.

He then proceeds—for his mission was during the times of eager and still undecided conflicts—to examine the attacks of the Protestants on Catholicism: "I have determined to relate the contrivances which the heretics daily put in practice for the purpose of drying up or utterly destroying the very root of Catholicism." Finally, he describes the manner in which they ought to be withstood.

He shows himself to be unusually well informed in German affairs, yet he cannot always repress a certain astonishment, when he compares the state of things as they then were with the tranquillity and order of Italy or Spain. We have ourselves alluded to the restless proceedings of Casimir of the Palatinate. Let us observe the amazement they occasioned to a foreigner:

"Casimir, after having set the authority of the Emperor at naught in a thousand ways, but chiefly in burning near Spires the munitions that were on their way to Flanders, under the safe-conduct of the Emperor; after having offended the King of Spain, not by that act only, but also by the frequent assistance afforded to his rebels in Flanders, and by having granted a site in his territories for the said rebellious Flemings to build a city (Franchendal); after having so frequently carried havoc into France, and so continually desolated Lorraine, sometimes in person, and sometimes by despatching his troops thither; after having put a decided affront upon the Archduke Ferdinand, by impeding the cardinal his son on the road to Cologne, with threats and even with violence; after being the declared enemy of the house of Bavaria, and acted in person against the Elector of Cologne—is yet permitted to re-

main securely in an open territory, and in the midst of those who have received so many injuries at his hands: yet he has neither fortresses nor soldiers to inspire him with confidence; neither friends nor relations who could give him aid or defend him. But he profits by the too long-suffering patience of the Catholics, who could instantly and with safety inflict such ruin upon him as he has inflicted so frequently on the States of others, if they would only resolve on it, and had the courage to do it."

Section V.—Second Period of the Ecclesiastical Restoration

No. 63

Conclaves

I do not fear being called to account for not having registered in this place every fugitive writing, every unimportant treatise which I have met with in manuscript during the manifold researches demanded for my work. I have rather, perhaps, already done too much. Many a reader who has given me his attention thus far, might very probably be dissatisfied with an unfashioned medley of various languages. Yet it would not be advisable to give a translation only of the original documents. To do this would diminish their usefulness as well as their authenticity. Thus I could not venture to insert the whole mass of my *collectanea* without further ceremony in this appendix.

Of the conclave, for example, with respect to which a vast number of manuscripts may be found, I will but present a summary notice.

After every election of a pope, more particularly from the second half of the sixteenth century to the beginning of the eighteenth, there appeared a report of the proceedings; it was, indeed, only a written one, but was, nevertheless, so arranged as to obtain a very extensive circulation, so that it frequently called forth counter-statements. Occasionally these accounts were prepared by cardinals, but more commonly by their secretaries, who were present at the conclave under the name of "*conclavisti*," and who made it their business to watch the course of the different intrigues with a view to the interest of their masters, to whom respect for the deportment demanded by their dignity would have made such observation no easy matter. But there were occasions when others also took up the pen. "*Con quella maggior diligenza che ho potuto*," says the author of the "Conclave of Gregory XIII," "I have gathered with the utmost diligence, as well from the *conclavisti* as from the cardinals who took part in the negotiation, the whole arrangement of that conclave, and all the truth relating to it." We perceive that he was not himself present. The accounts that fall into our hands are sometimes diaries, sometimes letters, but sometimes, also, they are elaborate narrations. Each little work is complete in itself; the universally known formalities are, however, here and there repeated. Their value is extremely unequal, as may be supposed. In some instances the whole sense is frittered away in incomprehensible details, while in others—but these are rare—the compiler has attained to an effectual perception and reproduction of the ruling motives in action. From nearly all, however, the reader may derive instruction, provided only that he have patience and do not become weary.

The great mass of writings of this kind still extant may be learned

from the Marsand catalogue in the Paris Library, as well as from other sources. They have also found their way into Germany. The 33d, 35th, and other volumes of our "Informations" (the Berlin *Informationi*) contain copies in great abundance. In Johann Gottfried Geissler's "Programm de Bibliotheca Milichiana," Görlitz, 1767, there is an account of the conclaves contained in the 32d, 33d, and 34th codices of the collection of that place. The most complete list with which I am acquainted is to be found in Novaes's "Introduzione alle Vita de' Sommi Pontefici," 1822, i. *272*. He had access to the library of the Jesuits, in which there was preserved a tolerably complete collection of these writings.

It followed from the nature of the matter that these documents very soon reached the public in another way, at least in part. First they were incorporated into the histories of the popes. The conclave of Pius V, if not in its whole extent, yet in its commencement and at the close, was transferred into the history of Panvinius. Cicarella has translated the conclaves of Gregory XIII and Sixtus V, at least in great part; the latter with all the comments and reflections that appear in the Italian. The passage that Schröckh, "N. Kirchengesch.," iii. 288, brings forward as from Cicarella, is taken word for word from the conclave. Thuanus also has given a place to these notices; but, as we soon perceive on more minute comparison, it is from Cicarella, and not from the originals, that he takes them (lib. lxxxii. p. *27*). In the "Tesoro Politico" also this last "conclave" is adopted, but in a few hastily made extracts only, and very imperfectly. And as with these, so also has it been with other conclaves.

But gradually, and first in the seventeenth century, the idea was entertained of making collections of these conclaves. The first printed collection has the title "Conclavi de' pontefici Romani quali si sono potuto trovare fin a questo giorno," 1667. It begins with Clement V, but has then a blank down to Urban VI, and a second chasm down to Nicholas V, from this time they go regularly forward down to Alexander VII. The purpose of this publication, at least the ostensible one, was to show by the examples to be there found, the little that human wisdom can avail against the guidance of Heaven. It is here rendered manifest that the most secret, disguised, and astute negotiations . . . by the secret operation of Heaven, are made vain, and result in effects altogether different from those contemplated." But this was not the view taken by the world at large, who were, on the contrary, principally eager to become possessed of the curious and sometimes discreditable matter to be found therein. A French edition appeared in Lyons, and as this was soon exhausted, a reprint, revised from the original, was brought out in Holland, dated Cologne, 1694, and by no means as Novaes gives it in 1594. This, enriched with further additions, has often been reprinted.

In this manner the original memoirs of the conclave have undergone various alterations. If we compare the French collection with the originals, we find it to be the same on the whole, but in particular passages there are considerable variations. Yet, so far as I can discover, these changes proceed rather from misapprehension than from evil intention.

But there are other collections also which have never been printed. I am myself in possession of one, which supplies the blank spaces that have been left in the printed editions, while it has at least an equal authenticity with any one of them. But for any detailed use of these documents, an examination of the originals will certainly be always desirable.

No. 64

Vita e successi del Cardinal di Santaseverina. [Life and Fortunes of Cardinal Santaseverina.]

An autobiography of this influential cardinal, of whom we have frequently had occasion to speak.

It is somewhat diffuse, and often loses itself in trifling details; the judgments it pronounces on individuals as well as on events are strongly marked by the personal qualities of the man; yet we find the work to communicate many peculiar and characteristic notices.

There remains only that we give here verbatim some few of those to which reference has occasionally been made in the text.

I. *The Protestants in Naples*

"The sect of the Lutherans still increasing in Naples, I armed myself against that thorn with the zeal of the Catholic religion, and with all my power, together with the authority of the Inquisition, by public preachings, written by me in a book called Quadragesimale; also by public and private disputations at every opportunity, as well as by prayer, I labored to diminish that grievous pestilence, and to root it out of our bounds. For this cause I suffered most bitter persecutions at the hands of the heretics, who sought to insult me by every means, and waylaid me on all the roads, thinking to kill me; of which I have written a little book, specially entitled 'Persecutions incited against me, Giulio Antonio Santorio, servant of Jesus Christ, for the truth of the Catholic faith.' There was a shrine in the corner of our garden, with an image of the most holy Mary having the infant Jesus in her arms, and before it there sprang up an olive sapling, which, to the admiration of everyone, grew very quickly to be a great tree, being in a close place, and shaded by trees. To this little chapel it was my wont to retire for prayer and discipline, whenever I had to preach or dispute against the Lutherans, and I felt myself wonderfully invigorated and emboldened, so that I was without any fear of evil or danger, although most certainly menaced with such by those enemies of the cross; moreover, I felt within me such joy and gladness that I desired to be slain for the Catholic faith. . . . Meanwhile, as the rage of those heretics whom I had brought to justice increased against me ever more and more, I was constrained at the end of August or beginning of September, in 1563, to take refuge in Naples, in the service of Alfonso Caraffa, cardinal of the title of San Giovanni and Paolo, Archbishop of Naples, where I served as deputy under Luigi Campagna di Rossano, Bishop of Montepeloso, who exercised the office of vicar in Naples. And after he had departed, to avoid the popular tumult excited against us by the burning of Giovanni Bernardo Gargano and Giovanni Francesco d' Aloys, called Il Caserta, which took place on the 4th of March, about the twentieth hour of the day, I remained alone in the government of that church; where, after many perils encountered, many threatenings endured, stones cast, and shots fired at me, a most cruel and venomous plot was contrived for my ruin by Hortensio da Batticchio, with Fra Fiano(?) di Terra d' Otranto, a relapsed Utraquist heretic, pretending that I, together with the Cardinal di Napoli and Monsignor Campagna, had required him to distil a poison of so much potency that it should infect the air, and so destroy Pope Pius IV, because of his enmity to the family of Caraffa; and the heretic had no doubt of making the Pope understand as much by means of Signor Pompeo Colonna."

II. *Gregory XIII and Sixtus V*

"He scarcely thought that he should die, notwithstanding his great age, having always lived with exceeding moderation, and having passed through all the gradations of the court. When he had ceased to lecture at Bologna, he came to Rome, and was made assistant curator of the Capitol, held the office of deputy to the auditor of the treasury, and was appointed referendary, but the first time he brought a cause before the Segnatura he utterly failed: thereupon, overwhelmed by shame and confusion, he was determined to abandon the court, but was dissuaded from doing so by Cardinal Crescentio. When he ought by the rotation to have been made auditor, Palleotto was preferred, and placed before him by Julius III, when, being again discouraged by this double disgrace, he once more resolved to leave Rome, but was again consoled, and withheld from departure by the same Cardinal Crescentio. He was made Bishop of Vieste by Paul IV, was nominated consultor of the holy office, appeared at the Council of Trent, was made cardinal by Pius IV, and was despatched into Spain about the affair of Toledo. Then after the death of Pius V of sacred memory, with a wonderful unanimity, he was elected to the pontificate. Thus elevated, he lived with much charity, liberality, and modesty: he would indeed have been admirable, and even unequalled, if his worth and greatness of mind had not been mingled with that affection for his son, which in great measure obscured his most worthy actions and the Christian charity which he exercised toward both strangers and all others, so that he was truly the father of all. His death was instantly announced to the Sacred College by the cardinal-nephews, San Sisto and Guastavillano, when, after the performance of the obsequies, and of all other ceremonies usual on the occurrence of a vacancy in the see, the conclave was begun. And therein was Cardinal Montalto elected Pope, formerly our colleague both in the affair of Toledo and in promotion to the cardinalate. This being done by the special exertions of Cardinal Alessandrino and Cardinal Rusticucci, who won over the cardinals d' Este and de Medici to his interest, greatly to the displeasure of Cardinal Farnese; Cardinal San Sisto, on whom he had counted largely for and against his rivals and enemies, having broken his word with him, and Cardinal Riario having acted very earnestly against him; but afterward this last repented bitterly of this, for he did not meet with the gratitude that he had expected; as it happened also to Cardinal Alessandrino, who greatly rejoicing, believed he should be able to manage the pontificate after his own manner. Coming down from St. Peter's, I begged him to intercede with his holiness for Monsignor Carlo Broglia, rector of the Greek College, that he might obtain a benefice for which he had applied. He answered me very graciously, 'Do not let us trouble this poor old man, for we shall certainly be masters.' At which, smiling, I then replied secretly in his ear, 'God send that you have not cause to repent when this evening is over.' As in effect he had, for he was never cheerful at heart through all that pontificate, being constantly beset with difficulties, vexatious troubles, and sorrows. It is very true that he was himself to blame for the greater part of them, for he fell into them by neglect, inadvertence, or otherwise; besides that, he was inordinately arrogant, and continually enumerating the benefits, services, and honors he had done to his holiness. In the first conversation that I found means to procure with his holiness, I congratulated him upon his accession to the pontificate, telling him that it had been by the will of God, since at that very moment when he was elected the forty hours were ended. His holiness thereupon bewailed the malignity of the times with

much humility and with tears. I exhorted him to commence his pontificate with a general jubilee, and that he should also give his utmost care to the Holy See and to its affairs, knowing well that it was thence his greatness had taken its origin."

III. *Affairs of Ferrara*

"The Duke of Ferrara having come to Rome about the investiture, of which he pretended to have had hopes given to him, there was much confusion and many discussions. Then I, having vigorously opposed the grant, both in public and private, as also in the consistory, entirely lost the favor of the Pope, at the same time bringing on myself the anger of Cardinal Sfondrato, who went about Rome saying that I held false opinions respecting the Pope's authority, as he had also charged on Cardinal di Camerino, who showed great eagerness in the service of the Apostolic See. Finding myself offended by an accusation so far from my thoughts—I, who had gone to the encounter of so many perils in defence of the Pope's authority and the Apostolic See—I could not but be greatly indignant; and, as it was fitting that I should do, I composed an apology for Cardinal Santaseverina against Cardinal Sfondrato, wherein the office and duty of a cardinal are treated of. The Pope, who had been greatly disturbed in consistory, and very angry in the *camera*, afterward, in the palace of St. Marco, begged my forgiveness with tears and much humility; he also thanked me, repenting of the decree that he had issued to the prejudice of the bull of Pius V, against the alienation of fiefs. The duke having left Rome without gaining any concession whatever, from that time forth showed himself my enemy, saying that I had been the chief cause of his not having obtained the investiture of Ferrara for the person he should thereafter name. And that I, as being his old friend, should have spoken more indulgently, and not have been so violent against the measure,—as if I had been more bound to men than to God and to the holy Church."

IV. *Conclave after the Death of Innocent IX*

"The conclave opened at the beginning of the year 1592, when the malignity of my enemies was redoubled. Cardinal Sfondrato evinced the utmost animosity against me, not only from fear of his own interests, but even still more because of the anger he felt at the words of Cardinal Acquaviva, who, fearful and jealous on account of the Archbishop of Otranto, his relation, and other Neapolitan nobles, friends of mine, left no stone unturned against me. The cardinals Aragona, Colonna, Altemps, and Sforza had united together against me, they were bitter enemies to each other, but were perfectly agreed in their opposition to myself. Aragona, in despite of the continual attentions and deference that I had shown him, but using as a pretext the abbey that I had taken from the abbot Simone Sellarolo. Colonna, notwithstanding the many services that I had rendered him at all times, but he remembered that I had hindered the Talmud in opposition to the Jews, and he brought up again the death of Don Pompeo, with the discredit thrown on his sister. Altemps, as a return for the favors that I had done him, both with Pope Sixtus and the Senator Pellicano, in respect to his son, the ravisher of Giulietta, for which that worthy personage fell into disgrace with Sixtus; . . . but such were the commands of Galeotto Belardo, his master. Sforza, notwithstanding

that I had favored him in the affair of Massaino when Pope Sixtus was fulminating against him, for which he thanked me and kissed my hand in the presence of the good old Cardinal Farnese—to whom he had also proved himself ungrateful after having received from that good prelate the abbey of St. Lawrence without the walls (*S. Lorenzo extra mœnia*); but he said he could not desert his friends, though in fact he was full of fears, knowing what his conscience had to reproach him with. The ingratitude with which Palleotto treated me is known to all. The night of the 20th of January arrived, when they made a tragedy of my affairs, even Madrucci, formerly my dear friend and colleague in the holy office, giving a silent assent to my rivals for my downfall,* laboring in this way to obtain the pontificate for himself; but he had to swallow certain bitter morsels, which being unable to digest, he died miserably in consequence. I omit to mention the fraudulent proceedings of Cardinal Gesualdo, who as a Neapolitan, could not endure that I should be preferred before him, and who was even moved by envy against his own countrymen, for he had agreed with the other Neapolitan cardinals, Aragona and Acquaviva, all three having resolved to have no fellow-countryman their colleague in the cardinalate. But the act which Cardinal Colonna committed at that time was the most unworthy one ever heard of, disapproved even by his most intimate friends, and taken very ill at the Court of Spain. Canano had been wont to hold me in so much reverence that nothing could surpass it, and ever before he would always kiss my hand wherever he met me, but now, forgetful of all friendship, he thought only of obedience to his Duke of Ferrara. Borromeo, assisted by me in his promotion, from regard to the memory of that holy cardinal of St. Praxida, and who had always made profession of being my dear friend; yet, allured by the gain of certain abbeys resigned to him by Altemps, now raved like a madman; he who professed nothing but purity, devotion, spirituality and conscientiousness. Alessandrino, the contriver of all the plots, did not fail to adopt his usual course, persecuting his best friends and creatures, to the alienation of them all, and above all, he was made to feel this after the elevation of Sixtus, for he heard what he did not like in full conclave from the mouth of the Cardinal of Sens, who exclaimed publicly against him. On the other hand, the fervor of my friends and supporters was not inferior. Cardinal Giustiniano having proved himself more earnest than any other, that courageous and sensitive spirit was in grievous trials all that day and night—my cell had even been already despoiled. But the night succeeding was to me the most painful of any, however sorrowful, that I had ever passed, so that from my heavy travail of soul and bitter anguish, I sweated blood—a thing incredible to relate; yet taking refuge with much humility and devotion in the Lord, I felt myself entirely liberated from all suffering of mind and from every sense of mundane things, returning to myself and considering how fragile, how transient, and how miserable they are, and that in God alone, and in the contemplation of him, are true happiness, contentment, and joy to be found."

* The Venetian ambassador Moro also remarks that Santa Severina was not chosen, "per il mancamento di Gesualdo decano e di Madrucci" (because Gesualdo the deacon and Madrucci had failed him).

No. 65

Vita et Gesta Clementis VIII. Informatt. Politt. xxix. [Life and Acts of Clement VIII.]

Originally intended to be a continuation of Ciaconius, where, however, I do not find it.

A narration of the rise of the Pope, and of his first measures. "*Exulum turmas coercuit, quorum insolens furor non solum in continentem sed in ipsa litora et subvecta Tiberis alveo navigia hostiliter insultabat.*" (He repressed the troops of outlaws, whose insolent fury not only assailed the mainland, but who even attacked the coasts and insulted the ships in the channel of the Tiber itself.) So little had Sixtus put them down forever. With respect to the absolution of Henry IV, the opposition of Clement to the king is particularly insisted on, with the difficulty of obtaining the absolution from him: finally the conquest of Ferrara is described. "*A me jam latius cœpta scribi opportuniori tempore immortalitati nominis tui consecrabo.*" (What I have already begun to write at more length, I will consecrate at a more fitting opportunity to the immortality of thy name.) But neither can I find anything of this. As the work appears, it is but of little consequence.

No. 66

Instruttione al Signor Bartolommeo Powsinsky alla M. del re di Polonia e Suetia. 1 *Aug.* 1593. *Signed, Cinthio Aldobrandini.* [Instructions to Signor Bartolommeo Powsinsky for his embassy to the king of Poland, etc.]

Ragguaglio della andata del re di Polonia in Suetia. 1594. [Report of the king of Poland's journey into Sweden, etc.]

I find nothing to add to the contents of these documents, which I have already used for the text, except perhaps the assertion in the second, that Duke Charles was in reality detested: "because he had monopolized almost all rights of purchase and merchandise, with all the mines of metals, more especially those of gold and silver."

No. 67

Relatione di Polonia. [Report from Poland.] 1598.

Drawn up by a nuncio, who complains bitterly of the unbridled love of freedom displayed by the Poles.

They desired a feeble king, not one of warlike disposition. They declared, "That those who are led by the desire of glory are of vehement, and not moderate, character, consequently are not for permanence; but the mother of permanence in empires is moderation."

Nor did they desire any connection with foreigners, maintaining that it would never be difficult for them to defend their country. They could always bring 50,000 horse into the field, and, at the worst, could always recover in winter what they might have lost in the summer. They appealed to the example of their forefathers.

The nuncio bids them recall to mind "that the ancient Poles knew

not what it was to sell grain in the Baltic Sea, in Dantzic or Elbing, nor were they intent on cutting down forests to sow corn, nor on draining marshes for the same purpose."

The nuncio further describes the progress of Catholicism, which was at that time in the most prosperous condition. I have adopted the most important notices in the text.

No. 68

Relatione dello stato spirituale e politico del regno di Suezia. 1598. [Report of the religious and political state of the kingdom of Sweden. 1598.]

This relates to the enterprise of Sigismund against Sweden, immediately before his second journey. Its essential positions have, in like manner, been given in the text.

But there still remain some few remarks of interest in relation to earlier events.

Erik is described in direct terms as a tyrant. "A device was made of an ass laden with salt, at the foot of a very steep mountain, with no path for crossing it, and the king was depicted with a stick in his hand, beating the said ass." The author explains this symbol, which was indeed sufficiently intelligible. The people were to be compelled by force to do what was impossible.

John is considered as a decided Catholic. "He being secretly a Catholic, as the King his son affirmed to the nuncio, made every effort to procure his son's return while he was himself alive, to the end that he, declaring himself openly Catholic, might compel the kingdom to embrace the same faith."

To these assertions I am, however, not disposed to subscribe. The worthy Sigismund probably imagined these things, that he might have the consolation of believing himself descended from a Catholic father.

On the other hand, the first enterprise of Sigismund is described with a manner bearing the full stamp of truth, and of a thorough knowledge on the part of the writer. The hopes connected with his second expedition are set forth in all the extent of their bearing on European interests in general.

INTERCALATION

Remarks on Bentivoglio's Memoirs.

In his sixty-third year—not, as the edition in the "Classici Italiani" affirms, in 1640, but in 1642, as Mazzuchelli also asserts—Cardinal Guido Bentivoglio (born 1579), having composed many other works on political subjects, began to write personal memoirs.

His original purpose was to include his first residence at the Roman Court, his nunciatures in France and the Netherlands, as also the period of his cardinalate. Had he completed his purpose, the history of the seventeenth century in its earlier half would have been enriched by one valuable work the more, and that replete with thought and discernment.

But he died before he had finished even the first part. His work, "Memorie del Cardinal Guido Bentivoglio," comes down only to the year 1600.

It conveys an impression of repose and comfort as enjoyed by the aged prelate, who, released from the weight of business, is passing life easily in the calm quiet of his palace. It is very agreeable reading, equally amusing and instructive; but the cardinal was naturally restrained by certain considerations proper to his position, from speaking so freely and fully as he evidently would have done.

The description, for example, that he has given with tolerable minuteness, of the cardinals by whom he found Clement VIII surrounded, has but a very general resemblance to those given of the same persons by other writers.

The very first, Gesualdo, deacon of the college, is described by Bentivoglio as "a distinguished man of amiable manners, who does not seek to mingle in public affairs, although he does not shun them:" but of what we learn from others, and what doubtless Bentivoglio also perfectly knew—how Gesualdo impeded the election of Sanseverina from mere personal dislike; the pretensions he advanced of superior rank over the other cardinals, who endured them very reluctantly; how all his subsequent efforts were given to the acquirement of friends by whose aid he might attain to the pontificate, and how he more particularly attached himself to Spain—of all these things we do not learn a word from Bentivoglio.

The second is Aragona. Of him Bentivoglio remarks: "He had led the cardinals in earlier conclaves, more particularly the younger: he governed Rome most admirably during the absence of the Pope: he was fond of handsome furniture, had a most beautiful chapel, and was continually changing the altar-pieces." But this is no description of the man. Aragona was, as we learn from Delfino, an old man tormented by the gout, and whose death might be expected soon to happen; but he only clung the more tenaciously to his hopes of obtaining the papacy. He was by no means so much respected by the Spanish Court as he desired to be; neither had he succeeded in obtaining admission to the congregation for the affairs of France, and it was known that he took this very ill. Yet he labored to maintain the closest intimacy with the Spanish ambassador, by way of promoting his views on the papacy.

That impression of repose and serenity which we have described this book to produce proceeds from the fact that the lights are designedly subdued; that life is not really depicted in the truth of its phenomena.

No. 69

Relatione fatta all' illustrissimo Signore Cardinale d'Este al tempo della sua promotione che dovera andar in Roma. Bibl. Vindob. Codd. Foscar. No. 169. 46 *leaves.* [Report made to the most illustrious Cardinal d'Este, when he was about to proceed to Rome on his promotion.] Vienna Library, Foscarini Manuscripts, etc.

In consequence of the treaty entered into with the family of Este by Clement VIII on his entrance into Ferrara, he included a prince of that house, Alessandro, in the promotion of the 3d of March, 1599.

It was this prince who was to be prepared for his entrance into the Roman Court by the instruction before us. Although it is without date, it must unquestionably be placed within the year 1599.

The purpose for which this report was written makes it at once entirely different from those of the Venetian ambassadors. It was intended to enable the prince to steer like a dexterous pilot, "that like a

prudent pilot he might the better catch the favoring breezes of the court." Of political relations it contains nothing. Even the misfortune that had just overtaken the house of Este is passed over in silence. The sole purpose of the writer is to describe the peculiar characteristics of the most important persons.

The pope, his nephews, and the cardinals are depicted.

Clement VIII—"Of blameless life, upright intentions, and a most capacious mind. It may be affirmed that he possesses within himself the whole theory and practice of politics, and the philosophy of government." We find here that Salvestro Aldobrandino had incited Paul IV to the war against Naples; that attempts had, nevertheless, been afterward made to reconcile that house at least with the Medici. "It is said that Pius V, desiring to promote Cardinal Giovanni, brother of the present pontiff, assured the grand duke Cosmo that the whole of this family would ever be most faithful to him, and that he sent this same Ippolito Aldobrandino, now Pope, to bear testimony to that fact to his highness, by whom he was very well received." At that time Giovanni Bardi was in the greatest favor with the Pope. "Among the servants of Clement, the nearest to his person, and the most favored, is the Signor Giovanni Bardi of the counts of Vernio, lieutenant of the guard, a man of great goodness, virtue, and nobility." The new cardinal was all the safer in connecting himself with Bardi, from the fact that he was attached to the house of Este.

The Nephews.—The pre-eminence of Pietro Aldobrandino over San Giorgio was decided. "San Giorgio having schooled his mind to his fortunes, and mortifying his pretensions, no longer struggles or contends with Aldobrandino, but either seconds his purposes or refrains from opposing him, and appears to be content with the *segnatura* of justice which he has obtained."

The cardinals were divided into two factions—the Spanish, to which Montalto was already attached, and that of Aldobrandino. The former had at that time twenty-five decided and firm adherents, the latter fourteen only. The author correctly points out as the most probable candidate for the papacy that one of them who really did afterward attain to it—Alessandro de' Medici, namely. The terms on which he stood with the Grand Duke of Tuscany were not known, but he was all the more in favor with Clement on that account—"*per patria e conformità di humore*" (from community of country and disposition), as much, indeed, as if he had been the Pope's own creature.

The historian of the Church, Baronius, is not unfavorably depicted. "Much beloved for his learning, goodness, and simplicity: he seems to be all spirit, wholly resigned to God: he makes a jest of the world, and even of his own exaltation."

No. 70

Relatione di Roma dell' illustrissimo Signor Gioan Delfino K. e Procuratore ritornato ambasciatore sotto il pontificato di Clemente VIII. [Delfino's report on returning from his embassy to Clement VIII., etc.]

This also is one of the reports that have been widely circulated; it is very circumstantial (my copy has ninety-four quarto leaves), and is very instructive.

1. Delfino begins with a description of the Pope ("*il nascimento, la natura e la vita del papa*") and his nephews.

"Of the two cardinals (Aldobrandino and San Giorgio), I consider it in a manner necessary to speak collectively. The latter is forty-five years of age, a man of high spirit, proud, and well versed in general affairs; but I much fear that he is of a bad disposition, or that the course of events which have deprived him of those great hopes which he had cause to entertain at the commencement of the pontificate cause him to be so, for he conducts himself toward everyone, not only with severity, but even with reckless harshness. San Giorgio was greatly beloved, and held in high esteem by the Pope before he had attained to the pontificate, and afterward he had the principal management of affairs for a considerable time. It was even believed by everyone that he must certainly be the first nephew, because the other was younger, of no great promise, and possessing few acquirements. But, whether from his want of prudence to govern himself, as was needful he should do—having broken with the ambassador of Spain, when he threw down his cap, and with the Tuscan ambassador, when he told him that the Pope ought to drive him from the court;—from his having given offence to all, on a thousand occasions, or from the great prudence and address of the other, or from the natural force of blood—San Giorgio has daily declined in credit and authority, so that he has no one to follow him, and never obtains anything that he asks. It is true that he has still charge of Italian and German affairs; but the public ministers discuss the same with Aldobradino, and in all difficult points they have recourse to him. I had myself certain stormy interviews with this Cardinal San Giorgio at first; nay, even in the very first audience, I was compelled, by regard for the dignity of the republic, to remonstrate openly; and two or three times I have caused myself to be heard so freely that I know my words have produced their fruit with him. And the Pope took him to task, particularly on the last occasion, respecting Ferrara; but since that time there have constantly passed between us every possible demonstration of good-will, and I have always treatd him with due honor. I believe certainly that he is ill-affected toward your Serenity, both by nature and circumstances;—his nature, I have already described, and will therefore speak of the circumstances only. First, your Serenity should know that for some time past he has thrown himself entirely into the hands of the Spaniards, and has shown himself little disposed to favor those who are united with the French; and this his evil disposition has been increased by his perceiving that Cardinal Aldobrandino has on all occasions protected the affairs of your excellencies, as if it were not possible that these two should concur in any measure, however just and reasonable it may be. All which may serve to make known the miseries endured by poor ambassadors and public representatives."

2. The second chapter—that, at least, which in our copies is formally designated as such—relates to the form of government, the finances, and the military force. Delfino is amazed, as well he might be at certain portions of the financial administration: "While the revenues of the Church are mortgaged to their whole extent, both the ordinary and the extraordinary, and, what is worse, castles and jurisdictions are purchased from the subjects at 1½ or 2 per cent. I understand this to mean that they yield so much, and mortgages are paid 9 or 10 per cent., it seems strange to all thinking men, that in the midst of such embarrassment these purchases should be made, and, what is more, when they desire to make a certain expenditure they do not supply the funds from the moneys in the castle, lest they should presently spend and consume the whole." We perceive that there were people, even in those times, who were startled at the hoarding of

borrowed money. In respect to Ferrara, also, after the first short-lived satisfaction of the inhabitants, many discontents arose: "Nobles and people, all would willingly give themselves to any prince whatever, so they might but escape from the hands wherein they now are."

3. "*Intelligenze.*"—These inform us of the doubtful terms in which the Pope stood with the Emperor and with Philip II (he awaited the death of the king with a sort of anxiety); how unfriendly were his relations with Florence, for all remembered perfectly well that the house of Aldobrandini belonged to the exiled families: "Things went worse with them than with any other, for they remembered that the Pope and his family went wandering about the world." How much more cordially he proceeded, on the contrary, with France and Poland, more especially with the latter, with which he had a community of interests and purposes. "Their interests for the present concurring, as well as their designs for the future." But for no one was Clement more interested than for the Prince of Transylvania: "The Pope has conducted himself with so much affection toward the Prince of Transylvania, keeping an apostolic nuncio at his court, giving him, during my stay, 60,000 scudi at three different times, and inducing the Emperor to perform a multitude of good offices in his favor, that he might be almost said to have become pledged and interested to the continuance of such protection. And I believe that the poor prince deserved it, because he had resolved on the war, in consequence of his reliance on the counsels and promises of his holiness, which was clearly manifest from the manner in which, at the commencement, now three years since, and even a year later also, his holiness extolled the virtue and excellence of the prince to the very skies, having told me many times that he alone had supported the war against the Turks. And, as is further evident from the cession that he recently made to him of his States, when he made a great talk about very little done, for we see clearly that though he promised both the Emperor and prince to make the latter a cardinal, yet he would have done nothing at all of the sort, wherefore I fully believe that his holiness has been much rejoiced by seeing him return to the government of his dominions."

4. Cardinals.—They are all discussed in turn, and more or less favorably pronounced upon.

5. "Of the persons considered most likely to obtain the pontificate."

6. "Affairs connected with Venice."—There were already a thousand disputes in progress. "If some provision be not made against these pretensions and disorders, there will arise some day embarrassments of great difficulty, principally through these new acquisitions (relating to the navigation of the Po); so that whenever I think of this matter, the knowledge I have of the nature of priests and of the Church causes me great alarm."

This fear was but too soon justified.

No. 71

Venier: Relatione di Roma. [Venier: Report from Rome.]

The dissensions between the Pope and Venice were already become tolerably earnest. The Venetians refused to send their patriarch to Rome for examination. Bitter contentions had arisen about the Goro mouth of the Po; it was in consequence of these disputes that Venier was sent to Rome.

He remained there but a short time: the description that he sketches of Clement VIII is nevertheless exceedingly useful.

"With respect to the character and designs of the Pope, so far as it belongs to me to consider them for the present conjuncture of the affairs that your Serenity is at this time transacting with his holiness, I have to remark that the Pope, at his present age of sixty-five years, is stronger and more healthy than he was some years since, having no other indisposition than that of chiragra or gout; and this, according to the physicians, is serviceable, as keeping him free from other ailments: its attacks are, besides, much less frequent than formerly, as well as less violent, from the careful regimen he observes, and his extreme moderation in respect of drinking, with regard to which he has for a considerable time past practised remarkable abstinence. These habits are, besides, extremely useful to him in keeping down the corpulency to which his constitution disposes him, and to reduce which he makes a practice of taking very long walks, whenever he can do so without interruption to business; his great capacity enabling him easily to accomplish all, so that there still remains a portion of time at his own disposal, which he spends in giving audience to private persons and others, who are in constant waiting upon his holiness. He applies himself to all important affairs with the most earnest attention, persisting throughout, without ever showing signs of weariness; and when he sees them happily completed, he rejoices wonderfully over the pleasure this affords him. Nor does anything gratify him more than to see himself esteemed, and to know that his reputation, of which he is exceedingly jealous, is respected: and whereas, from his very sanguine and choleric disposition, he is very easily exasperated, bursting forth with great vehemence into exaggerations full of heat and bitterness; yet when he perceives that the listener is silent with his tongue, although his countenance becomes saddened, he recovers himself by an immediate effort, and with the utmost kindness endeavors to do away with all bitterness: and this is now so well known among the cardinals, that they give courteous warning thereof to their friends, as was given to myself at the first conference by the most illustrious the Cardinal of Verona, who thought he was giving me a very useful rule of conduct. The thoughts of his holiness are much turned to glory; nor can it be imagined how greatly sovereigns gain in his favor when they promote his inclination. Hence the Spaniards, in particular, who are ever on the watch to preserve and increase the great influence they possess in the Court of Rome, by no means neglect the opportunity; thus they have applied themselves with the utmost promptitude to set forth that expedition against the Turks which we have seen, while they endure and put up with no small hardships, to which they are exposed in their most important affairs in common with all others who reside in and transact affairs with the Roman Court, more especially in matters of jurisdiction: by these means the Spaniards are continually advancing their interests, and frequently obtain no small advantages. The pontiff is generally considered to be a person of great virtue, goodness, and piety, of which he is pleased to see the effects become manifest in great and important results. And though the cardinals perceive that in the present pontificate the authority they were accustomed to enjoy in times past is greatly diminished, although they find themselves almost entirely excluded from all participation in the most important affairs, since it often happens that they do not receive the notice, formerly usual, of negotiations until after their final conclusion; yet they appear to hold the pontiff in great esteem—they praise his holiness in terms of high reverence, exalting his prudence and other virtues in most expressive phrase, and affirming that if they had now to elect a pontiff, they would

choose none other than this same. But their thoughts are very secret and deep, and words and appearances are turned to suit the purposes of the speakers, more frequently perhaps in Rome than in any other place."

The ambassador succeeded in once more appeasing the contentions, although the Pope had already begun to talk of excommunication. He considers Clement to be, nevertheless, well disposed to the republic on the whole. Venice submitted to send her patriarch to Rome.

No. 72

Instruttione all' illustrissimo et eccellentissimo marchese di Viglienna, ambasciatore cattolico in Roma, 1603. *Informatt. Politt., No.* 26. [Instruction to the most illustrious and most excellent Marquis Viglienna, Spanish ambassador to Rome, etc.]

Viglienna was the successor of Sessa. Our author very judiciously leaves it to the departing ambassador to give information respecting the Pope and his immediate dependents. He has himself supplied us with notices of the cardinals. His object is to point out the faction to which each prelate belongs. We perceive from his account that the state of things had greatly altered since 1599. There are now but ten cardinals enumerated as decidedly Spanish. In earlier times there was but little said of those inclined to France; but our ambassador counts nine of them—the remainder belong to no party.

This author also is deeply impressed with the importance of the Curia. "Here it is that differences and pretensions are arranged, that peace and wars are disposed of. . . . The character of the place invites the most active spirits, and those most covetous of greatness, so that it is no wonder to find the most acute minds flourishing there."

No. 73

Dialogo di Monsignor Malaspina sopra lo stato spirituale e politico dell' imperio e delle provincie infette d' heresie. Vallic. No. 17. 142 *leaves.* [Dialogue of Monsignore Malaspina on the spiritual and political state of the empire, and of the provinces infested by heresy.]

A dialogue between Monsignor Malaspina, the Archbishop of Prague, and the Bishops of Lyons and Cordova—churchmen, that is to say, of the four principal nations—about the year 1600. The occupation of Ferrara is discussed in it.

The special purpose of this paper is to compare what earlier popes had done for the progress of Catholicism with what had been effected by Clement VIII.

Under the earlier Popes: "1. The reduction of the Indies. 2. The celebration of the Council. 3. The holy league, and the naval victory. 4. The erection of colleges. 5. The offer from the heretics of the primacy of Peter to the patriarch of Constantinople(?). 6. The firmness of the Catholic King in refusing to make concessions to the heretics of the Low Countries in matters prejudicial to religion."

By Pope Clement VIII: "1. The pastoral and universal government. 2. The particular government of the dominions of the Ecclesiastical States. 3. The life of his holiness. 4. The possibility of vanquishing the Turk now made manifest by means of his holiness. 5.

Ferrara occupied. 6. The most Christian King of France made Catholic."

Malaspina concludes that this last was of more importance than all that the others had effected. Very naturally. The work is dedicated to the papal nephews.

I have not been able to discover more than one single passage worthy of notice in all this long paper.

The author was present at the Electoral Diet of Ratisbon, in the year 1575. He there conversed with the Elector Augustus of Saxony. This prince was still far from exciting hopes among the Catholics of his conversion to their faith. He declared, on the contrary, that he made but small account of the Pope, either as pope or as sovereign of Rome, and thought just as little of his treasurer, for that the papal treasure chamber was rather a cistern than a living spring. The only thing he considered worthy of attention was the fact that a monk like Pius V could unite so many powerful princes for a Turkish war: he might effect as much against the Protestants. In fact, Gregory XIII did propose such an attempt. Since he perceived that France declined taking any part in the Turkish war from fear of the Huguenots, he considered that a general confederacy of Catholic princes, directed equally against Turks and Protestants, was a thing needful. Negotiations were immediately opened in Styria for that purpose, both with the Emperor and the archduke Charles.

No. 74

Relatione delle chiese di Sassonia. Felicibus auspiciis illustrissimo comitis Frid. Borromei. 1603. *Bbl. Ambros. H.* 179. [Report concerning the churches of Saxony, under the fortunate auspices of the most illustrious Count Frederick Borromeo. Ambrosian Library, H. 179.]

This is another of the various projects of Catholicism, with a view to recovering possession of Germany.

The author has persuaded himself that people in Germany have gradually become wearied of Protestantism. The fathers are already but little concerned for the bringing up of their children in their own religion. "They leave them to themselves, to the end, as they say, that God may inspire them with that which shall be for the welfare of their souls."

In this conviction he forms designs on two leading Protestant countries, Saxony and the Palatinate.

In Saxony the administrator had already annihilated Calvinism. He must be won over by the hope of recovering the electorate. "*Mettergli inanzi speranza di poter per la via della conversione farsi assoluto patrone dell' elettorato.*" (Set before him the hope of becoming absolute master of the Electorate by means of his conversion.) The nobles of the country would also gladly see the probability of again acquiring the bishoprics.

With respect to the Palatinate, he expresses himself as follows: "Casimir had a sister, a widow, who had been wife to a landgrave of Hesse, and was living at Braubach, a domain on the Rhine. She appears to possess many moral virtues, and some degree of religious light: she is wont to practise many works of charity with much zeal, bestowing many alms, and consoling the sick of those districts, whom she provides with medicine. She converses willingly with certain

fathers of the Jesuit order, and with the Archbishop of Treves. . . . It is the opinion of many that with greater diligence, and by means of some Jesuit father in her favor, or of some Catholic prince or bishop, it would be an easy thing to bring her entirely over to the true faith; . . . for which, if the blessed God would grant his grace, and the thing were done with befitting secrecy, she would be an excellent instrument for afterward converting her nephew with his sister and another daughter left by Casimir."

The author is here alluding to Anna Elizabeth of the Palatinate, wife of Philip II of Hesse Rheinfels, who died in the year 1583. She had previously been suspected of Calvinism, and had even been wounded in a tumult on that account. We see that at a later period, while residing on her jointure estate of Braubach, which she was embellishing she was suspected of a tendency to the opposite creed of Catholicism.

This was the combination of circumstances on which our author builds. He thinks that if the young count palatine were then to be married to a Bavarian princess, the whole territory would become Catholic. And what an advantage would it be to gain over an electorate!

No. 75

Instruttione a V. Signore Monsignor Barberino, arcivescovo di Nazaret, destinato nuntio ordinario di N. Signore al re christianissimo in Francia, 1603. [Instruction to Monsignore Barberino, archbishop of Nazareth, on being sent papal nuncio to the most Christian king, etc.] MS. Rome.

Prepared by Cardinal P. Aldobrandino, who makes frequent mention of his own former embassy to the French Court. Its object is the furtherance of Catholicism in France, where it had already received a powerful impulse from the conversion of Henry IV.

Let us listen to some of the charges given to the nuncio (who was afterward Pope Urban VIII): "Your Excellency will proceed in such a manner with the King, that he shall not only give evidence of his desire for the conversion of heretics, but shall aid and favor them after their conversion. The idea of balancing matters so that both the parties shall be maintained in amity, is a vain, false, and erroneous proposition; it can be suggested only by politicians, evil-minded persons, and such as love not the supreme authority of the King in the kingdom. . . . Our lord the Pope would have you place before him (the King) for his consideration a most easy method (for getting rid of the Protestants), one that will cause no commotion, can be very easily executed, and produces its effect without constant labor. It is that which his holiness has on other occasions suggested to his Majesty, adducing the example of the King of Poland; namely, that he should confer no appointment or promotion on heretics. . . . Your Excellency will also remind his Majesty that he should occasionally give a shrewd rap to those fellows (the Huguenots), for they are an insolent and rebellious crew. . . . Your excellency must plainly tell the King that he ought to discontinue the *economati* (custody of vacant sees), and avoid the practice of giving bishoprics and abbacies to soldiers and women."

The right of the *regale,* which afterward occasioned so many disputes, had its origin in these *economati:* "The King nominates the *economo,* who, by virtue of a decree, and before the apostolic decision has been made, administers both spiritual and temporal affairs,

confers benefices, and constitutes vicars, who judge, absolve, and dispense."

The nuncio was also to labor for the confirmation of the King himself in the Catholic faith, for it was not possible that he could have received sufficient instruction during the war. He was enjoined to urge the appointment of good bishops and to promote the reform of the clergy; if possible, he was also to see that the decrees of the Council of Trent were published: the King had promised the cardinal on his departure that this should be done within two months, yet several years had now passed, and it was still delayed. He was further to advise the destruction of Geneva: "To do away with the nest that the heretics have in Geneva, as that which offers an asylum to all the apostates that fly from Italy."

But it is Italy that the Pope has most at heart. He declares it to be intolerable that a Huguenot commander should be sent to Castel Delfino, on the southern side of the Alps. His example would be deadly.

Clement was very earnestly occupied with the idea of a Turkish war. Each of the sovereigns ought to attack the Turks from a different point. The King of Spain was already prepared, and only required an assurance that the King of France would not raise a war against him meanwhile in other quarters.

No. 76

Pauli V. ponteficis maxima vita compendiose scripta. Bibl. Barb. [Epitome of the life of Pope Paul V.] Barberini Library.

A panegyric of no great value.

The judicial administration of this pontiff and that of his government generally, as well as his architectural undertakings, are all extolled at length.

"He was for the most part silent and abstracted, in all times and places; even at table he meditated, wrote, and transacted many affairs.

"To evil-doers no retreat was afforded. From the principal palaces of Rome culprits were dragged to punishment by an armed force. I do not say from the open halls only, but even from the innermost apartments of the noblest dwellings.

"In the beginning of his pontificate he was oppressed by many difficulties, and most of all by want of money. During sixteen years he was continually expending much gold in gifts, the reconstruction of buildings, or the raising of others entirely new; in fortresses also, and subsidies to foreign powers; being moreover at much cost for supplies of corn. He took nothing from the treasure of the castle St. Angelo, amassed there for the public safety, and relieved the burdens of the subject provinces. For so many vast works he contracted no new debt, but rather diminished the old; nor was he by any means reduced to want—nay, he enriched the public treasury from many sources, and even accumulated 900,000 pieces of gold in his private treasury."

This panegyrist does not appear to have considered the creation of so many new *luoghi di monte* as a loan.

No. 77

Relatione dello stato infelice della Germania, cum propositione delli rimedii opportuni, mandata dal nuntio Ferrero, vescovo di Vercelli, alla Santita di N. Signore Papa Paolo V. Bibl. Barb. [Report on the unhappy state of Germany, with a proposal of the fitting remedies, presented by the nuncio Ferrero, bishop of Vercelli, to his holiness our Lord the Pope Paul V.] Barberini Library.

This is probably one of the first circumstantial reports that came into the hands of Paul V. The nuncio alludes to the insurrection of the imperial troops against their general, Basta, in May, 1605, as an event that had just occurred.

The unfortunate course taken by the war under these circumstances, the progress of the Turks, and that of the rebels who were in open strife with the Emperor, were without doubt his chief reasons for calling Germany unhappy.

For, on the other hand, he did not fail to perceive the many conquests which the Catholic Church was making in Germany.

"The immediate cause of these successes have been the pupils, both of Rome and various cities or other places of Germany, where the piety of Gregory XIII afforded them opportunity of instruction at the cost of the apostolic treasury, together with the colleges and schools of the Jesuit fathers, wherein heretics are received mingled with the Catholics; because the aforesaid students become prelates or canons."

He declares repeatedly that the Jesuit schools had won over large masses of young men to Catholicism; but he complains of an extraordinary dearth of Catholic parish priests, more particularly in Bohemia.

He enters also into the political state of the country. He considers the danger from the Turks to be rendered very menacing and serious by the feeble and ill-prepared condition of the emperors, and the internal dissensions of the house of Austria. The archdukes Matthias and Maximilian have reconciled their disputes, that they might the better oppose the Emperor.

"The Archdukes Matthias and Maximilian are now united in friendship, perceiving that by their divisions they were playing the game desired by the Emperor. Thus the second archduke has resolved to yield to the first, as to him in whom, by the claims of primogeniture, is vested the right to the Kingdom of Hungary, Bohemia, and the States of Austria. Albert also has promised to acquiesce in whatever shall be done, and by common consent they have required the Emperor by letters to adopt some resolution for the stability of the house; but he has fallen into so melancholy a state, whether because of their union, and vexation at not being able to avail himself of those seditions, or for some other cause, that he provides neither for the imperial house, for his States, nor for himself."

Many other remarkable circumstances are also brought to light—the fact, for example, that views were entertained by the house of Brandenburg upon Silesia even at that time. "Brandenburg does not despair, with the States that he has in Silesia, and with his own forces, of succeeding, at some period of revolution, in appropriating that province to himself."

No. 78

Relatione dell' illustrissimo Signore Franc. Molino cavaliere e procuratore ritornato da Roma con l'illustrissimo Signori Giovanni Mocenigo cavaliere, Piero Duodo cavaliere e Francesco Contarini cavaliere, mandati a Roma a congratularsi con Papa Paolo V. della sua assontione al ponteficato: letta in senato 25 *Genn.* 1605 (1606). [Report of Francesco Molino on his return from Rome with the most illustrious signors Pietro Duodo and Francesco Contarini, whither they had been conjointly sent to congratulate Pope Paul V on his accession to the pontificate: read in the senate Jan. 1605 (1606).]

The outbreak of troubles was already foreseen; the ambassadors observed Pope Paul V as minutely as possible.

"When Leo XI was declared Pope they delayed the pontifical investment for two hours; but this Pope was believed to be clothed pontifically almost before he was elected, and while yet but equal to the other cardinals; for he had scarcely been declared before he began to manifest the pontifical reserve and gravity so conspicuously, whether in looks, movements, words, or deeds, that all were filled with amazement and wonder, many perhaps repenting, but too late, and to no purpose. For this pontiff, wholly different from his predecessors, who, in the hurry and warmth of those first moments, all consented to the requests as well of the cardinals as others, and granted a vast number of favors. This Pope, I say, remained from the first most reserved and serious—nay, declared himself resolved not to grant or promise the most trifling request, affirming that it was needful and proper that he should take due consideration with regard to every request presented to him. Thus there were but very few who received any favors, and those after the lapse of some days. Nor does he at all enlarge his liberality; on the contrary, his reserve seems always increasing, so that the court is apprehensive of a continued scarcity of favors, and closer restriction on all points, whereat all are very sorrowful. Among the cardinals there is not one that can boast of having had so much familiarity or intimacy with him as to make sure of readily obtaining anything at his hands: and they all hold him in so much dread that when they have to wait upon him for the negotiation of affairs, they are quite bewildered and disconcerted; for not only do they always find him standing on his dignity, and giving his replies in few words, but he further encounters them with resolutions almost always founded on the most rigid letter of the law. He will make no allowance for customs, which he calls abuses, nor for the practice of preceding pontiffs, to which not only he declares himself incapable of reconciling his conscience, but he further says those popes may have done wrong, and have now perhaps to render an account to God, or else they may have been deceived, or that the cases have been different from those then before him; thus he dismisses the cardinals, for the most part, very ill satisfied. He is not pleased that any should speak long in dissent or argument, and if he does listen to one or two replies, when he has met them by decisions of law, by the canons, or by decrees of councils, which he cites in refutation of their opinions, he turns away if they proceed further, or commences some other subject; for he would have them to know, that after his labors for thirty-five years in the study of the laws, and in their continual practice, while exercising various offices in the Roman Court and elsewhere, he may reasonably pretend

(though he does not say this in express words) to so exact an acquaintance with the subject, as never to take any false step, whether in the decisions that he propounds or the determinations that he makes. He alleges also, that in matters of doubt, the judgment and interpretation, more particularly in ecclesiastical matters, belong to him as supreme pontiff. Things being thus, the cardinals, who for some time past have not been wont to contradict, as they formerly did, or even to offer counsels, but when they are requested and commanded to speak freely, take care to do so in conformity with the opinion they perceive to be entertained by the ruling pontiff, even though they do not think with him, restraining themselves with this Pope much more than even with his predecessors; and they will every day have more and more cause to keep silence, for their opinion is now asked less than by any others: Paul neither desires to hear it from the body collectedly, nor from any one of them apart, as Pope Clement and other pontiffs used to do. He makes all resolutions for himself, and announces them at once in the Consistory, where he will now complain of the evil of the times, and now inveigh against different princes with bitter words, as he did but lately while we were there, in reference to the surrender of Strigonia, complaining of it, and laying the blame on the Emperor and other sovereigns, with very pointed and biting expressions; or anon reminding the cardinals of their duties and obligations, will suddenly deal out protests against them, without precedent, order, or rule, by which he throws them into the utmost confusion, as he did, for example, when he signified to them the necessity for their residence, and, as I have said, not by way of command, as was usual with other pontiffs, who assigned the prelates a specific time, though a short one, to repair to their churches, but solely by declaring that he would not absolve the absentees from mortal sin while they received the revenues, which determination he founded on the canons and the Council of Trent. By this form of words, and a decision so unexpected, pronounced with so much heat, he caused such dismay among the cardinal-bishops that, knowing they could stay no longer in Rome, without heavy scruples and great remorse of conscience—without causing scandal, and above all, incurring the particular opinion of the Pope that they cared little for the warnings of his holiness, had little fear of God, and small regard for their own honor in the eyes of the world, they have taken the resolution either to depart to their sees, and some have even already set off, or otherwise to resign them, though some few, indeed, have requested a dispensation to remain until the rigor of the winter has passed, and then to go in the spring. Nor has he admitted their holding legations in the provinces or cities of the Ecclesiastical States as an excuse or means of defence. There are only two who are to be excepted from the necessity of residence: first, Cardinal Tarasio, Archbishop of Sienna, who is very old, and quite deaf, and even he will not be excused from renouncing his revenues; and the Cardinal of Verona, who is also exempted on account of his very great age, as well as because he has for many years had his nephew in the office of coadjutor; and this last has supplied the place of his uncle extremely well."

But in spite of this severity on the part of Paul V, the ambassadors made very good progress with him upon the whole. He dismissed them in the most friendly manner—the most gracious pontiff could not have expressed himself more favorably; they were therefore astonished that affairs should so soon afterward have taken a turn so entirely different, and at the same time so formidable.

No. 79

Instruttione a monsignore il vescovo di Rimini (Cardinale Gessi) destinato nuntio alla republica di Venetia dalla Santità di N. S. P. Paolo V. 1607. 4 *Giugno. Bibl. Alb.* [Instructions to the bishop of Rimini, nuncio from Pope Paul V to the Republic of Venice. June 4, 1607.] Albani Library.

Prepared immediately after the termination of the disputes, but still not in a very pacific temper.

The Pope complains that the Venetians had sought to conceal the act of absolution. In a declaration to their clergy there appeared an intimation that the Pope had revoked the censures, because he acknowledged the purity of their intentions ("*che S. Beatitúdine per haver conosciuta la sincerità degli animi e delle operationi loro havesse levate le censure*"). Paul V nevertheless goes so far as to entertain a hope that the *consultores*—even Fra Paolo—would be given up to the Inquisition. This passage is very remarkable. "With respect to the persons of Fra Paolo, a Servite, and Giovanni Marsilio, with others of those seducers who pass under the name of theologians, your Excellency has received oral communication, and you ought not to have any difficulty in obtaining that these men should be consigned to the holy Inquisition, to say nothing of being at once abandoned by the republic, and deprived of that stipend which has been conferred on them to the great scandal of all." It was impossible that such suggestions should fail to exasperate the enmity of Fra Paolo, and to make it implacable. The Pope knew not the character of the enemy he was thus making for the papacy. His *monsignori* and *illustrissimi* are all forgotten, while the spirit of Fra Paolo still lives, at least, in one part of the opposition existing wthn the limits of the Catholic Church, even to the present day.

The resistance which the Pope had encountered in Venice made the most profound impression on his mind. "His holiness desires that the ecclesiastical authority and jurisdiction should be manfully defended by your Excellency; but your Excellency will be also very cautious to adopt no cause for which you have not very good reason, since there is perhaps less evil in leaving a point undisputed than in losing one contended for."

No. 80

Ragguaglio della dieta imperiale fatta in Ratisbona l' anno del Signore 1608, *nella quale in luogo dell' eccellentissimo e reverendissimo Monsignore Antonio Gaetano, arcivescovo di Capua, nuntio apostolico, rimasto in Praga appresso la M. Cesarea, fu residente il padre Filippo Milensio, maestro Agostino, vicario generale sopra le provincie aquilonarie. All' eccellentissimo e reverendissimo signore e principe il signore cardinale Francesco Barberini.* [Report of the imperial diet held at Ratisbon in the year of our Lord 1608, whereat Father Filippo Milensio, general of the Augustines, and vicar of the northern provinces, was resident in the place of Gaetano, archbishop of Capua, and apostolic nuncio; who was detained at Prague by his imperial Majesty. Presented to the prince-cardinal Francesco Barberini.]

When the Emperor Rudolf summoned a diet in 1667, Antonio Gaetano was nuncio at his court.

Gaetano was instructed to effect the more complete introduction of the Tridentine decrees, and the acceptance of the Gregorian calendar, to which the three secular electors were already disposed—Saxony most decidedly so. He had already instructed his ambassador to that effect, and charged him to attend more particularly to the Catholic interests in the *Kammergericht*. The interruption experienced by the affairs of that court is accounted for in the Instruction, as follows:

"The Magdeburg heretic intruder, being supreme president of this tribunal, and desiring to exercise the duties of his office, was not admitted; thus from that time no causes have been heard, and the suits have accumulated, more especially the offences offered to the Catholics, the heretics insisting that they ought to have equal place in that tribunal with the Catholics, and continually laboring to usurp the ecclesiastical possession."

It was easily to be foreseen that very animated discussions must arise in the Diet with relation to this matter, yet the nuncio himself could not be present. The Emperor sent the archduke Ferdinand thither as his representative, and would have considered it as an affront had the nuncio left him.

Gaetano sent the vicar of the Augustines, Fra Milensio, in his place. As the latter had passed some years in Germany, he could not fail to be in some degree acquainted with the position of things. But in addition to this, he was referred by the nuncio to Matthew Welser "for minute information respecting affairs of the empire"—and to that Bishop of Ratisbon, a letter from whom was at that time producing so great an excitement among the Protestants. He was also to attach himself to the counsels of Father Willer, the Emperor's confessor.

It was not, unfortunately, till many years afterward that this Augustine drew up the report of his exertions in the Diet. The account he gives of his own proceedings is nevertheless highly remarkable; and we have already inserted it in the body of our work.

He attributes the whole of the disorders that had at that time broken out in the empire to the disputed succession: "The report prevailing that Rudolf intended to adopt the Archduke Leopold, younger brother of Ferdinand, and that afterward he had inclined to Ferdinand himself." Matthias was exceedingly displeased at this. But he found in Klesel and in Prince Lichtenstein, who had so much power in Moravia, very faithful and influential adherents.

According to this report of the Augustinian's, Dietrichstein and Gaetano had an important share in the conclusion of the agreement between the brothers.

No. 81

Relatione di Roma dell' illustrissimo Signore Giovan Mocenigo Cavaliere Ambasciatore a quella corte l' anno 1612. *Inff. Politt. tom.* XV. [Report from Rome by the most illustrious Giovanni Mocenigo, ambassador to that court in the year 1612. Inff. Polit. vol. XV.]

The first ambassador after the settlement of the dissensions was Francesco Contarini, 1607-1609. Mocenigo speaks highly of the advantage he had derived from Contarini's prudent management. He himself, who had already been employed in embassies during eighteen years, remained in Rome from 1609 to 1611. The quiet tone of his report suffices to show that he also succeeded in maintaining a good understanding.

In the report before us, Mocenigo did not propose to repeat generalities or matters well known, but rather to exhibit the personal qualities of the Pope and his disposition toward the Venetian republic. "The qualities, purposes, and dispositions of the Pope and of the republic toward this republic. I will treat all with the utmost brevity, omitting such things as are rather curious than necessary."

1. Pope Paul V.—"Majestic, tall, and of few words: yet it is currently reported in Rome that there is no one can equal him in terms of politeness and good offices: he is truthful, guileless, and of most exemplary habits."

2. Cardinal Borghese.—"Of a fine presence, courteous, and benevolent, he entertains great reverence for the Pope, and renders all who approach him content, at least by good words. He is esteemed and respected by everyone." In the year 1611 he had already secured an income of 150,000 scudi.

3. Spiritual power.—He remarks that former popes had sought to acquire honor by granting favors; but that those of his times labored rather to retract the favors already granted ("*rigorosamente studiano d' annullare et abbassare le già ottenute gratie*"). Yet sovereigns earnestly endeavored to remain on good terms with them, because it was believed that the obedience of the people was founded on religion.

4. Temporal power.—He finds that the population of the Ecclesiastical States is still very prone to war; "most ready, in all factions, troubles, or battles, for the assault of an enemy, and all other military proceedings." The papal forces were, nevertheless, in utter ruin. There had formerly been 650 light cavalry kept against the bandits; but when these were put down, they had sent this body of cavalry to the Hungarian war, without raising any other in its place.

5. Form of government, absolute.—The cardinal-nephew, the datary, and Lanfranco had some influence; otherwise the cardinals were only consulted when the Pope desired to hear their opinions; and even when his holiness did consult them, they replied rather according to his wishes than their own views. "If he ask advice, there is no one who dares utter a word except in applause and commendation, so that everything is determined by the prudence of the Pope." And this was in fact the best thing to be done, because the factions of the court had turned all opinion into mere party spirit.

6. Relation to Spain and France.—The Pope endeavored to maintain a neutral position. "When anyone dependent on the Spaniards commenced a discussion as to the validity or invalidity of the Queen's marriage, he has evinced a determination to defend the motives and cause of the Queen. The few good Frenchmen in the Kingdom of France itself have not failed to prove that they were ready to take arms, provided they had received any favor from the Pope or the King of Spain.

"The King of Spain is more respected by the Court of Rome than any other sovereign. Cardinals and princes rejoice when they can have pensions from him, and be placed among his dependents. The Pope was formerly pensioned by him; and as a favored subject of his Majesty, was aided in his elevation to the papacy by singular and unparalleled benefits. He takes care to satisfy the Duke of Lerma, to the end that this latter may serve as the principal instrument of his purposes with his Catholic Majesty."

7. His Council: Temporizing and frequently dissembling with the pontiffs.—"When victors, they use their victory after their own fashion; when vanquished they accede to any condition imposed on them."

No. 82

Relatione della nunziatura de' Suizzeri. Informationi Politt. tom. ix. *fol.* 1-137. [Report from the Swiss nunciature, etc.]

Informatione mandata dal Signore Cardinale d'Aquino a Monsignor Feliciano Silva vescovo di Foligno per il paese di Suizzeri e Grisoni. Ibid. fol. 145–212. [Information from the Cardinal of Aquino to the bishop of Foligno in relation to Switzerland and the Grisons, etc.]

In Lebret's "Magazin zum Gebrauch der Staaten- und Kirchengeschichte," bd. vii. p. 445, will be found extracts from the letters sent by the Roman Court to the nuncios in Switzerland in the years 1609 and 1614. They cannot be called very interesting, standing alone as they do, without replies or reports that might illustrate their meaning: they are not even intelligible.

The first of these nuncios was the Bishop of Venafro, the same whose report in relation to Switzerland has been cited by Haller ("Bibliothek der Schweizergeschichte," bd. v. nr. 783). "The papal nuncio," he remarks, "Lad. Gr. of Aquino, Bishop of Venafro, has given proof of his discernment and ability in this work, which well deserves to be printed." Haller made a copy from it in Paris with his own hand, and this he deposited in the Library of Zurich.

The report he has eulogized is that now before us; but we have it in a more complete form than that in which it was known to Haller.

When the Bishop of Venafro resigned the nunciature, which he had administered from 1608 to 1612, he not only communicated to his successor, the Bishop of Foligno, the instruction that he had received from Cardinal Borghese, but presented him also with a circumstantial account of the mode in which he had acted upon that instruction and had himself proceeded in his office. "*Di quanto si è eseguito sono al giorno d' hoggi nelli, negotii in essa raccommandatimi.*" This is the second of the manuscripts now before us. It begins with a description of the internal dissensions of Switzerland.

"And following the same order as that observed in the above-named Instruction, I proceed to say that for many years past there has been a great change going on in the Catholic cantons, more particularly in the good understanding and concord that formerly existed between them: for nowadays, not only are they divided by the Spanish and French factions, and by the pensions, but also by other interests, emoluments, and rivalries, so that there is now so little friendship among them that many grave evils may result from this state of things unless there be presently applied some special remedy. A particular diet is required for this, and should be held, to the sole end that it might renew the ancient leagues of friendship, brotherhood, and affection—a thing which I have often proposed with great applause, although I have never yet been able to bring it to an effectual end. Altorf is the ancient rival of Lucerne, and carries with it the other two cantons of Schwytz and Unterwalden, beholding very unwillingly the pre-eminence and first place taken by the nobles of Lucerne; for which reason it frequently opposes them in public affairs for no better reason than mere rivalry and want of understanding. Lucerne leads with it Friburg, Solothurn, and even Zug, thus making another party. Zug is divided within itself, there being very serious disputes between the townspeople and the peasantry: these last, also, desiring to be known

as masters. Thus in every Catholic canton there are many dissensions, both public and private, to the prejudice of the deliberations, and at the hazard of much greater evils, if there be not some remedy applied, which I am laboring to do with the utmost diligence."

At the same time that he sends this information, the nuncio promises a still more circumstantial account. "*Fra pochi giorni spero di mandarle copia d' una piena e più diffusa relatione di tutti li negotii della nuntiatura.*"

This is the first-named manuscript, and that known to Haller.

In this document the nuncio proceeds somewhat methodically to work. Chapter 1.—"Della grandezza della nuntiatura." He first describes the extent of the nunciature, which he declares to be as large as the kingdom of Naples, and including, moreover, inhabitants using the most varied tongues. Among these he does not forget to mention the Romance language, "a most preposterous speech, made up of eight or ten dialects."

2. "Of the ambassadors of princes residing among the Swiss, and of their views."

3. "Of the Diet, and of the time and place of the Swiss convocations."

4. "Of the passes that are in the Swiss nunciature." For the passes were precisely the principal object of contention between the various powers.

5. "Of the spiritual state of the Swiss nunciature." The most important, and, as was requisite, the most circumstantial chapter, pp. 28–104: and in this an account is given of various dioceses, and also a report concerning the abbeys.

6. "Office of the nuncio established to aid the spiritual power, and of the best and most effectual modes for doing so."

7. "Of what the nuncio should do to give satisfaction in regard to the temporal affairs of his nunciature."

The care with which all the more important points were discriminated and gone through will be at once perceived. The execution proves the writer's knowledge, no less of past times than those present: it shows zeal, ability, and discernment. The report, as might be expected, repeats the greater part of what was contained in the Instruction.

Yet our nuncio did not think even this sufficient. He adds to the report a "summary of what the Bishop of Venafro has done in execution of the directions given him on leaving Rome," which he had prepared on another occasion, and which must have been almost identical with the "Information." He remarks this himself, yet he appends the little document, nevertheless. In the copies afterward taken, it was, without doubt, and very properly, omitted.

Instead of this paper there follows an "Appendice de' Grisoni e de' Vallesani," no less remarkable than the preceding.

"E questo," the writer at length concludes his voluminous work. "And this is the short summary promised by me of the state of the Swiss nunciature, and of the districts depending on it. Thanks be to God. Amen."

But he still thought that he had given only a brief outline of such things as were best worth noting; so little is it possible to represent the world in words.

I have used the notices here found only so far as they were subservient to my own purpose (see vol. ii. pp. 178, 182); the publication of the remainder must be left to the industry of the Swiss.*

* A translation of this report has in fact appeared since this was written. See "Taschenbuch für Geschichte und Alterhümer in Süddeutschland," 1840, p. 280; 1841, p. 289; 1844, p. 29.

No. 83

Instruttione data a Monsignor Diotallevi, vescovo di S. Andelo, destinato dalla Santità di Nostro Signore Papa Paolo V. nuntio al re di Polonia, 1614. [Instruction to the bishop of St. Andelo, nuncio from Pope Paul V to the king of Poland.]

A general recommendation to promote the Catholic religion, the introduction of the decrees of the Council of Trent, and the appointment of tried Catholics to public employments, and never to endure anything that can result to the advantage of the Protestants.

There are traces, nevertheless, of a certain misunderstanding.

The Pope had refused to nominate the Bishop of Reggio cardinal, as the King had requested. The nuncio was directed to take measures for pacifying the King on that subject.

He is particularly enjoined never to promise money.

"For either because they do not perceive, or do not understand, the excessive embarrassments of the Apostolic See. Foreign princes, more especially those north of the Alps, are very ready to seek assistance, and if the least hope were given them, they would then consider themselves greatly offended if they should afterward be deprived of such hope."

Respecting the latter years of Paul V, we find but few ecclesiastical documents; we will therefore employ the space thus left by examining some others which refer to the administration of the State during that period.

No. 84

Informatione di Bologna di 1595. *Ambrosian Library of Milan. F.D.* 181.

The position and constitution of Bologna, with the sort of independence it maintained, were so remarkable and important that papers and documents relating to this city, though only a provincial one, were readily included in the collections.

In volume 22 of the "Informationi," we find a great mass of letters of the year 1580, addressed to Monsignor Cesi, legate of Bologna, and which relate to his administration.

They are almost all recommendations, chiefly intercessions.

The Grand Duke and Grand Duchess of Tuscany intercede for Count Ercole Bentivoglio, whose crops had been sequestered. After a short time the Grand Duchess expresses her acknowledgments for the compliance granted to her request. The Duke of Ferrara recommends an actress of the name of Victoria; the Cardinal San Sisto, certain turbulent students of the University: "We, too," he remarks, "have been scholars." Giacomo Buoncompagno, son of the Pope, begs favor for a professor who had been deprived of his office; the cardinal of Como, who had at that time the chief management of affairs, for certain monks who had been disturbed in their privileges, but he does not use the tone of one who may command. There are, besides, petitions of a different character. A father, whose son had been murdered, entreats most urgently—nay, imploringly—that justice shall be done upon the murderer, who was already imprisoned in Bologna.

It was principally as regarded the administration of justice that

the influence of the governor was available. In all other matters the city was exceedingly independent.

"The Senators confer with the superior on all important affairs; and having all the customs and revenues of the city in their hands, excepting the duty on salt and wine, which belongs to the Pope, they dispose of the public moneys, controlled by an audit, which is made in the presence of the superior, and by a mandate, bearing his sign manual, with that of the *gonfaloniere:* it is signed also by the special officers appointed for each branch of revenue. They have the regulation of the taxes and imposts laid on the peasantry, whether real or personal, the tax on oxen and the capitation-tax; they have the care of the imposts paid by the rural districts, of the walls, gates, and enclosures; they see that the number of soldiers is kept up in each district, take care that no encroachments are made on the public rights, and that the beauty of the city is preserved; they regulate the proceedings of the silk-market; they elect every month for the civil tribunal (*ruota civile*) four foreign doctors, who must be doctors of at least ten years' standing, and these take cognizance of and decide all civil causes."

The question next arising is, to what extent the representatives of the government retained its influence in this state of things. It was manifestly, as we have said, principally in judicial affairs. "An auditor-general is joined with the *ruota* in the hearing of causes, and there is another special auditor for such causes as the auditor-general summons before his own tribunal; moreover, there is a judge of criminal cases called 'auditor of the great tower' of such place as he resides in; which last official has two sub-auditors as assistants, and all these functionaries are paid by the public."

There next follow certain statistical accounts. "The extent of country is about 180 miles: it sows about 120,000 bushels of corn, and gathers, one year with another, from 550,000 to 660,000 bushels. It has 130,000 inhabitants (the city 70,000—before the famine it contained more than 90,000); hearths, 16,000; consumption, 200,000 bushels of corn (the bushel containing 160 lbs.); 60,000 measures (costolate) of wine; 18,000 bushels of salt; 17,000 lbs. of oil: there are killed 8,000 oxen, 10,000 calves, 13,000 pigs, 8,000 sheep, 6,000 lambs; and 400,000 lbs. of candles are burned. . . . It is computed that one year with another there die in the city 3,000 persons, and 4,000 are born: there are 500 marriages, and from 60 to 70 take conventual vows; there are born to the poor 300 illegitimate male children in the year. There are 400 coaches and other carriages: 600,000 lbs. of silk cocoons are annually brought to the city, of which 100,000 lbs. are yearly wrought for the use of the city."

No. 85

Instruttione per un legato di Bologna. Vallic.

Of a somewhat later period we remark the following counsels:

"*Invigliare sopra gli avvocati cavillosi et in particolare quelli che pigliano a proteggere a torto i villani contro li cittadini e gentilhuomini, . . . accarezzare in apparenza tutti li magistrati, non conculcare i nobili.*" (To keep special watch over the cavilling lawyers, and more particularly over such of them as take upon them wrongfully to protect the people of the rural districts against the citizens and gentlemen, . . . to make a pretence of caressing all magistrates, and not to be too hard upon the nobles.) The crying evil of the outlaws had risen to such a point, that some of them were to be found even among the matriculated students.

Other papers take us into the Campagna di Roma; they show us how the unfortunate peasant was harassed, what the barons received, and how the land was cultivated.

No. 86

Dichiaratione di tutto quello che pagano i vassalli de baroni Romani al papa e aggravj che pagano ad essi baroni. [Declaration of all that the vassals of the Roman barons pay to the popes, and of the imposts they pay to the barons themselves.]

"1. The different payments made by the vassals of the Roman barons to the Pope.—They pay the salt tax; they pay a quattrino on every pound of meat; they pay the tax imposed by Sixtus V for the support of the galleys; they pay the triennial subsidies; they pay for the dead horses, that is for the quartering of cavalry; they pay a certain tax called soldiers' money; they pay an impost called the *archivio;* they pay another called the tax of St. Felix; they pay the pint-tax, imposed by Sixtus V; and they also pay a certain impost called the *sale forastico.*

"2. Payments that are made by those same vassals to the barons.—They pay further to the barons, where there are mills, so much corn, and this is a heavy sum. They pay a fixed portion of wine, and the same of oil, where it is made; they pay for sending the swine into the chestnut and oak woods after the produce is gathered in, and this they call *ruspare;* they pay a tax on taverns; they pay on chandlers' or provision shops; they pay bakers' tax, and the tax on glass-makers; those who go to glean when the grain is cut also pay; they pay for their cattle going to pasture; they pay a fixed portion of their corn and oats. All these burdens amount, as may be seen by the revenues of Duke Altemps, to 2,803 scudi, which includes the mulctures taken from the vassals at the mill when their corn is ground. This sum is drawn from the vassals of Montecapuri(?), of the Duchy of Altemps, who count from 180 to 190 hearths; and this is given as an example from which a moderately accurate idea may be formed of the manner in which the vassals belonging to Roman barons of the Ecclesiastical States are burthened: and let it be observed that herein is not included what is paid to the treasury."

No. 87

Nota della entrata di molti signori e duchi Romani. [Note of the revenues of many Roman nobles and dukes.]

This document, like the preceding, belongs, without doubt, to the times of Clement VIII, who is simply called the Pope.

The Colonna family are distinguished by having vassals; other families possessed more allodial property. The revenues of the Contestabile Colonna are computed at 25,000 scudi, those of Martio Colonna of Zagarolo at 23,000.

We have seen how the public system of debt was imitated by the barons. The Sermoneta family, about the year 1,600, had an income of 27,000 scudi, but they had 300,000 scudi of debt. The Duke of Castel Gandolfo had 14,600 scudi revenue, with a debt of 360,000 scudi. The house of Montalto surpassed all others; its debts were to the amount

of 600,000 scudi. The collective revenues of the Roman barons were estimated at 271,747 scudi, and their domains were valued at 9,000,000 of gold.

The author considers these estates to be by no means neglected.

"These lands, contrary to the common opinion and to what I myself believed, are managed with the utmost care and diligence, being ploughed four, six, or even seven times, and cleared from weeds twice or thrice—one of these weedings being in the winter. The weeds are taken up by hand, the land is cropped in rotations of four years, grain is sown in the fallows two years out of the four: where none is sown, the cattle are put in. The ears of corn are cut high, so that much straw remains: this is afterward burned, which makes the ground productive. The ploughs used for these lands do not generally go very deep, because the greater part of them have no great depth of soil, and they very soon reach the subsoil. The country is all cultivated by day laborers; reaped, sown, and weeded: all the labor it requires, in short, is done by strangers, and the people who work in the said Campagna are supported by the profits arising from their breed of horses. The country, good and bad lands taken together, and counting one year with another, may be said to yield six for one; but it must be observed that in many instances these nobles do not themselves cultivate the lands around their castles, but let them to their vassals for such terms as shall be agreed on; and this may suffice to say of the Campagna of Rome. The average rent of this land is of 50 giulj the rubbio: thus, to render it fertile, the land will cost 100 scudi and 10 giulj the rubbio."

There were computed to be at that time 79,504 rubbio in the Campagna, the collective product of which was 318,016 scudi yearly, four scudi the rubbio. Of this there belonged to the barons something more than 21,000; to religious institutions nearly 23,000; above 4,000 to foreigners, and 31,000 to the rest of the Roman people. At a later period this proportion was altered, because the Roman citizens sold so much of their part.

But let us proceed to more general relations.

No. 88

Per sollevare la camera apostolica. Discorso di Monsignor Malvasia. 1606. [Method of relieving the Apostolic treasury, by Mons. Malvasia.]

In despite of the heavy imposts, it was observed with alarm that the papal government possessed nothing. "The interest," exclaims our author, "consumes nearly the whole revenue." The meeting of the current expenses is a matter of continual difficulty, and if any extraordinary demand arises, the government knows not which way to turn. The imposition of new taxes would not be possible, and new retrenchments are not even advisable. "*Magnum vectigal parsimonia*" (parsimony is a great burden)—nothing remains but to reduce the rate of interest, and at the same time to take money from the castle. Instead of the numerous *monti*, with their varying rates of interest, there should be but one, a *monte papale* at four, or at the highest, five per cent. All the rest ought to be bought in, and the Government would be fully justified in redeeming them at the nominal value of the *luogo*, this right having usually been reserved to itself by the Apostolic See. Former popes, as, for example, Paul

IV, had been obliged to sell at 50 per cent. Clement VIII himself had received only 96½. The author next proceeds to show how far this method is practicable.

"It will then be seen that, taking into account the extreme abundance of money now in the market of Rome, with the addition made to it by the million drawn from the castle, and considering the difficulty and danger of sending money and gold abroad, because of the aforesaid prohibition (which he had proposed), it will be seen that the greater part of those whose *monti* and offices are extinguished will gladly enter this *monte papale;* and those who shall prefer to have their money in cash may be paid from the aforesaid million, and from the price of the *monte papale* which will be in course of sale. It may also be taken into the account that of the *monti non vacabili* a great part are bound and engaged to a reinvestment for the security of reserved dowries of pious institutions, and other claims: these will necessarily be transferred to the *monte papale,* and the holders will be in no haste to receive the money, for which they must have to seek another investment, as the fulfilment and satisfaction of the conditions and obligations to which they are subjected; so that thus also this affair will be greatly promoted and facilitated.

"The *Camera* may further take to itself all the *monti* of corporate bodies as well as of individuals, and reduce them as above, enjoying the overplus until they shall be extinguished by the said corporate bodies or individuals.

"All those who shall be willing to change their other *monti* and offices for the said *monte papale,* should have their patents made out for the first time without any expense whatever.

"In this manner your holiness may, in a short time, relieve and liberate the see and the apostolic treasury from these heavy debts and burdens; for, from the gains that will result from the aforesaid extinction and reduction of privileges and interests, which, according to the calculation given to your holiness by your commissioner of the treasury, amounts, the interest being reduced to five per cent., to at least 431,805 scudi per annum, there may be annually extinguished 331,805 scudi of debt, besides the 100,000 scudi which shall be assigned for the restoration to the castle of the million drawn out of it to make up the amount of the third million deficient."

It will suffice here to remark the earnest attention that now began to be given to the securing an orderly system of finance. It will not be necessary to produce the calculations. The Roman Court did not adopt any proposal of this kind, but continued to follow the more easy and convenient methods.

No. 89

Nota di danari, officii e mobili donati da Papa Paolo V. a suoi parenti e concessioni fatteli. [Note of the moneys, offices, and valuables bestowed by Pope Paul V on his relations, and of the grants conferred upon them.]

The Pope had been advised to call in the offices and *monti* bearing interest. We have here—1. "Note of the offices conferred on M. Antonio Borghese during the pontificate of Paul V of happy memory." There are in the whole 120 offices, the value of which is computed according to the ordinary market price. 2. "Nota di molte donationi di monti fatte alli Signori Francesco Gioan Battista e M. A. Borghese de

Paolo V., con le giustificationi in margne di qualsivoglia partito." Extracts are given from the official books, that is to say, in which these parts are entered. Under similar lists we find an account of the sums bestowed on them in hard cash, as well as other valuables, and also of the privileges and immunities conferred on them. The vouchers are appended in the following manner: "In the book of the secret treasury by Alessandro Ruspoli, fol. 17, and in two shorter ones—one under date of the 26th of January, 1608, and the other of the 11th of March, registered in the first book of the signatures of Paul V, in the acts of Felix de Tolis, fols. 116 and 131.—On the 23d of December, 1605, 36,000 golden scudi were given to Signor G. B. Borghese to pay for the palace, the remainder to be employed on its buildings, which 36,000 golden scudi proceed from the price paid for his nomination by Monsignor Centurioni, and being reduced to 24 rate of exchange, at 13 giulios to the scudo, make 46,800 scudi."

I have already shown to what extraordinary sums these donations amounted, and what was the influence exercised by the advancement of the papal families on the capital and the provinces.

No. 90

Relatione dello Stato Ecclesiastico dove si contengono molti particolari degni di considerationе, 1611. *Inform. Politt.* xi. *ff.* 1-27. [Report of the Ecclesiastical State, wherein are contained many particulars worthy of consideration, etc.]

We are told in the very beginning that the author was asked for this report in the morning, and that now in the evening of the same day he was sending it in.

It would be truly wonderful if he could have found means to dictate so circumstantial a report, and which is by no means ill arranged, and presents much that is remarkable, in a few hours. We here, for example, find the admission that in many parts of Italy the number of inhabitants was declining, either by pestilence and famine, the murders committed by banditti, or the overwhelming burden of the taxes, which rendered it impossible any longer to marry at the proper age and to rear a family of children. The very life-blood of the people was wrung from them by the taxes, while their spirits were paralyzed and crushed by the endless restrictions on trade.

At one point the anonymous author betrays himself. He remarks that he had written a book, "Ragione di Stato" ["Philosophy of Government"]. He says somewhere, "Ho diffusamente trattato nella 'Ragione di Stato.'" [I have treated of this at large in the "Philosophy of Government"].

By this we obtain a clew to the writer. In the year 1589 there appeared at Venice a book thus entitled—"Della ragion di stato libri X con tre libri delle cause della grandezza delle città." It is dedicated to that Wolf Dietrich von Raittenau, Archbishop of Salzburg, who was the first of the German princes to introduce a more rigid administration of government, modelled on that of Italy. Its author is the well-known Giovanni Botero, whose "Relationi universali" enjoyed in their day an almost universal circulation.

It is manifest that these "Relationi" must now be examined to see if they do not also include the one before us.

In what is properly to be called the main work, that wherein the Ecclesiastical State is mentioned in a summary manner, it is not to

be found; but there is a smaller book which is frequently appended to the former: "Relationi del signor Giov. Botero Benese, . . . di Spagna, dello stato della chiesa, del Piamonte, della contea di Nizza dell' isola Taprobana," of which the dedication is dated 1611. Here, then, we find our report word for word.

The introduction alone is different. The "Relation" bears the title "A discourse respecting the state of the Church, taken from that part of the office of a cardinal which is not printed." It belonged, as we perceive, to a work on the duties of cardinals.

I leave it to the decision of the reader, whether the most credulous would be misled by the above-named introduction.

No. 91

Tarqu. Pitaro sopra la negotiatione maritima. 17 Ott. 1612. Vallic. [Pitaro on foreign trade. Oct. 1612.]

Among other counsels, Botero recommends that of encouraging the trade of the States of the Church. There was, in fact, at that time a plan for excavating a new harbor for the city of Fano. It was expected that the commerce of the towns of Urbino would be attracted to the new port.

But our author opposes this plan with the most convincing reasons. He thinks that the projectors might read their own fate in the example of Ancona, which he declares, as did the Venetians shortly after, to have fallen into extreme decay: "The foreign merchants have left the city; the native traders are bankrupt; the gentry are impoverished, the artisans ruined, and the populace almost dispersed." To build a harbor with borrowed money was more likely to ruin Fano altogether than to promote its welfare—as had happened to Ascoli, which had raised a considerable loan to bring its Maremma into a state of cultivation, but had by no means succeeded in doing so.

It was, in fact, not advisable, for other causes, to make this attempt, since the towns of Urbino must in every case very soon lapse to Rome.

No. 92

Relatione della Romagna. Alt. [Report on Romagna.] Altieri Library.

About the year 1615: 1612 is expressly mentioned, but it is of great importance for the whole period from the pontificate of Julius III. The parties that divided the province are described. The transfer of estates, as consequent more particularly on the advancement of the papal families, is very clearly explained. I have frequently used this work, but will give place here to a remark in relation to San Marino, which in those early times gradually raised itself to freedom by progressive exemptions.

"The republic of San Marino is presumed to be free, except in so far as it is recommended to the Duke of Urbino. In 1612 it was proposed and carried in the Council, that on the failure of the heir of Rovere, the republic should declare itself under the protection of the Apostolic See; from which San Marino thereby obtained certain privileges, and particularly that of drawing corn and provisions from the Roman States. This territory, with two other domains annexed to it,

comprises about 700 hearths. It is situated among mountains, is a fortified town, and the gates are guarded by soldiers of its own. The inhabitants have the free administration of justice and grace. They elect their principal magistrates for the time being among themselves, and these are called conservators, and receive from the people of San Marino the title of most illustrious. In case of any serious offence, it is their habit to procure foreign officials for the conduct of the proceedings, having recourse in particular to the Ministers of his Highness the Duke of Urbino, on whom they confer such authority as they deem fitting. The State is poor, not having so much as 500 scudi of revenue; but some of the inhabitants are in easy circumstances, and others rich, the small extent of the country considered. They are wont to hire banditti of all kinds, but as scandals sometimes arise from this, they have decreed that banditti shall not be hired except on certain conditions; yet it is not easy to procure safe-conduct from them."

No. 93

Parole universali dello governo ecclesiastico, per far una greggia et un pastore. Secreto al papa solo. Informatt. xxiv. *26 leaves.* [Universal words of ecclesiastical government for making one flock and one shepherd, etc.]

In despite of the condition of the country, which was gradually becoming so manifestly worse, there were yet people who entertained the boldest designs.

But more extraordinary or more extravagant proposals were perhaps never brought forward than those made by Tomas Campanella in the little work before us.

For there cannot be a doubt that this unlucky philosopher, who fell under the suspicion of intending to wrest Calabria from the Spanish monarchy, and to have taken part in the extravagant plans of the Duke of Ossuna, was the veritable author of this work. "Questo è il compendio," he says. "This a summary of the book entitled the 'Ecclesiastical Government,' which remained in the hands of Don Lelio Orsino; and I, the author, have a copy of it in Stilo, my native place."

To this he adds, "These and much more are explained in the 'Monarchy of Messiah.'" Campanella was from Stilo: this "Monarchia Messiæ" was his work. We cannot doubt that he either composed or revised that now before us.

We may leave the date undetermined. He was probably accompanied through his whole life by notions of this kind.

He remarks that the Pope had very warlike subjects. "The people of Romagna and the March are naturally inclined to arms: thus they serve the Venetians, French, Tuscans, and Spaniards, because the Pope is not a warrior." But he advises the Pope also to become warlike. There was still the material for Ciceros, Brutuses, and Catos. Nature was not wanting; art only was deficient.

He thinks that the Pope ought to raise two armies; the one of St. Peter for the sea, the other of St. Paul for the land, somewhat after the manner of the Janissaries. Never had an armed religion been vanquished, especially when it was well preached.

For he does not in any wise leave that out of his reckoning. He recommends that the most able men should be selected from all the orders, who shall be freed from their monastic duties, and permitted to devote themselves to the sciences.

Law, medicine, and the liberal arts should be studied in the monasteries, as well as theology. The people should be preached to of the golden age, when there should be one shepherd and one fold—of the blessedness of liberated Jerusalem, and of patriarchal innocence. The longings of the people after these things should be awakened.

But when would so happy a state of things commence? "Then," he replies, "when all temporal sovereignties shall be put an end to, and the vicar of Christ shall rule over the whole earth." "There shall be in the world one flock and one pastor, and the age of gold sung by the poets shall be realized, with the perfect republic described by philosophers, the state of innocence of the patriarchs, and the felicity of Jerusalem delivered from the hands of heretics and infidels. And this shall take place when all mundane principalities being set aside, the vicar of Christ alone shall reign supreme throughout the world."

There should be set forth, as he advises, the doctrine that the Pope is lord in temporal as well as spiritual things—a priest such as Abimelech, not such as Aaron.

Such opinions were still entertained toward the close of the sixteenth century, or—for I will not attempt to determine the precise period—in the first ten years of the seventeenth century. We already know the extraordinary progress being made at that time by the Romish power. Before I return to the documents touching that period and progress, let me be permitted to add yet a word with respect to the historians of the Jesuits, who were then at the height of their influence.

INTERCALATION

Remarks on certain Historians of the Jesuit Order

Self-esteem and leisure gradually led the greater part of the religious orders to narrate their own histories in very circumstantial detail.

But no one of them all has done this so systematically as the Jesuits. It was their full determination to give to the world a connected and comprehensive history of their exertions, prepared by their own hands.

And, in fact, the "Historia Societatis Jesu," known under the name of Orlandinus, and of those who continued his book, is a work of the highest importance for the history of the order—nay, we may even say for that of the century also.

Nicolaus Orlandinus, a native of Florence, had for some time presided over the college of Nola and the novices of Naples, when, in 1598, he was summoned by Acquaviva to Rome, and appointed historian of the order. In his style of writing, as well as in the business of life, he was exceedingly careful, accurate, and wary, but very infirm. It was with difficulty that he brought down his work to the death of Ignatius. He died in 1606.

His successor in this occupation was Franciscus Sacchinus, from the territory of Perugia, who is, upon the whole, the most distinguished of the Jesuit historians. He was the son of a peasant; his father occasionally visited him in the Collegium Romanum, where he taught rhetoric, and it is recorded to his honor that he was not ashamed of his origin. On his appointment, he devoted himself to the composition of his history, at which he labored during eighteen years in the house of probation on the Quirinal at Rome, and very rarely quitted his residence. Yet he passed his life none the less in contemplation of the great interests of the world. The restoration of Catholicism was still making the greatest progress. What can be more inviting

for the historian than to describe the first beginnings of an event, of which the development and effects are passing in their living reality beneath his eyes? Sacchinus was fully impressed with the characteristic peculiarity of his subject—the universal conflict fought out in the enthusiasm of orthodoxy. "I describe wars," he says, "not of the nations with each other, but of the human race with the monsters and the powers of hell; wars not merely affecting single provinces, but embracing all lands and every sea; wars, in fine, wherein not earthly power, but the heavenly kingdom is the prize of battle." In this spirit of Jesuitical enthusiasm he has described the administration of Lainez, 1556–1564, that of Borgia to 1572, and of Everardus Mercurianus to 1580, each in one volume containing eight books, with the first ten years of Acquaviva's government in the same number of books. These form four tolerably thick and closely printed folio volumes; he nevertheless excuses himself for being so brief. Nor can he indeed be accused of proxility, or of falling into tediousness. He is, as a matter of course, partial—partial in the highest degree; he passes over whatever does not please him: from the materials before him he frequently takes only what is honorable to the society, and so forth. But notwithstanding this, there is much to be learned from his books. I have compared him here and there with his authorities—with the "Litteræ Annuæ," for example, so far as they are printed and were accessible; for books of this kind are very rare in these parts, and I have been compelled to apply to the libraries of Breslau and Göttingen for aid. In every instance I have found his extracts to be made with judgment and propriety—nay, even with spirit and talent. But while occupied with this work, Sacchini had acquired so extensive and accurate an acquaintance with the affairs of the society that he was called to take part in them by the general Mutio Vitelleschi himself. It were to be desired for our sakes that this had not happened; for Sacchini would then have completed the history of Acquaviva's administration, and one of the most important epochs would have been more clearly illustrated than was the case at a later period. Sacchini died in 1625. Even his last volume was brought to a close, and published by Petrus Possinus.

But as time passed, so also did enthusiasm diminish. The "Imago primi Sæculi," in the year 1640, had already declined in richness of contents, was more credulous of miracles, more common-place. It was not until 1710 that there appeared a continuation of Sacchini by Jouvency, comprising the last fifteen years of Acquaviva's rule. Jouvency also has undeniable talent; he narrates in a perspicuous and flowing manner, though not without pretension. But the misfortune is that he took the word "Historia" much too literally, and would not write annals as Sacchini had done. Thus he distributed the materials that lay before him, arranging them under different heads. "The society agitated by internal commotions—the society disturbed and tossed by external troubles—oppressed in England—assailed—increased, etc." It resulted from this that he did not give due attention to that which was, without doubt, the most important point—the renewed exension of Catholicism in Protestant countries. The method of annals was, besides, much more suitable to a subject such as this. With all his historical labors, Jouvency has produced nothing but fragments.

Neither did he obtain much applause for his work. The order even entertained the purpose at one time of causing the whole period to be rewritten after the manner of Sacchinus. Julius Cordara, who continued the history from 1616 to 1625, confined himself closely to that model. But the spirit of earlier times was irrecoverably lost. The volume of

Cordara is very useful, but is not to be compared in freedom of power with his earlier predecessors, or even with Jouvency. It appeared in 1750. After that time the society had to struggle too hard for its very existence to have leisure for thinking of a continuation to its history. What has since then been to relate would, besides, have made a much less magnificent display.

In addition to this general history, there are, as is well known, very many provincial histories of the order. These have, for the most part, the general history as their basis; they are, indeed, often directly copied from it. We remark this most strikingly in Socher, "Historia provinciæ Austriæ," where Sacchinus is copied even to particular terms of expression. The *pudet referre* of the original, for example, is reproduced as *pudet sane referre* by Socher. (Sacchin. iv. vi. 78; Socher, vi. No. 33.)

But I will not suffer myself to enter on a criticism of these authors; the field is much too wide; it is, besides, certain that they are not likely to mislead in the present day, when they receive too little credit, rather than too much. I will take leave to make one observation only on the history of Ignatius Loyola himself.

If we compare Orlandinus with the other two more important historians of Ignatius Loyola, we are at once struck by the fact that he agrees much more exactly with the one, Maffei—"De vita et moribus D. Ignatii Loiolæ"—than with the other, Pietro Ribadeneira. The manner of this agreement is also remarkable. Maffei's book appeared as early as 1585; that of Orlandinus was not produced until fifteen years later, and from the close resemblance between the two, Maffei might very well appear to have served as a model for the other. Maffei is, nevertheless, more elaborate and artificial in his manner throughout; Orlandinus is more natural, more simple, and has more force in description. The enigma is solved when we discover that both drew from the same source—the notes of Polancus. Maffei does not name him; but a special treatise by Sacchinus, "Cujus sit auctoritatis quod in B. Cajetani vita de B. Ignatio traditur," which is to be found in the later editions of Orlandinus, informs us that Everardus Mercurianus had laid the manuscripts of Polancus before him. From that same Polancus, Orlandinus also afterward drew the principal part of his work; no wonder, therefore, that they agree. But we have the original memoranda in a more genuine form in Orlandinus than in Maffei: the first is more diligent, more circumstantial, and better authenticated by documentary evidence; the latter seeks his renown in historical ornaments and correct Latinity.

But whence proceed the variations of Ribadeneira? He drew principally from a different manuscript authority—the memoranda of Ludovicus Consalvus.

Consalvus, as well as Polancus, derived his information from the oral communications of Ignatius himself; but we can perceive thus much, that Polancus gathered more of the accidental and occasional expressions of the general, while Consalvus knew how to lead him at once into a circumstantial narrative; as, for example, in relation to his first spiritual call.

From this it results that we have here to distinguish a double tradition: the one, that of Polancus, repeated by Maffei and Orlandino; the other, that of Consalvus, repeated by Ribadeneira.

By far the most remarkable is that of Consalvus: he has given, so far as can be supposed possible, an account really delivered by Ignatius himself.

But in this, as in all other traditions, we very soon become aware

of an amplification of the simple material. This was commenced even by Ribadeneira. He takes the narration of the eight days' ecstasy, for example, which Ignatius had in Manresa, and from which he was awakened by the word "Jesus," out of the relations of the lady Isabella Rosel of Barcelona. "Examen Ribadeneiræ in comment. præv. AA. SS. Julii, t. vii. p. 590."

But his readers were far from being satisfied with him. Of many among the miracles already commonly believed, he took no notice, "I know not by what idea Ribadeneira was influenced, that he should pass over so many miracles of this kind." It was on account of these very omissions that Polancus commenced his collection, and that Mercurianus caused his work to be elaborated by Maffei, whence they were transferred to Orlandinus.

But even these narrations did not suffice to the wonder-craving Jesuitism of the seventeenth century. As early as the year 1606, people had gone so far as to affirm the sanctity of a cave in Manresa, which they affirmed to be the place wherein the "Exercitia Spiritualia" were composed, although neither the first nor even the second of these traditions mentions a word of this cave, and the Dominicans maintained, doubtless with perfect truth, that the cave *(spelunca)* of Ignatius was in their monastery.

The most violent dissensions between the Dominicans and Jesuits were just then in force, a motive sufficient to make the Jesuits choose another scene as that of the founding of their order.

We now return to our manuscripts respecting Gregory XV and Urban VIII.

No. 94

Relatione delli eccellentissimi Signori Hieron. Giustinian Cavaliere Procuratore, Ant. Grimani Cavaliere, Franc. Contarini Procuratore, Hieron. Soranzo Cavaliere, ambasciatori estraordinarii al sommo pontefice Gregorio XV. l' anno 1621, *il mese di Maggio.* [Report of the most excellent Signors Hieron. Giustinian, Ant. Grimani, Francesco Contarini, and Hieron. Soranzo, ambassadors extraordinary to the supreme pontiff Gregory XV, presented in May, 1621.]

Of inferior importance, as are most of the reports of this kind.

The description of the new pope and of his government could not be more than a hasty sketch, after so short a residence; a few remarks on the journey, the conclave, the origin and previous life of the newly chosen pontiff, with the first proceedings of his administration, generally form the whole material of the report.

Something more might, nevertheless, have been expected on this occasion, because the ordinary ambassador, Geronimo Soranzo, who had resided five years at the Court of Rome, made one of the four ambassadors, and prepared the report in concert with the other three.

The interests of the Venetian Senate were, however, not identical with our own; they were political, not historical. The personal character and court arrangements of a departed prince no longer awakened curiosity, and had no essential importance. Soranzo contents himself with a few remarks. "I must not neglect to relate something of those more weighty matters which I was called on to settle in so long and so important an embassy."

The point of chief moment is that Soranzo explains the position

which Venice had assumed toward the See of Rome in the affairs that had shortly before been in discussion with Spain.

"The Spaniards submitted to the consideration of his holiness the favorable opportunity now presenting itself for reviving the claims of the Church in the gulf (of Venice). The ambassador labored to show the just, ancient, and indubitable possession of the gulf; adding that the republic would have recourse to foreign aid to defend it, and would avail itself of the English and Dutch—nay, even of the Turks themselves; and that if his holiness fomented the unjust and unfair pretensions of the Spaniards, he would throw all Christendom into the utmost confusion. One day his holiness said to me: 'We consider it necessary that the affairs of the gulf should remain unaltered: the innovations that have taken place there have displeased us greatly: we have said this to whomsoever hath spoken to us of the matter.'"

We perceive that there were once more precautions required, lest another outbreak of open hostility should ensue.

Soranzo labored only to convince Paul V that the republic was not disposed to the Protestants. "I made him fully sensible of the goodness and pure zeal of the republic."

The ambassadors entertained the conviction that the new Pope would not incline to the Spaniards. The character and manner of his election seemed to justify this expectation.

"In the election of Gregory XV the operation of the Holy Spirit was made manifest. Borghese, who had the command of six votes more than were required to make the pope at his own pleasure, had resolved to have Campori elected; but three of his creatures dissenting, and other obstacles afterward arising, he was induced to nominate his creature Ludovisio; but more by the instigation of others than by his own inclination. This cardinal possessed the good-will of Aldobrandino; he was believed by the Spaniards to entertain pacific dispositions, and the French considered him to be their friend."

The papal nephew seemed also to maintain himself still unfettered. "*Mostra sinora genio alieno da Spagnoli*" (He has hitherto shown himself averse to the Spaniards), say the ambassadors.

But all this too soon underwent a change.

No. 95

Vita e fatti di Ludovico Ludovisi, di S. R. Ch. vicecanc. nepote di papa Gregorio XV., scritto da Luc. Antonio Giunti suo servitore da Urbino. Cors. 122 *leaves.* [Life and measures of Ludovico Ludovisi, vice-chancellor of the holy Roman Church, nephew of Pope Gregory XV. Written by his servant, Luc. Antonio Giunti of Urbino.]

"Ludovico, who afterward became Cardinal Ludovisi, was born in Bologna on October 27, 1595. His father was Count Oratio, of the family of Ludovisi, his mother the Countess Lavinia Albergati." He was educated in the Jesuits' College at Rome, was admitted doctor in 1615, in 1617 he accompanied his uncle on the latter being sent nuncio to Bologna, and in 1619 he entered on the career of the prelacy: on the day after the coronation of his uncle, February 16, 1621, he was nominated cardinal, and thence obtained that eminent position in the world, which we have already described.

"I will give a certain idea of such things as were partly proposed by him, and brought about by his agency, or at the least promoted by his efforts during the pontificate of his uncle Gregory."

1. Traits of character.—"He heard all that was said with a more than common coolness. The ambassadors could never have enough of transacting business with him: he gave himself to all, that all might give themselves to him. He did justice and showed mercy at the same time, without passion or duplicity."

2. Promotions.—He appointed the cardinals who had promoted the election of his uncle, to different legations: Orsino to Romagna, Pio to the March (of Ancona), Ubaldini to Bologna, and Capponi he made Archbishop of Ravenna. Thus their good services were rewarded. Nuncios were despatched to all the courts: Massimi to Tuscany, Pamfili to Naples, Corsini to France, Sangro to Spain, Caraffa to the Emperor, Montorio to Cologne. Aldobrandino served as general, Pino as paymaster in Germany. The greater part of the Instructions furnished to those nuncios is still extant. The following account of the manner in which these documents were prepared is thus rendered all the more interesting. "Although they were drawn up by Monsignore Agucchia, a prelate of Bologna, yet the cardinal gave particular attention to them himself, by adding notes on the chief points, and making memoranda of the motives, intentions, and opinions of his holiness, together with such counsels and remedies as were suggested by his own foresight and knowledge." We perceive, then, that the essential parts were supplied by the cardinal-nephew, while Agucchia, a fellow-townsman of Ludovisi, undertook the completion.

3. Bulls relating to papal election.—The forms previously used were altered, secret scrutiny was introduced, the adoration was abolished. Giunti describes the disadvantages arising from the adoration: "It made the cardinals more diffident in the expression of their opinions; it produced and fomented serious antipathies between the excluders and the excluded; it caused the pontiff to be chosen without due deliberation, when the heads of the factions had made their inclinations manifest; it occasioned the result of the elections to depend, for the most part, on the younger cardinals." It will be readily supposed that Ludovisi had other and more secret motives for this change, but these are not here brought forward.

4. The establishment of the Propaganda; the canonization of saints. —Of these we have treated in the text.

5. The transfer of the electorate; discussion of the personal share taken by Ludovisi in that event.

6. The acquisition of the Heidelberg Library: "On account of which (the Palatine Library), Cardinal Ludovisio exerted himself greatly, seeing that he considered the being able to obtain it among the most fortunate events of his uncle's pontificate. Doctor Leon Allaccio, Greek writer in the said Vatican Library, was selected to go and receive it, and take charge of it to Rome."

7. His protection of the Capuchins, whom Ludovisio esteemed very highly, as he did, even more particularly, the Jesuits.—Vitelleschi says, that by the "special protection which God has ever extended to that society, it has come to pass that some great cardinal has always stood forward as its patron—Alessandro Farnese, Odoardo Farnese, Alessandro Orsino, and now Ludovico Ludovisi." The last-named cardinal had richly supported the Jesuit churches in Rome and Bologna from his private fortune; and, for the completion of the former, he finally bequeathed 200,000 scudi in his will. He had constantly bestowed 6,000 scudi a year toward that purpose during his lifetime. The author includes that sum in the alms he describes him to have given, and which he computes to have been exactly 32,882 scudi yearly.

8. The election of Urban VIII.—This is here ascribed to the car-

dinal: "Surmounting by his dexterity the difficulties that opposed it." His removal from Rome to his archiespicopal see of Bologna was entirely determined by himself.

9. His subsequent life.—He preached occasionally in Bologna, and it was by him that the Bolognese were induced to add Ignatius and Xavier to the number of their heavenly protectors. But the principal thing related is that he placed himself in earnest opposition to the vacillating policy of Urban VIII, in accordance with the principles by which he had himself conducted the administration. When the victories of Gustavus Adolphus in 1631 were made known to him, he offered the Spanish Court 100,000 scudi, with the proceeds of all his Spanish abbeys, of which he held ten, during such time as the war should continue. Giunti gives the letter in which Ludovisi makes this offer, which he founds on "the present necessities of Germany, and of the most august house of his Majesty, the basis and support of the Catholic religion." This offer was not accepted in Spain, but Olivarez wrote to the cardinal in reply that, although his Majesty declined his proposal, he would yet not fail to show the cardinal whatever favors he could himself desire, and which might appear to be for interested purposes, if the offer were accepted.

Of the intention attributed by a Venetian to the cardinal of calling a council against Pope Urban VIII, we do not here find any trace.

Upon the whole, indeed, this biography is written very much in the tone of an official panegyric. Although containing much useful and authentic information, and many trustworthy particulars, it refrains from all communication of a more questionable character.

The cardinal died soon after. "La cui anima," says Giunti in conclusion, "riposi in cielo." [May his soul find rest in heaven.]

No. 96

Instruttione a monsignore vescovo d' Aversa, nuntio destinato da N. Signore alla M. Cesarea di Ferdinando II. Imperatore. Roma, 12 Apr. 1621. [Instructions to the bishop of Aversa, nuncio proceeding to his imperial Majesty the Emperor Ferdinand II. Rome, April 12, 1621.]

We have seen the important effects of Caraffa's exertions: the Instruction furnished to him by Gregory XV on his proceeding to his nunciature would therefore be worthy of our attention, were it only on that account; but it becomes still more so from the fact that it reveals the views entertained at Rome after the battle of Prague.

Gregory commences by assuming that it was the purpose of the Protestants to root out the house of Austria, to wrest the empire to themselves, and then to press forward into Italy, despoiling and plundering that noblest part of the world. But God had given events a different direction; it must now be the part of man to turn this interposition to the utmost possible advantage.

He enjoins the nuncio to direct his attention to the following points:

I. Confirming the strength of the empire by means of the Catholics. —He promises aid to the Emperor, and urges that the victory should be promptly followed up.

II. The restoration of the Catholic religion.—The Pope is rejoiced at the progress it is making in Austria and Moravia. He is comforted by perceiving that in Silesia they have at least refused to tolerate the Calvinists. But he would not give his sanction to the toleration, even

of the Augsburg Confession in Hungary, although that confession certainly comes nearest to Catholicism: "The confession which, however criminal, yet departs less from the Catholic profession than many of the Catholic sects." But he is most of all anxious respecting Bohemia. For the restoration of Catholicism in that country he recommends the following measures:

1. "The foundation of a Catholic university in Prague."

2. "The re-establishment of the Catholic parish priests in the ancient parishes, and that of Catholic schoolmasters in the cities."

3. "The use of catechisms and good books for all, but for children and ignorant people (*idioti*) the ancient spiritual songs in the Bohemian tongue."

4. "Booksellers and printers should be Catholics, bookshops and printing presses of heretics should be subjected to visitation."

5. "The Jesuit fathers and other religious orders should be called into activity."

6. "The colleges for the poor should be restored to their efficiency by making over to them the alienated ecclesiastical property."

All means of instruction and education. But the nuncio is further reminded that he must oppose the appointment of Protestants to public offices. "The minds of men being more effectually moved by their own interests than by other motives, they will begin by degrees, more particularly the young, to bend their spirits to the Catholic religion; if for no other cause, yet for the sake of participation in public honors."

III. The re-establishment of the ecclesiastical tribunals.—On this subject the Pope has many complaints to make. The bishops are still reluctant to submit to the decrees of the Council of Trent; the canons pursue various corrupt practices; the chapters make a very bad use of the patronage they exercise; even the Emperor allows himself too much liberty. "The Emperor himself, under various pretences of *spolia,* rights of patronage, apostolic concessions, rights of advocacy of the imperial exchequer, and of plenary authority, retains the churches in vacancy for many succeeding years, during which time he takes their revenues for himself."

IV. Restoration of the papal authority.—The emperors appear to see with gladness that the Pope dares no longer come forward with his bulls and excommunications. The Papal Court has, moreover, lost a very large portion of the revenues in money formerly derived from Germany, and which amounted in earlier times to 200,000 scudi. Gregory will not give his approval to the proceedings with Klesel; but expresses himself with great moderation on the subject. "Non è mai piaciuto troppo quel fatto." [He was never greatly pleased with that matter.] Verospi, the auditor of the *rota,* was sent over to conduct the proceedings.

V. The relation of the Emperor to Italy.—This might be made useful, more especially in the affairs of the Valtelline. The consent of Spain had not yet been given to the demolition of the conquered fortresses. "It seems that the Duke of Feria and other Ministers of his imperial Majesty are opposed to that measure, as desiring to retain those forts, and with them the glory of that conquest." But the Pope clearly perceived the danger that might arise from this. The Protestants in Germany would desire nothing better than to see the sword unsheathed in Italy.

VI. The conduct and deportment of the nuncio.—He is above all things recommended in the first place to Eckenberg, as was to be expected; but it is highly remarkable that the papal nephew speaks of the Jesuits with the utmost reserve and caution only. "The nuncio

he yet refused to accept these proposals." It was only from consideration for the Poles that he agreed to a short truce.

The affairs of the United Greeks have already been discussed in the Instruction given to Torres, but were clearly and thoroughly explained in this paper.

"The Greeks in the time of Clement VIII, being influenced by Rupaccio Pacciorio, who was first bishop or *vladica* of Vladimiera, and afterward Metropolitan of Chiovia, their bshops or *vladici* agreed, those of Leopoli and Premisla excepted, who remained in their obstinacy, to unite themselves to the Church of Rome, and to acknowledge the Pope for their head, as they did in 1595, according to the form and profession of faith contained in the Florentine Council. But so many dissensions arose out of this, and so earnestly did the Greek nobles, favored by the heretics, oppose themselves to that union in the Diet, that the kingdom had nearly been turned upside down, because very few of the clergy, and still fewer of the people, were willing to accept it, affirming that all had been done for the private designs and ambition of a few, without their participation. Thus, though the Catholic bishops and pastors do still subsist, yet they stand alone, without finding flocks willing to follow them. Moreover, they run great risk of being driven from their sees, and of having those churches taken from them which were previously wrested from the schismatics and conferred upon them. There is, accordingly, great noise made about this in all the diets; and in the past year it happened that a bishop, or perhaps it might be the schismatic Patriarch of Jerusalem, sent into Muscovy and Russia by the Patriarch of Constantinople, fixed himself among the Russians, and created there as many schismatics as there were United Greeks, besides exciting the Cossacks, who are all schismatic Greeks, to demand in the Diet, with very large offers, because the kingdom had need of them for the war with the Turks, that their ancient pretensions should be satisfied. The Bishop of St. Angelo, now nuncio, nevertheless contrived to divert the blow, so that, between his exertions and the public necessities, which left no leisure for new conflicts, the matter was reduced to silence by authority of the King. There is yet continual apprehension from the United Greeks, and the most intelligent prelates prognosticate that evil will ultimately arise from them, if some precaution be not taken to prevent it. Hence there are some who think that it would have been better if this union had never been made; for they affirm that it would have been much more easy to lead the nobles separately, and family by family, into the Catholic Church; and of this they adduce as proof the fact that all those who have singly abandoned the Greek rite and the schism remain fixed in their attachment to our Church."

No. 100

Relatione fatta alla congregatione de Propaganda Fide da Dionysio Lazari sopra alcune cose che possono essere di servitio alla santa fede cattolica. 1622. [Report presented to the congregation "de Propaganda Fide" by Dionysio Lazari with respect to certain things which may be useful to the holy Catholic faith.]

Dion. Lazari had been in England for some time, or, as he expresses himself, "molti mesi" [many months], and here suggests the means by which Catholicism may be restored there.

He considers that the methods to be pursued are three: negotiation with one, or with many, or measures of violence.

He is of opinion, however, that much might be effected with King James personally, his Majesty being indifferent as regarded his creed, and very timid. "From the knowledge that I have of him, I consider him altogether indifferent in matters of religion." It would be well to foster his suspicions, even by means of forged or supposititious letters. "To contrive that some minister of his, out of the kingdom, should receive seeming advices from some person believed trustworthy, and to manage that some letter in a feigned name should be found in the kingdom, which might treat of these matters with forms of secrecy." Buckingham, also, might well be gained over; his wife was the daughter of a Catholic, and was secretly a Catholic herself ("è segreta cattolica figlia anche di segreto cattolico"). Buckingham attached great importance to alliances with foreign powers; it was through these that he might be most easily won, and the rather as he was always in danger from the Parliament. "The Parliament being for the most part composed of Puritans, he would esteem it an efficient kind of vengeance to lead the King into Catholicism."

Influence to be gained over the people. It would be very useful if they could only obtain freedom of preaching: "Which might be accomplished by means of money, proposing, so to speak, a toll or tax on preachers and hearers, for the King is often led, by the gain to be made, into things contrary to his will."

He says that violent measures were not to be thought of. But we see clearly that even peaceable ones, such as he proposed, could not have been carried out.

Lazari belongs to that class of people who believe that they can influence the progress of events by means of intrigue and cunningly contrived plans, but which can never, in point of fact, be accomplished.

He has no hopes from the present generation, which has been wholly nurtured in the Protestant opinions. The prince alone, afterward Charles I, appears to him to give some promise. "I have the greatest hopes of him, perceiving him to be of an extremely ingenuous disposition, of sufficiently generous character, and very temperate in expressing aversion to the Catholics."

No. 101

Instruttione al Dottor Leone Allatio per andare in Germania per la libreria del Palatino. Court libr. in Vienna, MS. Hohenb. [Instructions to Doctor Leone Allatio, for going into Germany to fetch the library of the Palatine. 1622. Court Library at Vienna, MS. Hohenb.]

The Instruction by which Leo Allatius, then scriptor to the Vatican, was empowered to take possession of the Heidelberg Library.

This document is found not only in Vienna, but also in many other libraries; for example, in the Chigi Library at Rome, among the collections of Instructions by Gregory XV. The literary interest attached to the subject has also caused it to be made known in Germany. Quade, Baumgarten, and Gerdes, one after the other, had it printed in Latin.

Having once come within the domain of Protestant literature, it was at length inevitably made the subject of discussion. In the history of the formation, despoiling, and destruction of the ancient Heidelberg collections of books (Heidelberg, 1817), p. 235, our learned fellow-citizen and friend Herr G. R. Fr. Wilken has suggested serious doubts of its authenticity.

trates, counsellors, and commanders of armies appointed in every province. There remains nothing more for them to do than themselves to take up arms against the King and drive him from his throne."

How prominently the element and tendencies of monarchy were brought forward in the midst of these Catholic endeavors is here made manifest. Geneva was to be destroyed as the chief and adviser of the Huguenot republics. It could now look for no assistance, since all other Protestant communities were fully occupied with their own affairs, and the English were bound fast by treaties.

And of what importance could this augmentation of Savoy be considered, in comparison with the might of France? The pass could not be defended against the Swiss, since the King held possession of Bresse. "The Catholic cantons, with which the crown is most closely allied, will be gratified as well as benefited by the change. The Canton of Friburg, surrounded by Bernese heretics, although it be valiant and not afraid of them, will none the less prefer to have for its neighbors on the side of the lake, that city become Catholic, and placed under the dominion of a friendly and Catholic prince, rather than the same remaining free and heretical."

Cardinal Retz, the Constable (Luines), and Père Arnoux are the persons named to Corona as those from whom he may more particularly expect support.

We shall presently speak of the results of this mission.

No. 103

Relatione di Roma fatta nel Senato Veneto dall' ambasciador Rainiero Zeno alli 22 di Nov. 1623. *Informat. Politt. tom* xiv. 101 *leaves.* [Report from Rome, presented to the Venetian Senate by the ambassador Rainiero Zeno, on November 2, 1623.] Informat. Politt., etc.

The ambassadors, returning from their missions, usually express themselves with modesty and deference, as well toward the princes from whom they return as toward their hearers. Rainiero Zeno is the first who gives evidence of a great self-complacency. He not only declares that he lays before the Senate a clear view and balance of the papal revenues and expenditure, which he had compiled with the most diligent care (f. 80), but even reminds them of the lively colors with which he had portrayed first one and then another of the cardinals in his despatches (f. 111). Of Pope Urban himself, he says, without ceremony, "with two words I brought his arguments to nothing." He asserts, in express terms, that "the Divine Majesty had given him the talent of penetrating the innermost thoughts of the most reserved men;" and makes Cardinal Ludovisio utter an encomium on the Venetian Republic, because she always selected men of the most approved ability for the embassy to Rome.

Rainier Zeno appears some years later in the Venetian troubles of 1628. Here, also, whatever proceeds from his pen has that stamp of self-approval manifest in the report before us, and which betrays itself in so many Italians and Spaniards of that century.

Among men of this character there could not fail to be many collisions; Rainier Zeno accordingly experienced the most unpleasant incidents in the course of his embassy.

These took place for the most part in the pontificate of Gregory XV. Ludovisio desired a display of reverence and observance that Zeno would not accord him; they consequently soon fell into violent dissensions.

In the latter part of his report Zeno describes these contentions. He boasts of having frequently given sharp replies to the papal nephew—of reducing him to silence. He derived especial satisfaction from having arrived by secret means at the knowledge of things which the cardinal nephew believed to be veiled in the deepest secrecy, and respecting which he would then let him see that he was perfectly well acquainted with the whole. It rejoices him to think of the vexation this occasioned to Ludovisio. "He saw that with me he must give up his mighty conceit of being impenetrable to everyone." But he will not have it supposed that much evil came to this; on the contrary, the republic was thereby advanced in reputation. When it was proposed to leave the Valtelline as a deposit in the hands of the Spaniards, there was nothing so much dreaded by Ludovisio as the noise of the Venetian protests—"*il fracasso che era per far io, il rimbombo delle mie proteste*" (the uproar that I was sure to make, the resounding of my protestations).

But these times had, meanwhile, passed away. Urban VIII had ascended the papal throne, and Rainier Zeno makes it his particular care to describe the personal character, the court, and political administration of that pontiff, so far as they had at that time become known.

He declares repeatedly that the cardinals made it their only thought to speak in such a manner as might satisfy the Pope. He considers it perfectly right that no man should think of attempting to bring the papal finances into order. There is no instrument, he says, so well fitted to throw all Christendom into confusion as the head of a pope.

He thereupon sketches a portrait of Urban VIII. "He is a prince of grave and venerable aspect, tall in stature, of an olive complexion; his features are noble, and his hair black, beginning to turn gray; more than commonly elegant in appearance, singularly graceful in his gestures and the movements of his body. He speaks admirably well, and on whatever subject you enter with him, he has arguments at will, and displays extraordinary proficiency in every matter. He has hitherto shown a great love for poetry, which he has never ceased to cultivate, even in his most serious occupations and studies. Those who are well acquainted with this art, and with what is called humane letters, have been always well received by him, and he has courteously favored them in all that came within his power; yet this taste does not abstract his attention from things of greater importance, and which were more essential to the due performance of his duties in such offices as have successively passed through his hands. I speak of the study of law, in which he has labored incessantly from his earliest youth even to these last years, and that with the extraordinary closeness of application required by his charge of prefect to the *segnatura* of justice, a magistracy demanding severe study, extreme acuteness, and the most exact accuracy, because of the variety of the affairs brought before it. He is so well versed in the business of the world and the interests of princes, that it might be thought he had passed his whole time in the schools of politics."

It is by no means necessary that we should extract further. The resemblance of this portrait is only in the general outline; the more delicate features of that intellectual physiognomy are not to be found here, whether because they were not developed until a later period, or that Zeno had not the power of comprehending them.

The case is precisely similar with the following descriptions of the Pope's relatives and the cardinals, of whom the author gives a circumstantial account.

One thing only demands notice, that he advises the Senate to expect no kind of service from the Venetian cardinals. "*Priuli,*" he says, "*languido di spirito come di corpo*" (Priuli, feeble in mind as in

body). So contemptuously does he treat them! Of Venier he will not speak at all, in order that he may have no contentions with his kinsmen.

He next proceeds to the political relations. He declares himself at least content that this time a Pope has been elected who is not in love with the Spaniards. Albuquerque had found the soil exceedingly stubborn, and could not get what he wanted. The relations of Urban VIII to France are described by Zeno in the following manner:

"It is not to be doubted that the pontiff has a most friendly disposition toward the Kingdom of France, a thing pointed out to us as most highly probable by many circumstances; for first his greatness took its rise in that court. Since, although it is true that he rose by his own merits, yet he does not himself deny that he received great assistance from the attestations of Henry IV to the satisfaction produced by his mode of transacting business, and to that monarch's assurance of the pleasure it would give him to see him participate in the honors usually conferred on other residents who had held the same charge. The frank and ingenuous proceedings of the French, wholly free from the artifice and duplicity common to other nations, are in perfect accord with the disposition of his holiness; there is also a certain conformity in the modes of study to which the French apply themselves, and in which they excel, with those in which his holiness takes pleasure—the more polite literature, that is to say, the more graceful kinds of erudition, poetry, and the study of languages, in which he also delights, and has engaged, in so far as his active duties have permitted. He esteems that kingdom as much as words can say, because he considers it as a counterpoise to the ambition of the others, which unquestionably aim at universal monarchy."

The Pope took it very ill that the Venetians should connect themselves with heretics and unbelievers. He thought there could certainly have been other assistance found for them.

Zeno concludes by once more recalling to mind the toils and struggles that his office had cost him; his incessant watchings, his sleepless nights, and the bitter vexations by which his health had been impaired. "Yet am I more rejoiced," he says, "to have worn out my life in the service of my native land, than if I had lived at ease for a whole century, but remained inactive."

No. 104

Relatione degli eccellentissimi signori ambasciatori straordinarii, Corner, Erizzo, Soranzo, e Zeno, ritornati ultimamente da Roma, letta all' eccellentissimo senato 25 Febr. 1624. (*i.e. M. V.* 1625.) [Report of the most excellent, the ambassadors extraordinary, Corner, Erizzo, Soranzo, and Zeno, lately returned from Rome, read to the most excellent senate Feb. 25, 1624. (i.e. M. V. 1625.)]

When Gregory XV declared that he would no longer transact business with Rainier Zeno, the Venetians sent Geronimo Soranzo to take his place. Yet Zeno was still in Rome, as we have just seen, when Urban VIII was elected. Both were commissioned to congratulate the new pontiff, Corner and Erizzo appearing to complete the embassy.

The report which they prepared in common is free from those effusions of self-love to which Zeno alone gave indulgence; it acquires a certain importance from the fact that the affairs of the republic had again become complicated by the matter of the Valtelline.

Pope Urban appears to have been greatly dissatisfied by the Venetians having taken part with the French in their attack on the papal garrisons.

"That the cannon of the republic should have been turned against places held in deposit by his holiness, and which might therefore be called the fortresses of the Church itself."

"Nor are there wanting in Rome men of every rank, and of all characters, who proposed to his holiness, as he told us himself, that he should utter the ecclesiastical censures against the most excellent Senate."

They labored to excuse themselves as well as they possibly could; they affirmed that it was the purpose of the Spaniards to possess themselves of universal monarchy. "To make themselves masters of those passes, and thereby facilitate their attainment of the sovereignty of that province." They alleged that religion had been perfectly secure, and that their having formed a league with Ultramontanes was the less to be brought against them as a ground of reproach, because they had been forbidden by the popes themselves to raise troops in the States of the Church.

Urban had believed that they would make him some conciliatory proposal in relation to that affair; but they had no commission to that effect. On his side, also, he was on that account inaccessible to their requests. They were obliged to content themselves with merely perceiving that his displeasure was mitigated: "*Non si impetrava altro che mitigamento dell' acerbità mostrata del suo animo.*" (They gained nothing further than a mitigation of that animosity which was in his mind.)

But this could not have been a very difficult matter to attain, since the aversion of Urban to the Spaniards had already made itself manifest. He declared "that he dared not speak above his breath, so closely was he surrounded by Spaniards, and that at Madrid they were calling him a heretic; but that if he were armed he would make himself respected."

His subsequent opinions and conduct were already shadowed forth in these words.

It is principally with interests of this kind that our report is occupied, but it also attempts to give an intimation of affairs in general. Let us observe how it describes the chiefs of the government in the first years of Urban VIII.

"With regard to those who are now in the highest authority with the pontiff for the most essential affairs, they are restricted to two persons, namely, Cardinal Magalotti and Don Carlo Barberino, brother of his holiness. It is true that both affect to be quite unconscious of this authority, and not to possess it; they avoid all official interviews, pretend to know nothing of the affairs in hand, do not approve of being frequently visited; and by this mode of proceeding, very unlike that adopted by the kindred of other popes, they more effectually sustain the reputation of his holiness, desiring to have it understood that all depends entirely on his commands alone.

"In events of very grave importance, his holiness was sometimes wont to summon to his councils the cardinals Bandino, Melini, Scaglia, Santa Susanna, and some others; because, knowing them to be of very severe character, he sought by this appearance to give proofs of esteem for the Sacred College and for their persons; not that he was in effect much inclined toward them, or confided greatly to their opinions. And this conceit of his holiness, which is clearly perceived by the said cardinals as well as by others, is complained of by everyone, all affirming that after his determination respecting affairs is taken, he communicates with them, but not with any intention of accepting their advice. They perceive also that he becomes daily more negligent in making these communications, omitting, indeed, altogether to hold consultations with

the cardinals. It is true that though greatly induced to this by the wish to retain absolute dominion and authority in his own hands, yet he is the more confirmed in it because he knows them to be dependent on one or other of the foreign sovereigns, and attached to the interests of those princes; so that he considers this course to be most advantageous for himself.

"With respect to matters touching the republic, Monsignor Gessi and Monsignor Montefiascone are admitted to the consultations, as having been nuncios to this city and well acquainted with its affairs. Occasionally also, Anzolo Badoer is also invited, but he lives in Rome under another name and surname, having become a priest and fixed himself there finally, residing for his greater security in a house attached to the monastery of the Frati della Scalla, in whose church he generally says mass. But, as we have said, the Cardinal Magalotti and Signor Carlo Barberino are the fixed stars of that firmament; and all negotiations, being confined to those two heads, are conducted with the closest secrecy; so that what we could not attain to by conjecture, it was very difficult to know by any other means, unless we were directly informed by the pontiff himself.

"Don Carlos displays a similar independence of princes to that possessed by his holiness. He is fifty-eight years old, of good constitution, and strong. He is disposed to give satisfaction to the people by keeping the cities well supplied with all things. In his private affairs he is a careful economist, and is anxious to make himself rich, knowing well that the reputation of men is enhanced by wealth—nay, that gold exalts and distinguishes its possessor advantageously in the eyes of the world; besides that, it is the generally received opinion that it is not reasonable or suitable for a man who has once been the kinsman of a pope, to remain after his death in narrow circumstances. He is a man of few words, but sensitive. He has shown the highest reverence for the most serene republic, but we having said to him, on paying our compliments, that we wished his holiness a long reign, he replied with a certain bitterness, that if the Pope were to be respected and honored as Pope—alluding to matters then proceeding in the Valtelline—he should desire long life for him; but that if it were to be otherwise, he should pray the Almighty to take him to Himself as soon as possible.

"Cardinal Magalotti also professes to live in perfect independence. He is a sagacious and prudent man, showing great vivacity of mind and restlessness of spirit, and it is believed that he might be gained. As the cardinal-nephew increases in age and experience, it is thought that they will scarcely go on well together, and that the Pope will therefore take care to avail himself of the cardinal's services at the right moment, in some legation."

No. 105

Instruttione a Monsignore Sacchetti, vescovo di Gravina, nunzio destinato di N. Sre. per la Mta. cattca. 1624. *Barb. fol. 26 leaves.*
[Instructions to Monsignor Sacchetti, bishop of Gravina, nuncio elect from our lord the pope to the king of Spain.]

The directions of Sacchetti refer, first, to the domestic affairs of Spain; secondly, to those of Europe generally.

1. There were at all times manifold rivalries and disputes between Rome and Spain. The Roman Court was just then, for example, extremely displeased that a cardinal such as Lerma should be deprived of his revenues and summoned before a secular tribunal. But while

the Pope labored to put a stop to these proceedings, he caused Lerma to be admonished, at the same time, that he must resign all hope of worldly greatness—that nothing further, indeed, could be done, since Olivarez was so high in favor; wherefore he would do well to make up his mind, and after having lived so long for others, at length to live to God and himself. On the other hand, the nuncio was referred to Olivarez, with whom the Roman Court was at that moment still on good terms. The following remarkable circumstance is brought forward on this occasion: "It has come to pass that the jealousy of the Queen, aroused by some suspicion that the King had bestowed his affections elsewhere, has led her to complain to the King of France, her brother, in such sort that the latter had taken a resolution to make it a matter of public dispute with his brother-in-law. But the predecessor of your excellency wrote about the business, and said he had found a remedy by establishing confidence between Count Olivarez and the Queen, who had before been exceedingly distrustful of him."

The nuncio is also recommended to have recourse to the grand inquisitor, and was directed to stimulate that official to increased watchfulness against the introduction of heretical books into Spain and the Indies.

2. There had been conceived in Spain the idea of securing the German line in more peaceful possession of their late acquisitions by means of two new marriages. The hereditary Prince Palatine and Bethlem Gabor were both to be married to princesses of the imperial house. By these means it was hoped that the Hungarian troubles, and still more certainly those of Germany, might be got over. This purpose did not at first obtain credence in Rome, but on the receipt of further intelligence, it was no longer possible to doubt. The Pope hastened to make remonstrances to the King against this design. It had appeared from certain letters, that it was by no means the purpose of the English to suffer that the Prince Palatine should become Catholic, even though he did go to the imperial court, and would they venture to confide in so unstable a man as Gabor? He (the pontiff) could neither believe nor sanction such proposals, and charged his nuncio to oppose them with his utmost power. "Your Lordship—but with address and watching your time—will do everything to impede them (those two marriages) that, humanly speaking, you may."

We know that Pope Urban himself had a large part in defeating these, if far-sought, yet well-intentioned plans. The mission of Rota, which we have before mentioned, is explained by these expressions.

No. 106

Instruttione a V. S. arcivescovo di Damiata e chierico di camera per la nuntiatura ordinaria al re christianissimo. 23 *Genn.* 1624. [Instructions to the Archbishop of Damiata, clerk of the chamber, nuncio in ordinary to the king of France.]

This "Instruction" is the counterpart of that given to Sacchetti.

Here also the Pope condemns the above-described plan for the restitution of the Palatinate in the most violent manner. He calls on the King to use his influence for inducing Saxony to abstain from impeding the progress of the Bavarian power. After that he wishes for nothing more earnestly than the destruction of Orange, which was only a gathering-place for heretics.

But the most important part of this document refers to the internal

affairs. King Louis XIII is described as follows: "The King is beyond measure virtuous, and abhors all those vices which are wont to accompany sovereign power. He is not haughty, but most affable. He is not too much attached to his own opinion, but rather loves to receive good counsels. He is no lover of ease, but is devoted to labor, which he bears bravely; he knows no pleasure but that of the chase; he cherishes no abject or grovelling thought, but is most desirous of glory, yet without neglecting the duties of piety. His Ministers of state, as also his attendants at the chase, whom he readily accosts, may enjoy a degree of liberty with his Majesty which the rigid etiquette of the great rarely permits. Among those who have access to his Majesty on account of the chase, his principal favorite is the Sieur de Toiras, a wary and prudent man, who does not mix himself up with state affairs, that he may the better conceal his influence, but is very capable of acting in them."

Under this monarch, Catholicism was making the most brilliant progress. The nuncio is enjoined to promote all the missions to the very utmost of his power, more particularly those in the south of France; he is directed to defend their interests on all occasions at the Court of the King.

But even at that time a constantly renewed and insuperable opposition was arising from the Gallican principles.

There was at least a portion of the members of the Sorbonne by whom the doctrine of the independence of the temporal power and the divine right of bishops was put forward and defended. Some even propounded the opinion that parish priests had a right to as much power in their parishes as the bishops in their bishoprics. These doctrines the Pope considers abominable; it grieves him sorely that though Richer, who defended these opinions with especial earnestness, was excommunicated, yet that he paid no regard to that circumstance, but continued to read mass as before. The Parliaments were meanwhile taking active measures to limit the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The appeals "*comme d'abus*," the inquiries into the despatches of the *dataria*, the encroachments on the jurisdiction of the bishops, appeared to the Pope like so many usurpations. "They favor all who appeal to them, and in this manner they seek to subjugate such provinces as are not yet subjected to them, as, for example, Brittany, Provençe, and Bourg-en-Bresse."

In the prohibition of books, also, the Parliament interfered. Gladly would the nuncios have forbidden works such as those of De Thou and Richer, but they found it impossible. The new nuncio is directed to prevent the coming out of mischievous books, rather than to wait for their appearance: "The printing-presses are true hotbeds of all false doctrines, and it will be necessary that the nuncio should seek to make friends of the booksellers, that they may give notice from time to time of what books are in the press, seeing that when once they are printed, there is difficulty in obtaining the prohibition."

We see clearly that the entire conflict between the Curia and Gallicanism had already commenced—that conflict which, under its various forms, kept different periods of the old Bourbon monarchy in constant commotion.

No. 107

Instruttione a V. S. Monsignore Campeggi, vescovo di Cesena, destinato da N. Signore, suo nuntio al Serenissimo Signore duca di Savoia. 1624. [Instruction to Monsignor Campeggi, bishop of Cesena, papal nuncio to the most serene duke of Savoy.]

An "Instruction" that is remarkable, particularly as throwing further light on the previously named mission of Don Tobia Corona. We perceive that the enterprise against Geneva was brought to nothing, principally by the opposition of Luines and Rohan, who were still powerful, but also in part by the respect in which the Huguenots generally were held. We also learn, however, that the hope of it was not by any means relinquished on that account.

"From whom the first suggestion of this enterprise proceeded, whether from the Pope or the Duke, is not well known. It is true that the Pope sent briefs and letters of exhortation to the Duke himself, and to the Prince of Piedmont, whence it might be conjectured that the Pope was the author of it; but his highness the duke displayed so prompt a readiness to receive exhortation, that it does not seem likely to go very wide of the truth if we believe him to have induced the Pope to write to him. The difficulties encountered by Father Corona did not originate with the King or Queen, who readily yielded to the pontifical persuasions; they arose from the constable Luines, followed by the principal ministers, who were moved either by their own interests or by their wish to pay court to the constable, and by certain grandees of the Huguenot party. It is believed that the aversion to this enterprise displayed by Luines was inspired by the Duc de Rohan; and if we inquire the motive that could impel the latter to oppose the undertaking, we find no other than his own desire for the maintenance of the heretics, he being one of them, and the fear he felt of losing a large body of followers in France from his adherents having to go to the succor of the Genevese. The negotiation of Father Tobia resulted in this, that not only the King was not displeased by that mission, but that none—even of those who well perceived all its purport—dared openly to blame it. All that was said was, that some declared the time was not come for attempting so great an undertaking; and others said the duke ought not to have placed the King in that strait till after the thing was done, because that then his Majesty would not have been able to refuse his approbation to the piety and magnanimity of the duke, while previously to the fact his Majesty could not violate that faith under which the Genevese believed they were reposing in security. From that time to the present it has been believed that the duke intended to attempt a surprise; and now there is no longer any doubt of this, because his Highness has declared himself to his holiness, entreating his assistance. His holiness has replied that he will grant it willingly, and in a manner similar to that adopted by Pope Gregory. But as that course would not be compatible with the secrecy demanded for a surprise, his Highness has preferred to content himself with the promise of our lord the Pope, that he will use his influence with the most Christian King, so that after the thing has been done, his Majesty shall not be indignant thereat."

There is, moreover, mention in this document of certain affairs more especially touching Piedmont. They showed that a path was opening to the disputes of a later period. The duke claimed the privilege of nominating to episcopal sees; the Pope would acknowledge nothing

further in him than the right of recommending, and evinces displeasure at certain burdens that were laid on the clergy.

No. 108

Ragguaglio dello stato di religione nel regno di Boemia e sue provincie incorporate. 1624. [An account of the state of religion in the kingdom of Bohemia and its incorporated provinces. 1624.]

In May, 1621, Carlo Caraffa arrived in Prague, and proceeded immediately to the work with which Gregory XV had especially charged him—the superintendence, namely, of the restoration of Catholicism in Bohemia.

Eighteen months after this, as he himself informs us, consequently in November, 1622, he prepared a report of his labors, under the title "Relatio Bohemica," which he despatched to the newly founded Propaganda. I had sight of the original work, that which circulated among the members of the Congregation: these were Cardinals Sauli, Bandini, Barberini (afterward Urban VIII), Borgia (at a later period the violent opponent of Urban), Ubaldini, Santa Susanna, Valerio Sagrato, and Zollern, with the prelates Vives, Agucchi, and Scala. Zollern was deputed to take a copy and report from it.

This first report Caraffa enlarged fourteen months afterward, consequently in June, 1624; and sent it, under the title given above, to Urban VIII, in order, as he says, "to kindle his paternal zeal into still greater love toward the Bohemians."

There is an elaborate printed work by Caraffa still extant, "Commentaria de Germania sacra restaurata," which is one of the most important sources for the history of the first ten years of the Thirty Years' War; but, in the first place, he could not there enter so fully into the details of his Bohemian labors, to which he always looks back with complacency, as in a report especially devoted to that purpose; and there were, besides, certain other considerations required for a printed work, certain restrictions imposed by various motives. The report, on the contrary, speaks out in full freedom, giving all the facts in detail.

It does not, indeed, comprise more than the beginning of the changes effected in Bohemia; but as respects these it is, in fact, of great importance.

I have already availed myself of these details in the narrative, but necessarily with close compression. I will here add a few particulars, from which it will be seen under what difficulties, chiefly created by the government of the country, the nuncio carried his views into effect.

1. The introduction of the Latin ritual.

"Having held a conference respecting that matter with Plateis, and considering that those few Bohemians who were Catholics frequented without any restriction the churches of our ritual, where, nevertheless, they always heard the divine offices performed in the Latin tongue, I judged that we ought not to despair of causing the same to be done by those also who should be newly converted, more especially if it were insinuated to them by the preachers that this tongue is, as it were, in a certain sort of its essence most suitable for the divine offices in use through all Catholic countries, and particularly in those churches which are comprised beneath the rule of the Western Empire, as a sign of the superiority and predominance of the Roman Church over all others. Wherefore, I gave orders to the said Plateis that at the first

possible moment he should employ his utmost diligence toward restoring the use of the aforesaid idiom in such churches as were already taken from the hands of the heretics. Accordingly, on the day of the holy apostles Saint Simon and Jude, in the year 1621, on the occasion of the church of St. Stephen, the principal parish of the Terranova, being provided by the archbishop with a Catholic incumbent, which parish was inhabited by the very meanest of the people, among whom there were very few Catholics, the most immaculate sacrifice of the mass was celebrated in the presence of a very great number of heretics in the aforesaid church, in the Latin tongue, with aspersion of holy water, invocation of saints, and all the Roman rites, two centuries after the Latin tongue had been excluded from that church, and wherein the mass had not been celebrated for very many years, either in one idiom or the other. This example was afterward followed, not only by the churches of the city, but by those of all other places in the kingdom, without any complaint or outcry whatever on the part of the people; and I, being in Prague, have seen the said people conduct themselves with much attention at the divine offices."

2. Deprivation of the cup.

"Then when I had learned the desires and views of the sacred congregation of the holy office, from the letters and documents sent me at that time, I determined to forbid it (the cup) altogether, and to give no further ear to the clamors and prayers of those inhabiting the said kingdom, arguing that if they were disposed to be obedient sons of holy Church, they would walk in this as well as in every other matter in concert with the rest of the Catholic body; but if they should shun to return from this abuse, rooted in the minds even of Catholics by that pretended concession of Pius IV, it must be held as a proof of pride and obstinacy, and as a sign that they were not true Catholics. Whence, laying aside all other considerations, and disregarding the dangers alleged by politicians, who imagined that insurrections and irremediable evils would proceed from this innovation, I caused all the parish priests to be prohibited from offering to anyone the species of the wine, commanding them that, whosoever should demand both species of them, they should ask if he were a Catholic, and on his declaring himself to be such, should set forth to him the necessity of giving obedience to the Roman ritual, which excludes the laity from the cup. Then many who were not touched by true zeal, hearing this, persisted in their obstinacy, not communicating in either form, and we meanwhile kept fast to our purpose that the cup should not be offered; but there was not one of those priests who had returned to their allegiance, and who had the reconciled churches in their cure, who would have had courage to offer the single species of bread in the face of the heretics who frequented the said churches, if the Chancellor Plateis had not so intrepidly given commencement to that holy enterprise in the parish of St. Martin, as hath been noted above. Which usage, being introduced to the praise of God in the other churches, is observed in them with perfect tranquillity, although the statesmen gave me trouble enough in the matter. For the heretics, seeing the design that they had formed of compelling true Catholic priests to administer the sacrament under both kinds to be blown to the winds, had recourse, in the year just passed, 1622, to the aid of the said statesmen; but in what manner they comported themselves on that occasion it is not my business at this time to relate. Let it be sufficient to say that they extorted a letter from Prince Lichtenstein, who was then here, in virtue of which, as though it were by order of his Majesty, summoning the two parish priests of the Tein and Santo Enrico, who had formerly been Domini-

cans, they commanded them that, in the solemnities of Easter, they should present the sacrament indifferently to everyone, to whatsoever ritual he might belong, under both species. Accordingly, on Thursday. '*in Cœna Domini*,' by the pure perfidy of the said statesmen, there was committed the greatest abomination; more than two thousand wicked heretics receiving the venerable body of the Lord consecrated under the two forms of bread and wine, from the hands of the legitimate priests, the holy thing being thus given to dogs by the fault of Catholic men. To this Plateis did not fail to make such opposition as might have been expected from him; but nothing could avail against their temerity; wherefore, to maintain the prohibition of the use of the cup, he resolved to take courage, and to dispense the sacrament publicly, under the form of bread alone, as he did three days after in the church of St. Martin. And I, having had notice of that impious crime, went instantly to make a bitter complaint of it to his Majesty, beseeching, in every manner most likely to prevail, that his Ministers should not take it upon themselves to intermeddle in those things which concerned the reverence due to the awful sacrament of the altar, which belonged solely to the spiritual power, as relating to the salvation of the soul; lamenting, further, that they, without fitting respect, should venture to interfere with the ministers of religion, not showng any signs of obedience toward God and the holy Roman See, of which his Majesty had ever proved himself so observant. By all which the Emperor, being beyond measure affected, instantly gave most rigid command to the said statesmen to the effect that they should leave the care of ecclesiastical affairs and of religion to churchmen, reprehending them severely for the presumption they had committed. Thereupon they rose violently against myself and Plateis, as being those from whom they were persuaded that the rebuff they had received from his Majesty had originated; and besides that they bitterly threatened Plateis, they did not abstain from assailing my authority also, intimating to Monsignor the Archbishop that he was not bound to obey me in a matter of so much importance as the suppression of the use of the cup in Prague, unless I showed him a special brief from his holiness to that effect; neither did they omit to stir up the aforesaid parish priests, bidding them be of good courage, and persuading them that they need have no fear either of me or the archbishop, since they would be always protected and upheld by the political government, to which, in that kingdom, the ecclesiastics were subjected by ancient usage. By these means they contrived that the curate of the Tein, again prevaricating, committed an act of open disobedience, and had the boldness to preach to the people that they should not suffer the papists, who sought to tyrannize in everything, to take away the use of the cup, and that they should pray to God for him, the true defender of that ancient rite of their fathers, in such sort that the populace made some little tumult, presenting themselves that evening to the number of 2,000 at the house of that curate, as if in his defence. But this having come to my knowledge, I at once incited his Majesty to indignation, and obtained command that the said priest should be arrested, and given over to Monsignor the Archbishop. This was executed without any delay whatever; and that populace which had first shown so much eagerness for his security, did not make the slightest movement, although they beheld him carried away in the face of day, and before all the people. And he, after some weeks of incarceration, having died in prison, his place in the curé of that church, which is the principal one of the '*Terra vecchia*,' was supplied by another priest, a Catholic, and further by the preaching of the canon Rottua, a man distinguished

both for learning and zeal, who still administers the duties of that charge with great advantage, and the attendance of a vast concourse, both of Catholics and heretics, all of whom willingly hear the preaching of that good priest, attracted by his efficacious word and pleasing manner."

3. General mode of proceeding.

"By decree of his Majesty, and in conformity with the resolutions adopted by the preliminary congregation held in Vienna, all the cities of the kingdom have since been reformed, the heretical ministers and preachers being driven out of them, and from the districts around them. In each of them, besides the priest, there have been placed a captain, judge, president of the council and chancellor, all Catholic—the heretical worship being banished from their borders forever; for the Emperor had become convinced by experience and the example of the fidelity of Budweis, and the perfidy of almost all the others, how great a difference was made by the question of whether the cities were heretic or Catholic. And although the Prince of Lichtenstein, who was already drawing back from the reform now commenced, because of the many rumors of the displeasure it caused in Saxony, continued to promote it on my causing the order to be repeated to him, yet he remained undecided respecting the circles of Egra and Culm, on account of their bordering on Saxony, and that they claimed to hold of the empire, and not of the crown of Bohemia. From all this it comes to pass that there still remain certain preachers in the kingdom who are protected by heretic barons, or by Catholics of little faith; more particularly do they abound in the circle of Leitmeritz, supported by a Catholic baron, who, professing great intimacy and friendship with the Elector of Saxony, is persuaded that in this manner he does a thing highly pleasing to the said Elector. It is true that from my having exhorted him to drive them forth, and caused him to be spoken to by others to the same effect, he has promised to send them away; but I doubt that, withheld by his wife, who is a heretic, he will neglect to do so until compelled by force. Some of the preachers have also remaned in those cities wherein heretic soldiers are quartered, the royal commissioners not having been willing to expose themselves to the peril of tumults by reforming these cities; but now that the expectation of war is diminishing, they will either disband these heretic soldiers, or will assign them to other quarters, in order that the reform may take place. There is one also yet remaining in the city of Kuttemberg, the Prince of Lichtenstein excusing himself for not being able to expel him by declaring that, if he did so, the men of that place would not labor in the mines worked there. Nevertheless, on the return of the Emperor to Prague, I trust in God that a remedy will be applied to all these things. Nor should I omit to mention that in my passage from Ratisbon to Prague, having traversed a great part of Bohemia, and thence from Prague to Vienna I have found the reformation effected everywhere; the city Jaromir, where certain regiments of infantry belonging to the Colonel-Duke of Saxony were quartered excepted; but I afterward sent strict orders from his Majesty that this should be remedied, and also that in each of those cities the children should be educated in the Christian doctrine, teaching them to pray in the Latin tongue.

"All conventicles of the heretics have been prohibited under heavy penalties, both within the city of Prague and beyond its walls, with whatever pretext they might be assembled. The order for this was given many months since, at my request; but although I had repeatedly called for its execution from the government of Prague, it had never before been enforced.

"All the heretics have been removed from the Senate of the city of Prague, their places being supplied by Catholic members; and they have been deprived of all effectual authority, having left to them only a certain appearance of power in matters of no great importance, and all the privileges prejudicial to the Catholic religion, accorded to them by former kings, being formally annulled, the Emperor having an excellent opportunity for doing this, because he had reconquered the kingdom by force of arms, after it had been in open rebellion. The academy or college of Carlo IV has been restored to its primitive institution, to the glory of God and the Catholic religion, being placed under the care of the Jesuit fathers, who have also the superintendence of all the schools in the kingdom; and they are, besides, using their best diligence to prevent the printing or selling of books that are contrary to Catholic truth, the booksellers and printers being subjected to their censorship. There has been some difficulty with respect to the aforesaid academy, for there was a wish for the appointment of a lay president, which I did not willingly listen to; but I hope that eventually the care of this matter will be left to the archbishop, who, by his ancient privileges, lays claim to be chancellor of the kingdom.

"An additional sum of 4,000 thalers yearly has been assigned to the house instituted in Prague for the poor by Ferdinand III, so that the number of persons supported there has been increased from 80, which they were at first, to 200. There have also been given to the Jesuit fathers 20,000 thalers at one time, to be expended on the building of their college; and in this matter it has not been requisite that they should employ my good offices, having no need of any one to mediate between them and the Emperor, because of the evident utility of their proceedings. Estates producing 6,000 thalers yearly have been assigned to increase the revenues of the chapter of the cathedral, and 24,000 for the augmentation of the archiepiscopal income: but the estates of the archiepiscopate being considerably deteriorated and decayed, Monsignor the Archbishop desires to remain for a certain time Bishop of Ossegg, that see being already assigned to the revenues of the archbishop by Rudolf, in place of the pension from the treasury, which was paid with difficulty. The parish churches of Prague, and of the whole kingdom, have been replaced at the disposal of Monsignor the Archbishop, even those which were originally possessed by individual nobles, who were all rebels; the Emperor having reserved that right to himself, while the estates of those rebels have also been sold, care being taken that for many leagues around Prague all the lands should be bought by Catholics."

No. 109

Relatione alla Santita di N. Signore Papa Urbano VIII. desse cose appartenenti alla nuntiatura di Colonia per Monsignore Montorio, vescovo di Nicastro, ritornato nuntio di quelle parti l' anno di N. Signore 1624. [Report to his holiness our lord Pope Urban VIII, of matters appertaining to the nunciature of Cologne, held by Monsignor Montorio, bishop of Nicastro, the nuncio returned from those regions in the year 1624.]

It was in the midst of the disorders of war that Montorio arrived in Germany. He sets forth the danger in which the Catholics would have been involved if Mansfeld, who held the Upper Rhineland from Strasburg to Mayence, and the Bishop of Halberstadt, who commanded Westphalia, could have succeeded in effecting a junction with Baden

Durlach. But all these leaders suffered defeat. He then describes the advantages that had proceeded from these victories, the position to which the German Church had attained.

In Fulda, the counter-reformation had again commenced with the utmost energy. The Catholic party had made its way into Osnaburg by the aid of the infanta and the army of the leagued princes. In Minden they had hope of obtaining an archduke for their bishop. In Bremen, also, great effort had been made by special missions to prevail on the chapter to elect a Catholic coadjutor; but for this time a Danish prince had gained the day; yet the nuncio hoped at least to see toleration granted to the Catholic religion in all the Hanse Towns. It appeared to him that the Emperor might directly demand this, more particularly as those towns derived great advantages from the Spanish and Portuguese trade. A church had already been opened in Altona, from which many hopes were formed for Catholicism in the North. "As that they might be enabled after some time to found a seminary, whence they might procure laborers, who, after they shall have learned the Norwegian and Danish tongues, may bring those more northern nations to the light of the true faith."

To secure this progress, Montorio considered internal reform in the German Church indispensable. The prelates adopted the dress of the laity, and made no scruple of going to the wars: concubinage prevailed openly, and the nuncio had refused, on account of that offence, to admit a certain Hornberg, who was otherwise a very eligible candidate, to the bishopric of Würtzburg. The German bishops were also said to think little of the Pope; they nominated to benefices during the reserved months, and by means of their officials engrossed to themselves many unlawful things. "They grant dispensations for marriage within the prohibited degrees; also in respect to holy orders and for vacant benefices, though there might exist a defect of birth, they make concessions *'extra tempora'*; give dispensations to those under age, and have even sometimes granted them for the marriage of persons in holy orders." They called themselves bishops "by the grace of God," without any mention of the Apostolic See, and treated their ecclesiastical possessions almost as if they were their real property. Nor were matters any better in the convents. The abbots conducted themselves as so many absolute lords. In the towns, nothing was thought of but feastings, companies wherein men and women banqueted together. In the convents of rural districts they gave themselves up to the chase, and nothing was seen but hounds and huntsmen.

The nuncio would very fain have set his hand to the needful reform, but he was prevented by contagious diseases, the tumults of war, and political affairs.

He treats of these also with great ability. I have not been able to adopt into my text the whole of his remarks on the transfer of the Electorate, and will therefore insert it here.

"The affairs that have occurred up to the present time are perhaps known to your holiness; and I, although the briefs that were sent me by Pope Gregory, to the effect that I should proceed to the Diet assembled for those matters in Ratisbon, arrived somewhat late, proceeded nevertheless, during the utmost rigor of winter, and at very great cost, much discomfort, and many perils, to present myself there. But having reached Würtzburg, and having made known my coming to the ministers of your holiness, and to the electoral princes congregated there, it was signified to me that my presence was no longer necessary, since the conclusion of the affair was retarded by a more important cause than the absence of agreement among the princes there

assembled, and that the seeing so many apostolic ministers gathered there would but increase the difficulty by awakening the jealousy of the Protestants, and causing them to think this transfer treated rather as a matter of religion than of state policy. I abstained, therefore, from going thither, and the more readily because the Elector of Mayence, who, as dean of the electoral college, was, so to speak, the arbiter of the matter, having been treated with by me some months before, remained firm in the promises then made me, that he would promote the designs of the Pope and the Emperor. The commissioners from Trèves had orders from their prince, given at my instance, that they should not dissent from the resolutions made by the Electors of Mayence and Cologne. I will not pause here to point out to your holiness the difficulties which I encountered in disposing Mayence to agree to the said transfer, for at one time he would say that he abhorred the city of Ratisbon, because its air was injurious to his health; at another time he affirmed that he was entirely drained of money, and could not support the expenses which a suitable appearance in that city would require; then, that the business was not ripe, the consent of Spain and Saxony not having been obtained; anon, that he feared the menaces of the King of England, of the duke, and of other sectaries; and, finally, that this transfer would kindle a new and more sanguinary war in Germany, to the obvious detriment of the Catholic religion, whilst the ecclesiastical princes who had hitherto borne all the burden of the war, and must continue to bear it, exhausted by their previous contributions to the Liga, despoiled of their possessions by the insolence and rapine of our own soldiers, no less than by those of the enemy, not only were destitute of means to prepare for a new war, but were reduced to such extremities that they had been constrained to dismiss their households and to live almost privately. Nor did he fail to bring forward the claims of the Duke of Neuburg, as being the nearest kinsman of the Palatine, and not likely to awaken so much jealousy among Protestants, who dreaded the aggrandizement of the Bavarian, to whom, in conformity with the imperial constitutions, according to the golden bull, that dignity was due as to the nearest claimant, the said duke protesting that to his last breath he would never consent that others should be preferred to him. But let it suffice to say that in four or five days, during which I stayed with him in Aschaffenburg, and after long discourses, both by word of mouth and in writing, I obtained the decision that I desired. The transfer was effected, and is still maintained. The Palatinate is occupied in part by the Bavarian, in part by the Spaniards; nor does anything remain to the Palatine except the city of Frankenthal, deposited for a certain period in the hands of the most serene infanta of Flanders, in concert with the English King.

"While I was in Aschaffenburg respecting this affair, the news of the taking of Heidelberg arrived there; and I, having already made efforts, by commission of his holiness, with the Duke of Bavaria for the Palatine Library, and having received the offer of it, sent instantly an express to Count Tilly, urging him to look to the preservation of the same, since I had been assured that, both for the quality and quantity of the books, principally manuscript, it was of inestimable value; and his excellency replied that all was in his possession, and carefully preserved according to the duke's orders. Whereof, when I had given my report to the masters, they having sent a person to take it, the said library was, after some months' delay, conveyed to Rome."

No. 110

Instruttione a V. S. Monsignore Caraffa, vescovo di Tricarico, destinato da N. S. suo nuntio in Colonia. 26 Giugno, 1624. [Instruction to Monsignore Caraffa, bishop of Tricarico, despatched by our lord the pope as his nuncio to Cologne.]

Ludovico Caraffa was the successor of Montorio: he was nuncio to Cologne at the same time that Carlo Caraffa administered the nunciature of Vienna.

The Pope communicates his views respecting German affairs to the nuncio in a very circumstantial "Instruction."

He therein discusses all those points respecting the internal discipline of the Church which had been suggested by Montorio. The Apostolic See had already suffered great losses, both in revenue and consideration; the nuncio is exhorted to labor for the recovery of these lost advantages. "Your most reverend lordship will give your utmost attention to whatever shall best sustain the apostolic authority; and will more particularly be careful to extract from it the due benefits and provisions." It is to be remarked that instructions are here given to the nuncio which are directly founded on the counsels of Minuccio Minucci. He is required, for example, to send a list to Rome of such German ecclesiastics as were most worthy of promotion. "Of the most exemplary, of the most learned, of the most noble, of those best supported by the authority of the respective Catholic princes. We shall thus have such notices that the Apostolic See may carefully provide pastors before it be too late." This is precisely the proceeding which Minucci had recommended in 1588. But time had also suggested other measures. The most important of these was that a Catholic coadjutor might be appointed to any see, even during the lifetime of the bishop, on his becoming too old for its due administration. This had already been done in Paderborn as well as in Münster, and with the best results.

The principal matter, nevertheless, was still the more extensive diffusion of Catholicism.

The Catholic league (Liga) was to be maintained by every possible effort. The nuncio is charged to see that all pay their contributions to that object. There was an ecclesiastical society founded in Cologne for the conversion of Protestants, in which the princes of Austria and Bavaria took part, and which possessed a good revenue: the nuncio was instructed to be careful that it did not decline. Certain princely houses were fixed upon as presenting hopes that they might the most readily be won over to Catholicism; namely Darmstadt, and Saxony. The nuncio was exhorted to stimulate this disposition, "that those princes might not withstand the grace which God may show them." He was, above all, to promote the erection of seminaries, and the introduction of the Jesuits. This passage is perhaps the most important of the whole "Instruction," and may be subjoined in full.

"It will be a work most worthy of your lordship to labor for the promotion of the seminaries already founded, and to cause that new ones shall be instituted; and for these and similar works, who does not see that the Jesuit fathers are admirable? Therefore the predecessor of your most reverend lordship took measures to procure their introduction into Frankfort, writing the most earnest letters on that subject to the Emperor; and the Elector of Cologne was equally willing to act in that matter. Then our lord the Pope, in furtherance of this good

purpose, caused his nuncio at the court of the Emperor to be written to, that he might in no case be displeased thereat; and your lordship will concert with him for what remains to be done, advising him of the progress made, and the hopes that may be entertained. The Elector of Mayence has made representations to his holiness that by divine favor the Catholic religion is gaining hold on the Lower Palatinate, and that nothing is judged more expedient as a means for its propagation than the erecton of seminaries and houses wherein the nobles of the Rhine may be brought together: to do which, he has suggested to his holiness that the property of certain monasteries might be very suitably applied, more especially those of Germersheim, Spanheim, and Odernheim, situate in the diocese of Mayence, and formerly occupied by the princes palatine of the Rhine. And this proposal was considered to be of great moment by his holiness; but before deciding upon it he desired that the predecessor of your lordship, having diligently taken precise information, should report to him distinctly respecting the condition of the said monasteries, with his opinion of the matter; but the shortness of the time not having permitted him to execute all these things, his holiness desires that your lordship should complete what remains to be done with the utmost diligence and exactitude.

"The Elector of Cologne also desires to found a university in his city of Münster, and the question has been discussed in the Sacred Congregation '*de propaganda fide*,' his holiness being disposed to favor the institution of the said university, but on condition that, in addition to the sciences, the canon and court laws shall be taught therein. And this shall serve for the guidance of your lordship, so that you may treat with the said Elector on this understanding, when his Highness shall speak to you of having obtained the apostolic permission for the said institution."

No. III

Relatione dell' illustrissimo et eccellentissimo Signore Pietro Contarini Cavaliere, ritornato dell' ambasceria ordinaria di Roma, presentata alli 22 Giugno, 1627, e letta il medesimo giorno nell' eccellentissimo senato. [Report of the most illustrious and most excellent Pietro Contarini, returned from the ordinary embassy to Rome, presented on June 22, 1627, and read to the most excellent senate on the same day.]

P. Contarini had passed more than three years and a half (forty-four months) at the Court of Urban VIII when he presented this report.

He makes four divisions, and in these he treats of the temporal government, the spiritual administration, the most important affairs of the court, and its most influential members.

He is particularly full and instructive on the extension of the spiritual jurisdiction. He considers that it had never before been exercised in Italy with so much rigor. By its double purpose of maintaining an immediate command over the ecclesiastical body, and the unrestricted disposal of all church property, the Roman Court must become very dangerous to temporal princes. He describes Urban VIII as often remarking that if a Venetian noble were seated on the Roman throne he could not be more disposed toward the Venetians than himself, the reigning pontiff. But notwithstanding this, they could never obtain the smallest favor at his hands.

Generally speaking, the ambassador had a bad opinion of the whole Roman system. The ruling principle of the entire administration was nepotism.

"The disposition of the popes to aggrandize their nephews gives the moving impulse in the present day to all actions, all declarations, and all transactions with other princes. At first the pontiffs think of undertakings against the infidel, or the acquirement of dominion; but as the years are short, and the difficulties many, this purpose is abandoned without producing any effect whatever, and then they take another and more easy course, accumulating great riches, and buying estates."

He describes the immediate circle of Urban in the following manner:

"The pontiff most commonly takes counsel with Cardinal Magalotti, whose sister his brother married, and who still holds the office of Secretary of State, all the public despatches passing through his hands. The cardinal is a man of extensive and powerful intellect, and is much esteemed by the Pope, who always desires to have him near his person, more especially in the legation of Bologna, where he gave him the vicegerency of that government. Thus if there be any man who has been able to attain a high position in the opinion of his holiness, this is that one; nor is it known whether this proceeds from a real inclination on the part of the pontiff, or from the great prudence of the cardinal, who, being well acquainted with the character of one whom he has served so long, is aware of the proper means for maintaining himself in his position, and avails himself of them: but it is certain that he may be said to have the sole management of all important affairs. He takes great pains, however, to adjust his proceedings to the inclinations of the pontiff, contradicts him as rarely as possible, and labors to bring his own opinions into conformity with those of the Pope, to the end that he may preserve his position with the credit and reputation that he derives from being always employed in the most momentous transactions. He seeks to escape the enmity entertained for the most part against those who are seen to be near the prince, and who share his power and favor, by abstaining from all ostentation of authority, by avoiding the regular audiences of Ministers belonging to foreign princes, of cardinals, and of almost all others, treating only of such matters as are expressly committed to him. And this he does above all to avoid awakening the jealousy of Cardinal Barberino, who did not seem at first entirely satisfied at seeing him so greatly advanced, and that the pontiff employed him more than himself; so that words were often heard from Barberino by which his sentiments were made known. But he now permits things to take their course, and seems to confide in his uncle, either because he is willing to remain free from the weight of business, or because he does not know the extent of authority, or perhaps has not power to impede the fortunes of Magalotti. All things, however, are shared with the said Cardinal Barberino, St. Onofrio, and Don Carlo.

"The first, as nephew, is truly beloved. His holiness would indeed be glad to see him apply more diligently to business, but he appears to be really averse to it, nor does his disposition seem in any wise formed thereto. It appears to be almost by force that he attends, where, by the office he holds, he cannot possibly do otherwise, throwing the weight of the most important affairs on that very Cardinal Magalotti, and even being content to despoil himself of things that ought to belong to him for the sake of investing his uncle with them, contrary to the practice in former pontificates, whether from weakness, or from not knowing how to avail himself of that authority which he who attains to so eminent a station should possess. He is a man of the most exemplary, virtuous, and praiseworthy habits, of a most kindly nature, and one who gives the solitary example of refusing every kind of

present. He will, nevertheless, be equal to any other cardinal in wealth and grandeur, should the Pope have long life. He must now have somewhere about 80,000 scudi yearly from ecclesiastical benefices; and with the governments and legations that he holds, this must approach to 100,000 scudi. Investments of moment are also beginning to be made, and the best of all that is acquired will be for him. Moreover, he spends but little, and will therefore shortly accumulate immense wealth.

"Cardinal St. Onofrio, having constantly lived among the Capuchins, and having always led a most devout life, never intermeddles with anything not directly committed to him. Of the affairs of the world he knows little, and understands less; and his inability in this respect was made fully manifest during the absence of Barberino, because it then became necessary to transact business with him. He has now gone to reside at his church of Senegaglia.

"Don Carlo, brother of the pontiff, is general of the holy church; and all that appertains to the army, to fortresses, or the galleys, is under his command. He is a man of intelligence and prudence, cautious in discussing and transacting business, and perfectly conversant with the care of the exchequer and management of the revenue, having been well practised in affairs, and being skilled in those matters. He has to a certain extent relaxed from his early applications to business, that he may not too heavily burthen his advanced years (he being the elder of the brothers), and also in part from inclination for that repose.

"His holiness has two other nephews. Don Taddeo, whom he has chosen to found the family, a young man of about twenty-three, most noble in manner, of highly ingenuous character, and greatly beloved by the whole court. The pontiff has some intention of making him prefect of the city after the death of the Duke of Urbino, who now enjoys that title—a most dignified office, taking precedence of all others, being held for life, and not liable to change even on the death of the pontiff. The second of these two nephews is Don Antonio, a commander of Malta, and aged eighteen: he has about 14,000 scudi from his commandery; is of prompt and vivacious character, and in good time will certainly be ready to secure his own share in the exaltation of his house. He is desirous of being also raised to the cardinalate, and it is believed that his holiness will gratify hs wish. Many of those who do not love the Cardinal Magalotti would willingly see him promoted to that dignity as soon as possible, because they think that he might attain to what his brother has not been able to compass—to counterbalance Magalotti, that is, and to form an opposition to him."

We have the affairs of the Valtelline here discussed in their whole extent.

"The other important affair is that of the Valtelline, on which his holiness has indeed bestowed great labor, but with varying results; although it is said that he might at first have applied himself more earnestly to it, and with more decided remedies; but the having entered on a matter so arduous in the first days of his pontificate, and when just recovering but by no means restored from the effects of a long illness, with his thoughts, beside, more given to the papacy than to this affair, may perhaps have caused him to suffer many things to take their course, which it was not difficult to provide against at that time, but which it was impossible to remedy afterward. It was in the hands of Gregory XV that the Valtelline was deposited by the Spaniards, and they consigned Chiavenna with its surrounding territory, under the same conditions, to the present pontiff. The first negotiations were effected by means of the Commendator Sillery, with so much caution and secrecy

that not only was the certainty of their existence withheld from the ministers of your Serenity, who had, nevertheless, to take so important a part in the transaction, but it was with difficulty that they acquired a knowledge of the real nature of what was transacted. The pontiff concerned himself for nothing more than the receiving security for the payment of the garrisons that he maintained in the forts of the valley; and after many complaints and much pressing, he obtained, I believe, between the two kings, about 200,000 scudi. This money tended somewhat to diminish his disapprobation of that deposit; which he nevertheless always greatly condemned, both before and afterward, esteeming it to be adverse to his interests, but not considering the injury that might result from his procrastination and irresolute management of the matter.

"The people of the Valtelline offered themselves to the Pope as vassals, assuring him that the duties he might impose on wines and cheese would suffice to maintain the garrisons required in ordinary times for the defence of that valley. Many represented to the pontiff that to restore the Valtelline to the Grisons, and to replace Catholics in the hands of heretics, was not to be thought of by the Pope, and could not be done without the greatest scandal and injury; that no one would consent to see it made over to the Spaniards, who on their part would not suffer it to be given up to the French or other temporal powers; neither would there be any better course than that the Valtelline should be preserved to the Church, since there was nothing of any moment in that country except the passes, which can be held or claimed only for going or coming beyond the mountains; thus, if these should remain to the power of the Pope, the common father, he would always have them kept open, according to the wants and requirements of all. The arguments thus stated did not fail to make an impression, as arguments mostly do, even though but slightly founded; nay, sometimes they will even persuade the hearer, though feeble in themselves, where there appears some prospect of advantage or utility. His holiness suffered himself to listen to the suggestion, and even added that if there should be any difficulty in the retention of the Valtelline by the Church, they might invest one of his nephews with it. The plan had at first been promoted by the Spaniards, but eventually it did not please them any more than the French; and there was finally concluded by Sillery that treaty, well known to your Serenity, which was not approved in France by the King, principally for that article of it which allowed passage to the Spaniards for their troops going into Flanders, and for the same, but not otherwise, on their return. The formation of the Valtelline into a fourth league, which the Spaniards desired so eagerly, the pontiff would still less consent to permit. The ambassador was changed on that account, or perhaps because of the fall of the chancellor, and of Puysieux the secretary, the one the brother, and the other the nephew of the said Sillery. There then arrived in Rome a minister of wiser counsels and more extended views, as well as more determined character, Monsignor de Bethune; he annulled the decisions of his predecessor, insisted on the treaty of Madrid, which he firmly upheld; absolutely refused to permit the pass to the Spaniards for any purpose whatever, and pressed the pontiff in frequent audiences to come to some resolution, since the league could not consent to more protracted negotiation or longer delay.

"The pontiff, who had not expected to find so much resolution among those of the League, nor had any thought that they would take arms on this account, being also constantly assured by letters from his nuncios in France and Switzerland that the Marchese de Covre would never raise the standard of the King where the ensigns of his holiness were

floating, continued nevertheless in his irresolutions, and the more the difficulties increased and were made manifest, the more he persuaded himself (nor were there wanting those who confirmed him in his idea) that at the end of the contest the Church would remain mistress of the point in dispute. Wherefore Bethune signified ultimately to the Pope that the King and the League together jointly entreated him to remit the fortresses to the Spaniards, in conformity with the terms of the deposit, to the end that if there were a necessity for appealing to arms, they might avoid the reproach of acting disrespectfully by advancing against those of his holiness, and that if the Pope would now take the resolution that he ought to adopt of offering the forts to the Spaniards, all would yet be adjusted to his honor and to the satisfaction of others; for the Spaniards would not have received them, not finding themselves in a condition to defend them, while all cause of complaint would cease by the Pope's fulfilment of the conditions of the deposit in due time, nor could anyone oppose their being left to the Grisons. Some days elapsed, when at length the Marchese de Covre surprised Plata Mala, and the Pope then made various pretexts, first demanding three months of time, but afterward restricting himself to so much only as was required to write to Spain and make the offer, affirming that the Ministers in Italy did not possess authority for receiving the fortresses. But the enterprise of the marquis being already far advanced, and its success increasing from day to day, it was not considered advisable, and might even have proved injurious, to suspend the proceedings while awaiting replies from Spain which could not but be uncertain. The Pope was accordingly deprived by degrees of all that he held in deposit, the only places remaining to him being Riva and Chiavenna, which alone had been succored by the Spaniards. His holiness complained that these last, although appealed to from the beginning to defend the passes, never came to his assistance, while they complained that they had not been summoned in due time; so that the Spaniards were much dissatisfied, the French by no means content, and his holiness, infinitely displeased by the little respect that had been displayed toward his banners, complains of it continually and bitterly to everyone. The Spaniards do much the same, attributing all the disasters that have occurred to his holiness, and complaining of him more than of anything else; and although the pontiff subsequently despatched his nephew as legate both to France and Spain, with the purpose well known to your Serenity, and knew that the Italian arms had made a still more important movement, and that the dangers would become more serious if the powers proceeded earnestly, he has nevertheless not yet been able to get rid of his first notion, that all the mischievous results experienced have proceeded from the early arrangements having been unskilfully made. But the French as well as the Spaniards attributed the vexations and difficulties encountered in that negotiation to the pretensions of the Pope, who required that the fortresses should be consigned to him without any declaration on his part as to what he would do with them, but positively refusing to demolish them; thus rendering it extremely difficult to find any suitable expedient for arranging the matter, causing the loss of so much time, while so many attempts have been made uselessly; and the matter was finally taken to Spain, because in Rome there was too much difficulty in bringing it to a termination."

No. 112

Relatione dello stato dell' imperio e della Germania fatta da Monsignore Caraffa nel tempo che era nuntio alla corte dell' imperatore, l'anno 1628. [Report on the state of the empire and of Germany made by Monsignore Caraffa, while nuncio at the court of the emperor, 1628.]

This Report is, upon the whole, the most circumstantial that I have met with; in a Roman copy it extended to 1,080 folio pages. It is not rare even in Germany. I bought a copy in Leipsic, and there is another in a private library in Berlin, in a beautiful folio volume with a splendid title-page; this was presented by a certain Wynman to the Bishop of Eichstadt in the year 1655.

It consists of four parts. In the first, there is a general description of the German troubles; in the second, the situation, possessions, and various relations of Ferdinand II are described; in the third, the German principalities are treated of according to the circles; and in the fourth, the alliances that had been formed in Germany, more particularly those recently concluded.

The author declares that he will write nothing which he has not himself seen, or had otherwise ascertained to be worthy of belief. "Protesting that whatever I shall write will be what I have seen and partly acted in myself, during the eight years that I have been in Germany, or what I have heard from persons worthy of credit; and partly what I have read in letters, diaries, and official papers, both of friends and enemies, which have been intercepted at different times, and whereof some have been printed, but others not."

We perceive that an elaborate arrangement was here contemplated from the outset.

The printed commentaries of Caraffa follow the order of time. This work is composed more in the manner of a report; the events are arranged in chronological order in the first part only.

But I will not conceal that I have often entertained doubts as to the genuine character of this report.

The compilation is extremely loose. We have first a repetition of the Bohemian report, with some slight omissions; we then find a very remarkable passage relating to the election of a king in Hungary in 1625, but inserted out of its proper place; and, finally, what is of still greater importance, a report of the year 1629, respecting Germany, the Emperor, and the princes, but which does not present a trace of being composed by Caraffa himself; and though here, indeed, it is somewhat amplified, yet is otherwise copied word for word. Many other points also are evidently "borrowed wares." Of King James I of England there is mention as "the present King of England"—and this could not be said in 1628.

One might suppose that some mere compiler had arranged these documents without judgment or any fixed purpose.

But on further consideration, this ceases to appear probable.

To the old account *(ragguaglio)* of Caraffa there are here added various notices, highly impressive and important, relating to more recent times, and such as no mere compiler could have furnished.

Intelligence is supplied which could not have become known to any but the initiated. The author is acquainted, for example, with that negotiation of Urban VIII in England, carried on by means of the Capuchin Rota, and which was so carefully kept secret.

The nuncio also speaks not unfrequently in the first person.

I conclude, then, that this work really proceeds from the hand of Caraffa, but that it was never brought to completion by him; whether because the author wanted time, inclination, or even it may be power, to do this, does not appear; but even his Bohemian report has something diffuse and formless in its character, to say the least. He may probably, after his return to Aversa, have proposed to employ some of his leisure hours in the arrangement of his materials.

But even in its present form this work is, at all events, worthy of our best attention.

The reports which it has embodied, and more or less carefully elaborated, are of high value. The historical remarks, also, are entirely distinct from those contained in the printed commentaries.

I extract a few notices which appear to me particularly worthy of attention.

1. Decline of the German principalities; for it is a matter of course that German and Austrian topics are much more minutely discussed in this place than Roman or ecclesiastical affairs.

"In former times there was so great an abundance, that the princes of Germany could with difficulty themselves know the vast amount of royalties, dues, silver, and other riches that flowed to them from all quarters; whereas they now can scarcely devise any means to procure them at all; they seem to have the means of living only from day to day, so that what one day yields, the next consumes. There is but little money gathered there, except from things renounced by creditors, and which are rather nominal than real. For so much negligence, so little economy, and such constant mismanagement, various causes are assigned. Some ascribe the whole to the liberality of the princes, some to the evil character of the times, some to the frequent wars, some to the seditions common among the citizens, while others finally attribute the blame to the ministers, prefects, and vicars. And truly there are certain officials to be seen who constantly seek to grasp the very utmost they can wring from all around them, and who carry, beyond all measure, the advantages extorted by governors; add to this, the absence of all good counsel, the interests of individuals always preferred to that of the commonwealth—things that were proved capable of destroying the great Roman Empire, and wherefore should they not destroy the German? The ruin of Germany may further proceed from the indolence of the princes, and from their excessive sensuality, or from the small amount of their talents, or from the premature old age by which they are overtaken; or, lastly, from their being so averse to the labors of government that they are glad to make over the management of public affairs to others, although they frequently acknowledge the utter incapacity of these substitutes. Thus, after the manner of certain ancient Eritrei, they make a sort of secondary princes, differing from themselves in name only, but equal to them in administrative power, as was Joab with David, and others under other princes. These managers, being taken from the people, have abused, and do abuse, their delegated power, and being themselves ruled rather by passion than by the moderation of virtue, and given up as a prey to parasites and flatterers, have employed, and do employ, other worthless subordinate Ministers, who for gain, from partiality to their kindred, or moved by ambition, have corrupted, and do corrupt justice; and neighboring princes being led to follow this example, they have raised that which was but private interest into custom and justice."

2. Election of a king of Hungary.

"The votes of the Kingdom of Sclavonia and Croatia, which were

almost all Catholic, being added to the Diet, and that addition causing the Catholic party and adherents of his Majesty to exceed by no small number the party of the heretics and dissidents, the rumor circulated respecting his Majesty's wishes in regard to that election, became daily better understood and more listened to. Yet the Emperor's envoys, the better to assure themselves of the votes at the Diet, thought it expedient, before proposing the election of the archduke, to make trial of their strength by the election of the Palatine, which was rendered necessary by the death of Thurzo. His Majesty greatly wished to have a Catholic elected, and above all, he desired the above-named Count Esterhazy, although in conformity with the laws and constitutions of that realm he had proposed four candidates to the estates—two Catholics and two heretics; and the matter succeeded most happily, for the said count was elected by 150 votes, the opposite party not having more than 60. This experiment having been made, the Emperor's adherents and friends were greatly encouraged by it; the Ministers of his Majesty, nevertheless, considered, that in addition to the 150 votes aforesaid, it would be well to gain over a good part of the 60, which had been adverse, by favors and gifts, that so the election might be decided to the greater satisfaction of the kingdom; and by expending, as was said, some 20,000 florins, the greater part of them were secured, as was experienced in the other affairs of the Diet. The party of Bethlem, and his adherents, considering it certain that the Emperor would desire to have the archduke elected king, although his Majesty's will had not then been made publicly known, did not fail to do everything possible for the counteraction of that purpose.

"I will here add an instance of boldness displayed by a lady on this occasion, from the extraordinary character of which, the efforts of the dissentient party may be inferred. The mother of the Baron Bathiany, who is one of the principal nobles of Hungary, whether as to rank, possessions, or followers, had the boldness to represent to the Empress, that she ought not to suffer this election to take place, since it might eventually prejudice her Majesty's own interest, for should anything befall the life of the Emperor, she, as crowned Queen of Hungary, would have the government of that kingdom during the interregnum, and until a new king could be elected. But the Empress, dissembling with extreme prudence, replied that she thanked her for her care, but that after the death of the Emperor, she, if she should survive him, would think of nothing but the interest of the sons of his Majesty her husband; to whom she instantly repeated the above-named suggestion.

"But although the business of the election was now considered secure, it was nevertheless impeded for many days by the violent dispute that arose among his Majesty's chief ministers; the Archbishop of Strigonia and the new Palatine also taking part in it, with the chancellor and others who had interest in the matter, such as the Spanish ambassador and myself, as unworthy apostolic minister. The contest turned on the question whether the coronation should follow immediately on the election. Some thought it should, because thus the archduke would be formally assured in the kingdom, which he would not be if he were merely elected, as was intimated by the previous election of Bethlem Gabor; the Hungarians being extremely changeful men, and for the most part unbelievers and little to be depended on; secondly, they maintained that if the coronation were effected, it would be of considerable use in the first imperial Diet, should the Emperor attempt to have his Highness elected King of the Romans; they alleged thirdly, that this was desirable in reference to the marriage projected with the Spanish infanta, it having been declared in Spain that they would first have the

archduke elected and crowned King of Hungary. Others, on the contrary, among whom were myself and the father confessor of the Emperor, affirmed that this coronation ought not to take place just then, because the States of that kingdom would never permit his Highness to be crowned, until he should first have promised and sworn to them, as well in regard to politics as to religion, all those things which his father had promised when in a much more perilous condition; wherefore, since the dangers then existing were no longer dreaded, and since time might still further ameliorate and strengthen the position of his Highness, either by the death of Gabor, the more prosperous aspect of affairs in the empire, or other events, it would not be expedient to embarrass the conscience of that young prince by closing the door against the progress of religion, which he would desire to promote; and at the same time prevent him from acquiring a more extended political authority and dominion within that realm. Those of this opinion said secondly, and the people of the treasury more particularly, that heavy expenses would have to be incurred for the coronation, as also now for the augmentation of the court of his Highness; wherefore, as the large expenditure of the journey to Ulm was inevitable, and must be provided for at once, it would be well if that of the coronation could be deferred to another time, no great injury being likely to result from this delay, for if Gabor desired to find a pretext, such as might arise from the death of the Emperor, he would do so none the less for the archduke being crowned; as he had done against the Emperor himself, though he was elected and crowned; that with respect to his being elected King of the Romans, and to his marriage with the infanta of Spain, it would suffice that the archduke were really King of Hungary, which he could certainly entitle himself by virtue of his election alone. The contest standing thus, although the ambassador of Spain insisted further on the coronation, saying that the Spanish Court would not otherwise have concluded the marriage of the infanta with the archduke, as not esteeming the succession to the kingdom to be secured without it, yet his Majesty with his accustomed piety declared that he would not have it performed, believing, in accordance with the counsels of his father confessor, that it would be against conscience, if the archduke should have to swear, what his Majesty himself had been compelled to swear, in those great dangers which did not now exist."

No. 113

Relatio status ecclesiæ et totius diœcesis Augustanæ, 1629. [Report on the state of the church, and of the whole diocese of Augsburg, 1629.]

A document of no particular importance. It is principally occupied with the affairs of the city of Augsburg.

The activity, labors, and final expulsion of the Protestant "Pseudo Doctors" from Augsburg, is the chief subject of the author.

He hopes that when this has been completely effected by the Emperor's sanction, obtained principally by the efforts of Hieronymus Imhof and Bernhard Rehlingen, the inhabitants would all soon become once more Catholic.

No. 114

Legatio apostòlica. P. Aloys. Carafæ, episcopi Tricaricensis, sedente Urbano VIII. Pont. M. ad tractum Rheni et ad prov. inferioris Germaniæ obita, ab anno 1624 usque ad annum 1634. Ad Cardinalem Franc. Barberinum. [Apostolic legation of P. A. Caraffa, bishop of Tricarico, to the district of the Rhine and the province of Lower Germany, from 1624 to 1634, under the pontificate of Urban VIII. Addressed to the cardinal Francesco Barberino.]

A very circumstantial report of 204 leaves; it is perhaps somewhat diffuse, but contains some useful matter.

We have, first, an account of the journey, and here much space is lost in mere trifling detail. Among other places the nuncio visits Fulda, and makes a great merit of having reduced the number of sixteen quarterings (ancestors) required to qualify a man for the dignity of that abbacy, to eight.

He is extremely minute in description of the dispute existing between Liège and the bishop, in which he took himself an active part; he transferred the seat of the nunciature from Cologne to Liège.

The most remarkable passage of this document is without doubt the description of the Catholic monasteries at that time existing within the limits of the nunciature.

We perceive from these details how entirely the higher branches of instruction were at that time in the hands of the Jesuits. They were the masters in Treves and Mayence. Paderborn, Münster, and Osnaburg, where a high school had been recently founded, were completely in their hands; but they taught only the classics *(humaniora)*, philosophy, and theology. Judicial studies were entirely neglected. In Cologne, which still continued the first of these universities, medicine was taught by two professors only, who had very few attendants on their lectures. The principal evil in Cologne had formerly been that the professors were much too amply provided with prebendal stalls. "By the wealth of these, they being supplied with means for an easy and pleasant life, rarely or never taught the sacred doctrines in their own person, but constantly used the vicarious labors of others. Thus the students were instructed without solidity or method, and fifteen years were not unfrequently suffered to pass before they had gone through a course of theology, which thing was heretofore of no small inconvenience to the arch-diocese of Cologne, and especially to the jurisdictions of Juliers, Cleves, and Mons, because parish priests and clergy proper to the cure of souls and able to repair the ruins of the Catholic religion, could not on this account be there appointed until after very long delays."

This the Jesuit fathers reformed. The college of the Three Crowns, which was made over to them, enjoyed a high reputation; in 1634 it had more than 1,200 students. But the taste for a life of enjoyment above alluded to, was not so easily eradicated. The feasts of the masters increased the costs of promotion and encouraged luxury. "Through Lent there are daily drinking-parties among the students." Our bishop describes the Catholicism and good living of the Cologne people by no means badly. "The people of Cologne hold most firmly to the religion of their ancestors, which they have never departed from since it was first adopted. It is true that some few families of the sectaries are tolerated in the city, but all exercise of their creed is forbidden to them, and they are heavily fined if they are discovered to hold private conventicles, or are caught listening to the bellowing trumpeters of Luther

or Calvin. In the Senate itself none may be elected who are not Catholics; but none of them who have been enrolled and come to the court, can express an opinion or give a vote, unless they have that same day been present at the sacred rites in the chapel nearest to the senatorial palace. By night the citizens themselves hold watch in the principal parts of the city, nor need any fear violence or insult, because, if clamors arise, they hasten thither to give aid; but robbers and assassins they place in bonds. All the streets are, moreover, closed at night with iron chains; nor do they permit free circulation, so that the people for the most part proceed very tranquilly. Among other advantages possessed by the people, there should first be commemorated the fact that each is permitted to purchase oxen and pigs at the beginning of winter, which he preserves in his house by means of smoke, drying them for the consumption of the year ensuing; of these they eat largely. An entire year is allowed them to pay the price, which is meanwhile advanced to the merchant by those appointed to that effect by the Senate. Nor will any of the artisans, however poor, suffer a want of good faith to appear in this matter; because in that case they could never again enjoy that signal advantage in the purchase of their food thus afforded them by the public moneys. There are also public tables in the various districts, where all may eat together at a fixed and moderate price, when festivals held on the week-days occur."

But it is not towns and universities alone that our author describes; princes and events are also depicted; Ferdinand of Cologne, " in gravity of manners, piety of conduct, and cultivation of intellect he is second to none." Frederic of Würtzburg, " well versed in tongues, even of foreign lands, of a most prudent address, and endeared to all by a certain gentle gravity of manner." Casimir of Mayence, " a man eloquent in his German tongue, and who has filled the office of legate."

Respecting the remarkable events of that period also, Caraffa supplies many remarkable notices. I know not whereon the opinion has been founded, that Wallenstein could have taken Stralsund, " if, as many believe, he had not more desired to take money than the city." He considers it a great misfortune that Tilly did not dare to throw himself on Saxony at the first movement made by that country. His description of the state of Cologne after the battle of Leipsic, and of the views first manifested by the French at that moment, is also very remarkable.

" By the blow received at Leipsic, the forces and the spirits of the Catholics were alike broken, and fear or want of ability in the defence of their fastnesses, suddenly opened a vast inlet for the victorious enemy, so that he could at once invade the very centre of the empire, with such force of arms that Fulda, Würtzburg, Bamberg, Mayence, Worms, Spires, and other cities and towns were in a short time either taken by storm or surrendered. Cologne remained the refuge of the exiled princes, and treasures were brought into that city, belonging as well to the Church as to the laity, and comprising all that it had been possible to carry away before the outbreak of that vehement and sudden tempest of war. Here the princes with anxious and doubtful care took counsel whether, as the French ambassador had proposed, it were expedient that neither those princes nor yet the city itself should, from that time forward, turn their arms in favor either of the Emperor or King Gustavus. This, the ambassador of the most Christian King recommended to Cologne, but he affirmed it to be necessary that garrisons from the legions of his own sovereign should be introduced into that city, and also into other places belonging to the electoral princes; for that thus, King Gustavus, respecting Cologne, would turn his arms elsewhere; or if, notwithstanding, he should resolve on coming as an enemy, he would justly

provoke the most Christian King, and the alliance being ended, would begin to experience his enmity and anger. Heavy indeed seemed that condition of admitting garrisons from the cohorts of a foreign king into the cities and strong places of the empire; but much more grievous were the other conditions, by which it was proposed that they should thenceforth assist neither party, because, in a war so dubious, to give no aid to the Emperor, but as it were to desert him, seemed wholly adverse to the most ancient habit and feeling of the princes and cities, as well as foreign to the principles of the empire itself. Yet that this was the only advice to be adopted, the only post of safety that remained, was equally the opinion of the apostolic nuncio at Paris, to whom I had written concerning the enormous blows inflicted on the Catholic religion, its temples and altars, by King Gustavus."

There follows further a minute account of the catastrophe of Wallenstein, which I shall give elsewhere.

No. 115

Relatione della corte di Roma del Signore Cavaliere Aluise Contarini, dell' anno 1632 *al* 1635. (*Arch. Ven.*) [Report on the court of Rome by Aluise Contarini, 1632 to 1635.] Venetian Archives.

A very copious report in 35 chapters, containing 140 pages and doubly important, because Aluise Contarini had proceeded directly from France to Rome, and was therefore more capable of forming a judgment respecting the very peculiar position assumed at that time in politics by Urban VIII.

He first describes the spiritual and temporal administration of the Pope.

He considers it to be entirely monarchical. Of all the old congregations, one only, that of the Inquisition, assembled regularly. They have no other privileges than that people still drew up their carriages when they met them, that they were invested with the purple, and retained a voice in the election of the pontiff; but the Pope is so little disposed toward them, that in affairs of weight he would rather use the services of inferior prelates, whose hopes depended principally on himself, than of cardinals, who were already possessed of more independence.

But the more closely the rein is drawn, so much the more does authority become weakened. "The ancient veneration is nowadays much diminished."

The inhabitants of Urbino were more particularly discontented. "The subjects of that duchy complain much of the change, calling the government of the priests a tyranny, they having no other care than that of enriching and advancing themselves.' The author perpetually complains that Urbino should have fallen into the hands of the Pope, lamenting it as a great loss to Spain and Venice.

In a second part, he describes the personal qualities of those concerning whom he treats. "Pope Urban VIII was born in April, 1567 (others say 1568); thus he is approaching the 69th year of his age; but he preserves the force of his constitution, which is not subject to any malady, as well as the vigor of his intellect. He is of middle height and dark complexion, his hair is white, his eye quick, his utterance rapid, his temperament sanguine and bilious. He lives rigidly by rule. He regulates his actions in great measure by the motions of the heavens, with respect to which he has great knowledge, although he has prohibited the study of them to all others under pain of the heaviest censures. His move-

ments are sudden, and so violent, that they sometimes border on absurdity; for he cannot take patience and restrain them; but he says that this commotion of the bile from time to time is very useful, by stimulating the natural heat to the preservation of his health. He rides, takes pleasure in the country, walks, and is fond of exercise. He does not trouble himself when things go wrong; and all these things concur to make it probable that he will yet have some years of life, although he fell off very considerably during my sojourn at his court.

"He attained to the pontificate after an uninterrupted service at court of more than thirty years. He was first a prelate of the Segnatura, and afterward Governor of Fano. Soon after this second promotion, he bought offices at court, and ultimately the clerkship of the chamber; this he did with the help of his paternal uncle, Francesco Barberini, a prelate of little repute, but of great wealth, accumulated with Florentine parsimony. Clement VIII employed him in various offices, but particularly in relation to the new cutting of the Po, and from this have arisen in great measure the present contentions with the republic respecting boundaries, which result in part from the knowledge he possesses of this matter, and in part from his resentment at the affair not having been conducted at that time according to his wishes. He was then, by the same Clement, sent as nuncio into France, first as nuncio-extraordinary for the baptism of the present King, and afterward as nuncio-in-ordinary to his father, Henry IV, when he proved himself a most zealous defender of the ecclesiastical immunities. Paul V, successor of Clement, confirmed him in the said legation of France, and afterward made him cardinal and legate in Bologna. On his return to Rome he was appointed prefect of the Segnatura of Justice, a very honorable office, and an employment of high importance. Finally, in 1623, he attained to the pontificate by means of very crafty practices, in the place of Gregory XV, being then in his fifty-sixth year, and now he is going through the thirteenth year of his reign, to the displeasure of the whole court, to which, no less than to sovereigns, short pontificates are the most advantageous, for in these there is more regard paid to everyone, there is a greater abundance of favors, and the pontiffs do not proceed as if the papacy were an hereditary succession; the court, moreover, finds that in general there proceed more employment and better fortunes from the frequency of change.

"In every position, the Pope always held a high opinion of himself, desiring to rule over others, and showing contempt for the opinions of all. He seems now to proceed more liberally, since he finds himself in a position eminent above all others. He has great talent, but not sound judgment; talent, for in things that depend on himself alone, and which concern his person and house, he has always attained to the objects he has proposed to accomplish, without shrinking from those intrigues and artifices which are, indeed, entirely congenial to his nature, as was seen in his canvass for the papacy, during which he found means to reconcile in his own favor the two opposite factions of Borghese and Ludovisio, merely by making each believe him the enemy of the other. But in general affairs, wherein judgment is demanded, that the interests of the Apostolic See may be brought into harmony with those of other princes, the Pope has been observed to be always deficient in it. This was made evident in the affair of the Valtelline, and in the war of Mantua, which would not have occurred if the Pope had declared against the first innovator; in the loss of Mantua, attributed to the supplies received by the Germans from the Ecclesiastical States, and without which they must have raised the siege or perished; and in the act of conferring the prefecture of Rome on his nephew, thus depriving the Apostolic See of the

presence of so many ministers of foreign princes, who form its finest ornament, while he burdened the nephew himself with a load of envy, vexations, and cares, the post, too, being absolutely untenable after the death of the pontiff. A further proof of his want of judgment may be found in the unworthy mode of treatment adopted toward the ambassador of your Serenity, my predecessor, in suffering him to depart without satisfaction; as also in the last joint protection of France, first advised and consented to through Cardinal Antonio, his nephew, then retracted and forbidden, with a manifestation of excessive artifice, not to say deceit, which was evident to the whole world, and to the production of a division in his own house. I say nothing of the great injury received by the Catholic religion in Flanders and Germany under the present pontificate; the perils caused to Italy by his refusal of dispensation to the Duke of Mantua, and still more by the Pope's having conducted himself in a manner that has disgusted all princes, great and small, to such an extent that no one of them is friendly toward him, so that he is rendered incapable of exercising toward them those offices of authority and of paternal advice by which they might have been pacified and drawn together for the defence of religion; yet these offices have always been so carefully exercised by previous pontiffs and considered so peculiarly their own, that to maintain their title of common father, whence proceeds all the veneration professed for them, and to preserve union among the Christian princes, which is to them the source of great authority, they have exposed themselves to many hazards, journeyings, and perils, their name of father excusing them from attention to those punctilios which serve as so effectual an impediment to the intervention of other princes.

"The present Pope has always professed to be neutral, making it his glory that he has enriched and aggrandized his house without bargaining for domains in the Kingdom of Naples, or submitting to receive favors from great princes. His secret inclinations are, nevertheless, toward the French; their promptitude and determined boldness being most congenial to the character of his holiness, as was manifested by the great demonstrations he made when La Rochelle was taken. He recommended peace with the English, that France might hasten to the aid of Casale, then besieged by the Spaniards; advising the French at the same time to seize and retain Pinarolo for the requisite preservation of an equilibrium in Italy. He constantly discovered pretexts for deferring or diminishing the succors required by Germany, so that an opinion prevailed, and still exists, that his holiness was grieved for the death of the King of Sweden, and that he rejoices more, or rather fears less, for the progress of the Protestants, than that of the Austrians. It is also generally believed, that even though the Pope should be led to some union with the Spaniards by Cardinal Barberino, who is altogether Spanish, it would most probably terminate in a rupture more decided than ever. And the cause is this: that as the Pope proceeds by artifice and intrigue, and believes that the Spaniards do the same, there must always be more apprehension of mutual deceptions between them than of the confidence proper to a sincere union."

We do not think it necessary to repeat the description of the nephews given by Aluise Cantarini. Even Francesco Barberino, although most of all beloved by the Pope, and completely devoted to business, was yet entirely dependent on his uncle. "There has never been a papal nephew more assiduous in the labors of the State than he, who never permits himself to take the slightest recreation; but it is also true that none has ever effected less than he has done."

Contarini declines all description of the cardinals, remarking that a

confirmed hypocrisy prevailed through the whole body. "One cardinal, though in perfect health, shall make pretence, to facilitate his path to the popedom, of being most infirm; tottering in his walk, coughing at every word; and if he stir abroad, it is only close shut in his litter. Another, being an able statesman, shall nevertheless pretend to be averse from and ignorant of all business; while others talk, he is dumb; if questions are asked, he shrugs his shoulders; or if he reply, it is only in general terms." One might be tempted to believe that we have here the original of the fable invented with respect to the elevation of Sixtus V.

Next comes the third part; and this describes political relations. It is full of the most acute, impressive, and animated observation; and as we have said, is for us the most valuable part of the report.

However well disposed to the French, Pope Urban might be, he did not always comply with their requests as regarded ecclesiastical affairs. "It must however be confessed that they have required very difficult concessions; such, for example, as the right of nominating to the abbeys of Lorraine, the annulling of the marriages of Duke Charles of Lorraine, and of Monsieur, with others of similar character." Neither was Francesco Barberino so well disposed to the French party as his uncle; but though the French no longer hoped for any express declaration in their favor, they also knew that the Pope would not act against them. Even this was a great advantage for their side, since being considered favorable to France, the opposite party did not trust him.

But all the more dissatisfied were the Spaniards. They reproached Cardinal Borgia for having permitted Urban VIII to be elected; and it was affirmed that this cardinal had been won over to do so only by the promise of manifold favors. In the negotiations relative to the Valtelline, in the general policy of the French, and in the position maintained by Bavaria, the Spaniards affirm that the influence of Urban's disinclination might be constantly perceived. Barberino, on the other hand, maintained that the concessions he had made to Spain had been met by no acknowledgment from them. It is obvious that the misunderstanding was mutual.

Contarini discusses the relations of Rome to Venice more fully than all besides. He considers the difficulties between them to arise chiefly from this; that whereas other States were either feared by Rome as more powerful than herself, or neglected by her as less powerful, Venice was regarded and treated as an equal.

It was already a source of displeasure to Rome that the English and Dutch should enjoy certain immunities in Venice. But if once the temporal jurisdiction presumed to lay hands on the person of an ecclesiastic, a general storm immediately arose.

The ambassador is nevertheless of opinion that the Venetians must not permit themselves to be trifled with. The nuncio was enjoined to maintain the most friendly relations with all such Venetian priests as were favorites with the people, and had the largest number of penitents to confess. "And your Excellencies may rest assured that by means of such men, the nuncios contrive to extract the very marrow of all secrets." So much the more needful was it that the republic should in no case relinquish her authority over them.

In addition to all this, there were moreover continual disputes about the boundaries. Urban VIII was in no respect to be regarded as the promoter of Venetian interests. He was in particular disposed to advance Ancona to the prejudice of Venice.

No. 116

Discorso della malattia e morte del Cardinal. Ippolyto Aldobrandino, camerlengo di Santa Chiesa col fine della grandezza del Papa Clemente VIII. 1638. [Account of the illness and death of Cardinal Ippolyto Aldobrandino, chamberlain of the holy church, and of the close of the greatness of Pope Clement VIII. 1635.]

An extraordinary impression was produced in Rome by the sudden downfall of the Aldobrandini family, which had been so lately founded.

It was under the influence of this impression that the little work before us was written. "That great genius has been overwhelmed by death," it begins. Of the whole house, the daughter of Giovanni Giorgio Aldobrandino alone remained—and would necessarily inherit incalculable riches.

The state of society in Rome is not badly depicted in the following passage: "The Marquis Lodovico Lanti, Count Giovanni Francesco da Bagni, Berlingieri Gessi, and Bernardino Biscia, all four emulously hoping for the pontificate of their uncles, are desiring to receive the Princess Aldobrandina in marriage." In the prospect of their uncle's elevation to the papacy, the nephews-presumptive were struggling for the hand of the richest heiress.

But neither the marriage they sought, nor the power of "the nephew," was to be attained by any one of them.

Ippolyta married a Borghese. Our author is in the utmost astonishment at this, because Paul V had persecuted the Aldobrandini, and had imprisoned the father of Ippolyta himself, yet now she gives her hand to his great-nephew.

In later life, however, as we know, she did in fact fall to the lot of a nephew to the reigning pontiff, Innocent X, to whom she was destined by the circumstances and interests of the Roman Court.

No. 117

Relatione di q. Zuanne Nani Cavaliere Procurator ritornato di ambasciatore estraordinario da Roma, 1641, 10 *Luglio.* (*Arch. Ven.*) [Report of Zuanne Nani, on returning from his embassy extraordinary to Rome, July 10, 1641.] Venetian Archives.

Disagreements of various kinds were continually arising between Rome and Venice; in the year 1635, there occurred one of the most extraordinary kind.

A magnificent inscription, in pompous terms, had been erected in the Sala Regia of the Vatican, by Pius IV, to record an achievement of the Venetians on which they prided themselves greatly, and which made a splendid figure in their annals, a victory, namely, gained over Frederick Barbarossa, and by which, as they affirmed, they had saved Alexander III from destruction.

But the terms of this inscription had gradually come to be thought unwarrantable in Rome. That the phrase "By the benefits of the Venetian Republic, the dignity of the pontiff was restored" should be exhibited, was held by the constantly increasing rigor of orthodoxy to be a kind of affront. The spirit of contention for rank then ruling the world seized on this long past and almost forgotten incident, and the truth of the narration, as it appears in Venetian writers of history,

began moreover to be generally called in question. Disputants appeared in print on both sides of the question.

This is a question that even to the present day has been more than once revived.

I cannot believe that anyone possessing the slightest notion of historical examination and criticism can remain doubtful respecting it.

But however that may be, it was at all events not historical conviction alone, but political jealousy, in addition, that induced Urban VIII first to alter that inscription, and, finally, to erase it altogether.

It was in the same light that the matter was viewed by the republic; the disputes respecting the boundaries, and those concerning the precedence of the new prefect becoming daily more embittered, Venice, for some time, sent no regular ambassador to Rome.

Accordingly, Nani, who went thither in the year 1638, was only ambassador-extraordinary. He remained nevertheless nearly three years and a half, and his report shows that he had acquired a considerable acquaintance with the court.

The chief purpose of his mission was to prevail on the Pope to support the Republic in case of her being attacked by the Turks, which at that time seemed highly probable.

It is an extraordinary fact that this request came at a moment which made it particularly acceptable to the Pope. He could oppose this necessity of the republic to the perpetual demands of the house of Austria, then so hardly pressed by the Protestants and the French.

The ambassador would gladly have moved him to a mediation also between the belligerent powers; but the Pope did not enjoy the general confidence indispensable to such an attempt. "There were so many causes of bitterness continually arising between the pontiff and the crowns, that his authority had become powerless, not to say hateful, among them."

This ambassador also remarks the inclination of Urban to make a display of military force. Whoever desired to stand well with him must turn the conversation to his fortresses; to which he frequently alluded himself. He even declared that he could bring together more than 20,000 men within the space of twenty days. He further enumerated the territories that he possessed. For immediate necessaries he had laid by 400,000 scudi, and it was believed that of the 5,000,000 scudi left by Sixtus V, 3,000,000 still remained in the castle at St. Angelo.

Let us now observe in what manner Nani describes the person and mode of administration adopted by Urban VIII:

"The pontiff is in the beginning of the seventy-third year of his age, and at the close of the seventeenth of his pontificate; no pope has enjoyed so long a period of government for a space of 324 years. He is robust and vigorous, and is gratified at being so considered; indeed, if we except occasional attacks of internal disorders to which he appears subject, his constitution and health are such that he may still last many years. He adopts the most useful measures for the preservation of his health, and as he now feels himself becoming older, he applies less to business, with regard to which, however, he has rarely inflicted on himself more labor than was pleasant to him. The morning is passed in giving audience and other affairs, the afternoon is reserved for rest and conversation with those of his immediate circle, in which he is cheerful and facetious, as in more important discourse he is learned and eloquent. Even while giving audience he willingly passes from the matter in negotiation to subjects of an interesting or studious character, to which he is much devoted. He possesses great talents and great qualities, has a wonderful memory, with courage and energy that

sometimes render him too firmly fixed to his own ideas. He has extensive powers of intellect, increased by experience of government and the world. He thinks very highly of his own opinion, and therefore does not love taking counsel, nor does he much regard the qualities of his Ministers, who might nevertheless give increased force to his measures. He is not much disposed to confer favors, and is of hasty temper; so that even with the Ministers of sovereign princes he cannot always dissemble his impetuosity. He likes to be treated with delicate address, and if there be any method by which the mind of his holiness can be diverted from its determination, it is by this alone; or if one cannot always succeed by it, there is in any case one good result, that if he will not yield, at least he does not break off in anger.

"It were much to be desired that the present government had a more extensive and more efficient '*Consulta*,' because, where discussion is wanting, reason will sometimes be wanting likewise; and it is certain that the Ministers are but few, and still fewer are those who have any authority or weight at the palace. With the pontiff himself, no one is known to have influence, and his holiness places his own opinion above that of all: the others are wont either to applaud, or at least conform to it. In former times it was usual for the pope to have three or four cardinals near his person, with whom all more important affairs were discussed before they were determined on, and it was then held to be part of the nephews' secret policy to introduce their own dependents into the confidence of their uncle, to the end that these might lead or win him over on occasions where they could not themselves appear, or did not wish to reveal their inclinations.

"Barberino has not chosen to circumvent the freedom of the Pope in this manner, but reserving to himself exclusively the place immediately next the ear of his holiness, he compels all others to remain at a distance, and to submit their own opinions to his sole judgment, not seeming pleased that any should speak to the Pope on business without having first communicated with himself. Yet he does not avail himself of this authority, which he alone enjoys, with that liberty which might perhaps be advantageous to the public good, and to his own interests; so that, not daring to lift a breath against the resolutions or opinions of the Pope, he frequently assumes the appearance of being equally obstinate with his holiness himself, and by this means has subjected himself to the displeasure of kings and other sovereigns, with the dislike of their Ministers, for not diverting or preventing many strange and disagreeable occurrences.

"Under the pontificate of the present Pope, the cardinals complain accordingly, more particularly those created by him, of not being treated with openness or confidence. The cardinal-nephew employs the services of very few Ministers, while the vast amount of business and other causes might seem to make him require many. Pancirola and Ricchi, auditors of the *Rota*, are those most admitted to his intimacy and most frequently employed.

"Pancirola is a man of advanced age and great experience; he was employed in Piedmont respecting the peace, even from the time when the wars of Mantua commenced. He is employed in affairs connected with the administration of the Ecclesiastical States, and as I have not had to transact any business with him, I have nothing to relate concerning his personal qualities.

"Ricchi is a man of high character, prompt and sagacious; he directs almost all affairs with foreign princes, and has more particularly the management of those pertaining to the republic. He is entirely dependent on Barberino, a circumstance which renders him par-

ticularly acceptable to the lord cardinal; he has encountered many vexations from some of the foreign ministers, but is upon the whole greatly liked. He has no other experience than that derived from his present employment, which is an important one; my business has always been transacted with him, and your Excellencies will remember to have seen him frequently described in my letters, as well as in his official documents. In the management of affairs he displays address and coolness, with equal ability and diligence. He speaks of the most Serene Republic with all possible expressions of reverence and devotion. He has it much at heart to secure a certain matter touching the pensions of the cardinal his brother, respecting which I have written at other times.

"To these I will add Monsignore Cecca, Secretary of State, because he is at present assisting in the negotiations of the League. He has not more than ordinary talent, but from long experience in his office has a competent knowledge of business. He is considerably advanced in years, and is believed to be near to the cardinalate; though not greatly beloved by the nephews, he is much respected on account of the regard borne to him by his holiness. When the present pontiff was nuncio at the Court of France, Cecca was in the service of his secretary, and by a marvellous change of fortune, yet one not uncommon in the Roman Court, he stepped into the place of his master, who is still living in no very prosperous circumstances, while Cecca enjoys an important office with good revenues, and has prospects of more than common advancement. There are none beside in the circle of Barberino possessing either credit or talents to merit observation.

"For the government of the State, there is a '*Consulta*' of cardinals and prelates, which meets for the discussion of various matters twice in each week. The other congregations are those of the Inquisition, of '*Propaganda Fide*,' of the Council, of the regular clergy, of ceremonial rites, and other interests of a similar character. But the whole affair resolves itself into mere talk, because the decision rests entirely with his holiness and the nephew. A congregation of state is held from time to time in the presence of the Pope, for purposes of high importance; but none take part in these councils excepting the cardinals created by himself or others in his confidence, or who have served in nunciatures. Even this, too, serves rather for the ratification of decisions than for the determination of them by discussion, because nothing is deliberated on, or presented as a decree, except in conformity with the opinion either expressed or suffered to be understood as that of his holiness; and indeed the pontiffs are wont to complain that they have not anyone in whom they may confide, all the cardinals living with their eyes turned on those foreign princes with whom their interests are connected."

No. 118

Racconto delle cose più considerabili che sono occorse nel governo di Roma in tempo di Monsignore Gio. Batt. Spada. [Relation of the most important events that have taken place in the government of Rome during the time of Monsignore Gio. Battista Spada.]

Respecting the latter days of Urban VIII, replete with pictures of life and manner, more especially of circumstances falling within the department of justice and the police of the States, and recorded with unquestionable authenticity.

We find the old contentions still prevailing among the ancient fam-

ilies of Rome, between the Gaetani and Colonnesi for example; not only was it difficult to effect any agreement between them, but many days were required even for drawing up the document, wherein the history of their quarrels was of necessity related, with a view to such agreement; so difficult was it to make a report by which one or the other would not feel himself insulted.

Disputes were also frequent between the French and Spaniards. They would meet for example in taverns, each drank to the health of his own sovereign; offence was soon taken; but the weaker party remained moderately quiet, until, being reinforced, it could meet its opponent on equal ground; then, assembling on the public places of the city, they would come to blows, and it was not without the utmost difficulty that the *bargello* could separate them.

But although thus divided among themselves, they all do their best to oppose the court, and rival each other in resistance to the policy of Rome.

The ambassadors were most especially difficult to manage; they gradually set up those pretensions which were subsequently the cause of so many serious disputes. They not only declared their palaces to be sanctuaries and free, permitting unlawful games to be established in them; but they even claimed the right of extending their protection to the neighboring houses. Monsignore Spada naturally opposed these pretensions. "For if so much courtesy had been extended to the lords ambassadors as that none should enter their houses or families, the extent to which they now desired to carry the matter was too great, being no less than that no execution should be permitted in the neighboring houses, or even in the same cluster of buildings (*isola*)."

Historically considered, the most important incidents here described are two attempts on the life of Urban VIII, which are given with the most satisfactory authenticity.

1. "Concerning the trial of Giacinto Centini, nephew of Cardinal d' Ascoli, and of certain of his accomplices.—The substance was to this effect: it having been prognosticated that the cardinal would succeed to the present pontiff, Giacinto Centini, led away by this prophecy, and desiring to see it instantly fulfilled, had formed a compact with Fra Serafino Cherubini of Ancona, of the Friars Minor; Fra Pietro da Palermo un Eremita, who assumed the name of Fra Bernardino; and Fra Domenico da Fermo, an Augustinian, for the purpose of seeking to shorten the life of our lord the Pope by diabolic acts; and to that effect it was resolved to make a figure of wax, representing the Pope, which was executed; and after many invocations of demons, and sacrifices offered to the same, this was melted, destroyed, and consumed at the fire, with the firm belief that the said figure being so consumed, the life of Pope Urban must terminate with it, and thus make way for the succession of Cardinal Ascoli, uncle of Giacinto."

2. "The confession of Tommaso Orsolini of Recanate.—That by the instigation of Fra Domenico Brancaccio of Bagnarea, an Augustinian, he had gone to Naples for the purpose of making a pretended discovery to the viceroy of a supposed agreement among the princes for the invasion of the Kingdom of Naples, wherein his holiness also was to take part, and the remedy proposed was, that either the Pope or one of the confederates was to be put to death. This the aforesaid Father Bagnarea offered to do himself, provided they would furnish him with 3,000 scudi, which he would give to the sacristan of his holiness, who was now become incapable of labor; when he, Bagnarea, having succeeded to that office, would have put poison into the host, which his holiness would have to consecrate in the mass; or other-

wise, if he could not succeed in becoming sacristan, he would have contrived that the apothecary Carcurasio, his relative, should poison the medicaments applied to the setons of his holiness; but he did not proceed to the extent of describing all this to the viceroy, because, having intimated to him that the Pope must be put to death, he saw that the viceroy did not entertain that proposal."

No. 119

Historica relatione dell' origine e progressi delle rotture nate tra la casa Barberina et Odoardo Farnese duca di Parma e Piacenza. In the Library of Vienna. Historia Prof. N. 899. 224 *leaves.* [Historical relation of the origin and progress of those disputes that have occurred between the house of Barberina and Odoardo Farnese, duke of Parma and Placentia.] Library of Vienna. Historia Prof. N. 899. 224 leaves.

This is the work of a partisan, given in the form of a letter, in which the origin of these contentions is wholly attributed to the ill-will of the Barberini. The *monti* of the barons are connected by this author, as well as others, with those of the State. The Pope readily granted the necessary permissions, because he thus rendered the barons more subservient to himself. "When such *monti* were erected, the prince became security, reserving to himself the right to demand their extinction at his pleasure."

I do not find that this work, although voluminous, makes any important disclosures; and since we are not in this case in any want of such, it has no great value. The most remarkable part of it is, without doubt, the description of Pope Urban's anti-Austrian, and in a certain sense anti-Catholic tendencies.

"He would sometimes give it to be understood, that though the progress made by the Catholics against the heretics was very pleasing to him, yet that there was cause to fear lest this prosperity should some day turn to their injury by the jealousies that would be excited throughout the world, lest the empire should absorb the last remaining vestige of liberty. A report was current in all the courts that it was to Urban the suspicions of Duke Maximilian were to be ascribed, and which caused a great schism in the union of those Catholic princes, who were exposed to the chances of reactions, for they supposed that once the heretics were subdued, the arms of Austria would be turned to the injury of those who had been ministers to the greatness of that house; and to say all, there were some who in those days boasted of knowing that the mission of Ceva, the confidential minister of the house of Barberina, sent into France with the title of nuncio-extraordinary, had received in the most profound concealment a secret command to excite the French King to mingle in the commotions of Germany, to the end that, acting in concert with Bavaria, he might devise a method for raising up some barrier against the increasing power of the house of Austria."

This proves at least that such views were prevalent at the time.

No. 120

Della vita di Papa Urbano VIII. e historia del suo pontificato, scritta da Andrea Nicoletti. Eight volumes in folio MS. [The life of Pope Urban VIII and history of his pontificate, by Andrea Nicoletti.] Eight volumes in folio MS.

It is much to be regretted that there are so few good, or even available biographies of the persons most eminent in history.

The cause of this deficiency must not be ascribed to indifference to their memory; this was, indeed, most commonly very highly estimated, if not overrated, by those connected with them; it may be attributed to the following cause:

At first, when the remembrance is still fresh, and materials might readily be gathered, certain scruples are felt with regard to contemporaries; the whole truth is not told; a multitude of individuals would be compromised, and numberless animosities called forth against the subject of the memoir himself.

At a later period, and when contemporaries also have disappeared, when courage might be found for speaking, the memory of the hero has also become faint, the materials are scattered, the interest itself has declined, and awakens only in the minds of those who desire to investigate the facts for historical purposes.

In this state of things, the following expedient was frequently adopted in Italy.

The materials existing were handed over to some trusted friend or servant of the house, who, being well and personally informed of the general facts, then placed them together, arranged them duly, and formed them into a connected narrative; yet this was not intended for the press, it was preserved in manuscript among the family annals.

In this manner the susceptibilities of the contemporary were spared; while yet the possibility was retained of reviving the rapidly fading memory at some future time, and presenting it in all the fulness of truth.

To this class of works belongs the biography of Andrea Nicoletti.

It contains the recollections of the Barberina family respecting the personal character and various transactions of Urban VIII. But the mass of the work, and that which gives the volume its bulk, is the collected correspondence, of which all is inserted, of the ambassadors belonging to the twenty-one years of Urban's pontificate.

This biography is, in fact, essentially formed of a compilation of the despatches from the different nunciatures.

Not the final reports, the *relationi*, properly so called, but the despatches themselves, as was most fitting to a biography. The Pope constantly appears in this work as himself directing, determining, and acting.

I have observed that similar compilations were attempted in Venice; but as the active proceedings of the republic do not appear, and only the mass of the reports presented is placed before us, without any of their effects becoming apparent, the attention very soon becomes distracted and wearied.

In the work of Nicoletti the case is totally different; the vocation of the papacy, the complicated political position of Urban VIII, the immediate bearing of each report on some important circumstance of general history—all tend to produce unity of purpose, and awaken interest.

It is obvious that the notices here presented in relation to the period of the Thirty Years' War must needs have especial importance; and in fact they throw light on it at every point.

It must be allowed that where the author attempts a judgment, or relates a fact from his own authority, we cannot follow him altogether without reserve. Here and there he may probably have been unable to procure authentic information; but the official is not to be concealed, even in the origin and first conception of such a work. I will cite but one example. In the third volume of his work, p. 673, Nicoletti affirms that Urban VIII had heard of the conclusion of peace between France and England with much bitter grief ("*Il rammarico fu acerbissimo*"), while from Aluise Contarini, who took a personal share in all the negotiations, we learn that the Pope had even advised those negotiations and that conclusion. The error of Nicoletti proceeds from the fact that amidst the enormous accumulation of correspondence before him this notice had escaped his observation, and that he judged the Pope according to his own idea of what was demanded from Urban's ecclesiastical position. Many similar instances occur, but these do not prevent us from believing the author where he merely gives extracts.

It is the practice of Nicoletti to insert the papers in their whole extent, with such changes only as are demanded by the form of narrative. The utmost deviation that he can have made is to misplace certain particulars or omit certain documents. Yet, from the nature of his charge, which merely consisted in arranging the papers given him, and from the character of the work, which was not intended for the public, this was not of necessity to be anticipated, nor have I found any trace of its being done.

Although I have proceeded diligently through all these volumes, and have not neglected the opportunity of making myself acquainted with historical materials of so much importance, it would nevertheless be impossible to give a more minute account of them in this place. Whoever has occupied himself with the examination of correspondence will remember how much he has been compelled to read before attaining to a clear peception of any one fact. For materials so diffuse I cannot find space in this work.

There follows, however, the description of the last moments of Urban VIII, which is highly remarkable; as also of his personal character, as Nicoletti conceived it.

Volume viii., near the close: "In those days (toward the end of June) the heat in Rome was excessive, and even much more perilous than common; nevertheless, the Pope, believing himself to be somewhat recovered from his malady, and knowing that seventeen churches were without their bishops, while Cardinal Grimaldi, who had returned from the nunciature of France, had not received the hat of his cardinalate, declared that he would hold a consistory on the approaching Monday. Cardinal Barberini thought that he might also induce him to complete the promotion of some cardinals; for which cause he did not oppose his purpose by representing his dangerous state of weakness, and the slow fever that might be redoubled by that exertion, but rather applauded his intention and encouraged him, as though he had been in good health. The report of the intended consistory getting about, while the Pope was believed by some to be dying, and by others even dead, but that his death was concealed, the greater part of Rome was seen to be alarmed, although all put on glad looks and pretended to rejoice at the restoration of the pontiff's health. But Cardinal Barberini, perceiving afterward that the Pope would not proceed to the promotion of any cardinal, although eight were wanting to the Sacred College,

either because he was not satisfied with the persons proposed to him, or because he desired to leave that office to his successor, then made an earnest attempt to dissuade him by powerful reasons and pressing entreaties from holding the consistory at that time; and he labored all the more eagerly because he saw that, besides the probable injury to the Pope, he should himself be discredited and lose in the general esteem, since the cardinals of his proposing not being promoted, the report universally prevailing of his having lost favor with the Pope on account of the wars, would receive confirmation, and the opinion that if Urban's life were prolonged, the Cardinal Antonio would obtain the supremacy, would be strengthened. The pontiff not being moved by these arguments and prayers, Monsignor Roscioli, knowing that he should oblige Cardinal Barberini and help to preserve the life of his holiness by dissuading him from the said resolution, and confiding in the good-will of the Pope toward himself, determined to adopt every means, even using the names of the cardinals and of the whole city to prevail on him for the abandonment of that consistory. Having taken, therefore, a befitting opportunity, he entered the apartments of the Pope, and kneeling before him, declared that he did not propose to supplicate him in the name of his Ministers, nor on the part of his nephews, or of the house of Barberini, but of the whole city of Rome; for that his holiness having been chosen for the welfare of the nations, and for the safety of the Church, when abandoning the care of his own person by exposing himself, while still weak, to the danger of accident, abandoned at the same time the whole city and the government committed to him by the Church, to the extreme grief of all: that his welfare or peril was of more consequence to Christendom in general than to the house of Barberini, or to his holiness himself; and that, therefore, if he would not defer the fatigue of that consistory at the prayers of his nephews, he should do so at least for the entreaties of all Rome, which implored him to comply. The Pope, after reflecting for a time, replied that he did not desire to prolong his life further, knowing that the pontificate was a burden no longer suited to his strength, and that God would provide for his Church. After this reply having remained silent for a time, Monsignor Roscioli perceived that the Pope had his eyes full of tears, and, raising them to heaven with sighs, he burst into fervent prayers to God, imploring the Divine Majesty to release him from this present life, wherewith he seemed to be grievously wearied.

"The Monday appointed for holding the consistory having arrived, a vast multitude of people assembled at the palace, curious to see the Pope, whom but shortly before they had believed dead. Scarcely had he entered, before the cardinals perceived that his life was indeed approaching its end, for he looked languid and pale, and had almost lost the power of utterance; toward the end of the consistory more particularly he appeared to have become almost insensible. This was attributed to the excessive heat of the season, increased by the crowd of people who had found their way in; but neither did the ministers nearest to the Pope's person, nor Cardinal Barberini himself, escape reproach for not having prevented the pontiff from exposing himself to that fatiguing office, the people not knowing the efforts that had been made to divert him from this purpose; for anyone seeing him in that state of suffering and weakness, would have been moved to pity, since it was manifest that the malady had shaken his mind and deprived him of all sound judgment respecting the affairs before him. After the propositions concerning the churches had been made, and after having given the hat to Cardinal Grimaldi, he left the consistory with his disorder greatly aggravated, as had been foretold.

"On the following day he performed an action by which he acquired the fame of great piety, and which is worthy of record as an example to all ecclesiastical princes. This was to summon before him certain theologians, who were very eminent in that science, and also for probity, being besides considered by the Pope to be incapable of adulation. To these divines he first caused a full statement to be given of all the ecclesiastical estates and revenues wherewith he had enriched the house of Barberini during the time of his pontificate, commanding them to declare whether he had in any wise exceeded his power and authority; since he was prepared to take back from his nephews whatever might burden his conscience before the tribunal of God. The theologians were Cardinal de Lugo, Father Torquato de Cupis, of the Order of Jesuits, and some others. And the Pope was encouraged to this act by the serenity he perceived on the countenance of Cardinal Barberini, when having summoned him first of all, he made him acquainted with his purpose; so that, notwithstanding the late shadows of doubt between them, he seemed almost disposed to take his advice on the subject. The cardinal applauded the piety of his holiness, and showed particular satisfaction respecting that intention, hoping still greater blessings from the most bountiful hand of God, since all this was to be done solely for the satisfaction of the Divine Majesty. It is said that the unanimous opinion of the theologians was this; that his holiness, having enriched his nephews, might with a safe conscience permit them to enjoy all the wealth he had conferred on them, and that for two reasons: First, that having promoted many persons to the cardinalate without having provided them with revenues suitable to their positions, the nephews would thus be in a condition to supply them according to their need. The other reason why the conscience of the Pope should be tranquil was that the nephews aforesaid having in that long reign, and during the wars, incurred the hatred and hostility of various princes, it was reasonable that they should be left in a condition to defend themselves and maintain their rank; it was even necessary to the credit of the Apostolic See that they should not be condemned, as frequently happens to those who are reduced from an eminent position to an inferior one; thus the being well provided with riches and with the goods of fortune, would but tend to make them more respected; besides which, the said nephews were by nature endowed with so much Christian charity, that they would apply those revenues to the benefit of the poor and for other pious uses. By these and similar reasonings the pontiff appeared to be tranquillized.

"He proceeded then to prepare for death, which he felt in himself to be approaching; but amidst these thoughts and dispositions he yet showed himself in all his conversations to be full of a just anger against the princes of Italy; feeling a deep grief that it must remain recorded of his pontificate how those potentates had leagued themselves against him, and had assailed the States of the Church with their armies. For this cause he sometimes broke out into bitter reproaches against them, as men without piety, without religion, and without laws; imploring on them the just vengeance of Heaven, and that he might live to see them punished, or at least repentant. Peace had already been concluded with them, as hath been said elsewhere, being ratified and signed by his holiness; but in this the two cardinals Barberini were not included or named; whence their more faithful adherents were of opinion that while —on account of the life of the Pope—the house of Barberini was still feared, all possible efforts should be made to have the said cardinals declared parties to and included in that peace, by the Italian princes. And Cardinal Bicchi, who went as plenipotentiary to those princes on

the part of France, affirmed that, not being assured of the Pope's death, they would show no reluctance to negotiate and accept that treaty; but Cardinal Barberini forbade the attempt in express terms, commanding Bicchi to do nothing whatever in that behalf, even though the princes should of themselves propose the arrangement; nor would he listen to any counsels on that head, alleging as a reason that the desire to be included and named in the articles of peace was no other than an admission on their parts that they were the authors and promoters of the war, to say nothing of the fact that it was not usual to name the ministers or agents in treaties of peace, but only the princes and chiefs who had taken part in the war.

"At that time there were, as we have said, eight vacancies in the Sacred College of cardinals, for which cause there was infinite agitation at court, so great a number being capable of occasioning no small change in the position of the established factions. The Pope, as Cardinal Barberini frequently remarked to us, desired that the cardinals should possess a greater extent of influence and more abundant revenues, wherefore he proposed to reduce the Sacred College, by an especial 'constitution,' to the number of fifty, for which reason it was that he had decided to make no further promotions. Barberini, however, knowing that the Pope would not attain his purpose by leaving so many vacancies, but would confer great benefit on the faction of his successor, entreated him continually to yield to the general opinion, and promote as many persons as were then worthy of the purple; but all their efforts were vain; the Pope replied that he would not put it in the power of any of his successors to quote his example for creating cardinals at the close of life, thus privately and indecorously, even on his death-bed; that he had received an example from Gregory XV, which he desired to transmit with equal glory to his successors. Other personages then labored to move him, more particularly Cardinal de Lugo, who sought to enforce the arguments of Cardinal Barberini by suggesting that the Pope might confirm the consistorial decree of the three cardinals already elected, and which had been drawn up after the consistory in which the last promotion had taken place; he affirmed that Cardinal Barberini, as vice-chancellor, was bound to lay this before his holiness, not that he might promote, as was the case of Gregory, but merely that he might declare the cardinals already created and reserved '*in petto*,' an announcement which appeared reasonable to all the Sacred College, and for which no new consistory was required. But the pontiff, either because he was displeased with Cardinal Barberini for having proposed persons not agreeable to his holiness, or that he believed he should thus have a more glorious memory, remained immovable to all entreaty, commanding that none should venture again to speak to him of promotion.

"The aspect of Pope Urban was extremely cheerful, yet full of majesty. There was a certain melancholy in his temperament, so that when it was necessary to bleed him, which usually occurred in the spring, there proceeded from his veins small particles, as if congealed by that humor. Nor without this could he have made so much progress in letters, since philosophers tell us that melancholy contributes to facilitate the acquisition of the sciences, and to their retention in the mind. The proportions of his body and limbs were nobly adjusted; his stature rather tall, his complexion olive, his figure rather muscular than fat. His head was large, giving evidence of a wonderful intellect and a most tenacious memory. His forehead was ample and serene, the color of his eyes a light blue, the nose well proportioned, the cheeks round, but in his latter years greatly attenuated; his mouth was full of grace, his

voice sonorous and very agreeable, so that with the Tuscan idiom which he retained all his life, there proceeded from those lips the sweetest words, full of eloquence, adorned with flowers of polite learning, of sacred letters, and of ancient examples. From the time of his elevation to the prelacy he wore his beard of a moderate length and square form, and this, with his gray hair, gave him an extremely venerable aspect. He was in truth so amiable, that, with the exception of a too great openness—unless when restrained by the importance of the matter in hand—there was no fault that the most observant critics could blame in him. And if he was sometimes excited to anger, he soon returned to his previous good humor. It was the opinion of sagacious persons, that with Pope Urban it was necessary to be profoundly learned, or else to possess little, perhaps no learning; for as he did not disdain to be won over by the acquirements of the speaker in the one case, so in the other he so greatly compassionated the condition of the person, that he would himself assist and console him; but this always supposes that the latter was not presuming or arrogant, abusing the humanity and good disposition of the Pope, who was ever most harsh and inflexible toward the proud and arrogant, as he was gentle and benevolent toward the respectful and modest. . . . He was considerate toward his aforesaid servants, and toward his own relations, choosing such times for employing them as were regulated rather by their convenience than by his own; nor did he disdain occasionally to listen with patience to expressions of feeling or of complaint from them. In his maladies also, he seemed to grieve more for the vigils and fatigues of his attendants, than for his own illness and pains. He was not, indeed, very patient of clamors and loud lamentations, but he disliked to refuse or to see anyone leave him dissatisfied. He was most cheerful and pleasant with his more confidential servants, and would sometimes jest with them and indulge in witticisms. . . . He never forgot his old friends, even when absent or dead, and his benevolence, in th s respect, was admirable, whence he commanded Cardinal Biscia, a cardinal of his own creation, and one of those in whom he most confided, that he should be careful to give him frequent intelligence of them; and if they were dead, that note should be taken of their descendants, to the end that they might be provided for as opportunity should offer.

"There was the utmost plenty of all things in Rome during this pontificate, and the Pope was accustomed to say that he had derived his birth from Florence, but had received all his greatness from Rome. He desired that everyone should enjoy the prosperity of his pontificate—that the salable offices of the chancery should produce large gains to their purchasers; thus he was most liberal in transacting the affairs of the *dataria;* he wished that the artisans should make large profits at their trades, but lawfully, and without fraud; to merchants of all sorts he was equally favorable—whence it followed that money circulated so freely during his pontificate, as to make all persons, of whatever profession, content and satisfied. He gave especial orders for the supply of corn, and endured the expense willingly in consideration of the abundance maintained. His greatest enjoyment was to know that the husbandman was not deprived of those gains which he considered the risk of life and means incurred by those who toiled on the vast extent of the Campagna, and were exposed to its insalubrious air, to merit; then, when it appeared to him that the sea-coast was principally useful for agriculture, he turned his thoughts in that direction, and frequently talked of draining the Pontine Marshes, to recover those immense districts now under water, and that entirely for the public benefit; but other cares would not permit him to enjoy the completion of so glorious

a design. Neither would he permit that the price of grain or other food should be fixed; but to maintain the abundance aforesaid, he would have all free, thus preventing monopoly. Hence, the merchants, filling their granaries, vied with each other in selling cheaply, and the city of Rome became rich.

"That literature should flourish during his pontificate cannot be matter of surprise, since he had no more agreeable recreation than the society of the learned, whom he always received with kindness and treated liberally. He was also a great lover of the other noble professions, as painting, sculpture, and the various fine arts, so that he did not disdain frequently to visit their professors; more especially one day, when going to visit the Seven Churches with all the Sacred College, and having arrived at Santa Maria Maggiore, and offered his prayers in that basilica, he entered with the aforesaid train of cardinals into the house of the Cavaliere Giovanni Lorenzo Bernino, which stood near, to examine certain renowned works of sculpture from his chisel.

"Having been compelled by various causes to impose many burdens and taxes, he was sometimes seen to weep over such measures, saying that he would willingly give his own blood or that of his kindred, rather than hear of the afflictions suffered by the nations and by Rome, or the embarrassments of the apostolic treasury. And to Monsignor Lorenzo Raggi, treasurer of the same, who went to receive audience during his last illness, he said that he desired to live two months longer, but not more, and that for three reasons: first, that he might have a longer time for repentance and to seek the forgiveness of God for his sins; next, that he might complete the restoration to the castle of all the moneys taken out of it for the war of Castro; and thirdly, that he might see the building of the walls enclosing the Borgo and Trastevere completed, and the city of Rome secured.

"If the heroic actions of the Pope, from the weakness of my pen, shall be set forth without eloquence, without dignity of style, and in fine, without due proportion to the worth of so great a pontiff, they have, nevertheless, been recorded with pure and sincere truth, which was particularly enjoined and inculcated by those who held supreme authority over me; that is to say, that I should write simply as a historian, and should wholly abstain from all adulation and vanities, also from rhetorical amplifications, attending more to things than to words.

"But we return to consider his application to sacred matters. Beside that he caused the Roman ritual to be corrected and reprinted, he did not neglect to give many regulations for the pontifical chapel, although, either from the negligence of the ministers or from the pressure of other affairs, the principal things only have been retained and observed; and it is certain that he also reformed the use of indulgences, that he might close the mouths of the heretics.

"Finally, if Urban had not engaged in war—or, to speak more exactly, if he had not been provoked and drawn into it by force, which even greatly hastened his death—there could not have been desired a pontiff more glorious, nor a sovereign of more exalted qualities, by means of which, for many years of his pontificate, he attached to himself the affection of all Christendom, so that to this day his memory is blessed by the nations for those happy years, during which they enjoyed tranquillity and peace."

Section VI.—Later Epochs

In the preceding section we have thrown together whatever has immediate reference to Urban VIII; there still remain some few writings which connect his times with those directly succeeding.

No. 121

Relatione della vita del Cardinale Cecchini, composta da lui medesimo. [Life of Cardinal Cecchini, composed by himself.] Barberini Library. p. 275.

These are personal memoirs, which do not throw much direct light on important matters of State, but which present a very interesting example of the life of an ecclesiastic; private, indeed, but always passed in the midst of important events, and under remarkable circumstances.

The author informs us that he composed these memoirs for his own gratification: "Among those things that afford to man the highest pleasure, one is the remembrance of past events."

Cecchini left Perugia for Rome in the year 1604, being then at the age of fifteen.

He had placed his hopes on the Aldobrandini family, with which he was remotely connected; but Clement VIII died too soon for his interests, and after his death, the power of the Aldobrandini departed. It is true that Cecchini might have flattered himself that he had found a new source of hope, seeing that in Perugia he had formed an acquaintance with Scipione Caffarelli, the same who, under Paul V, contrived to make his position of nephew to the reigning pontiff so extensively advantageous; but Caffarelli did not choose to remember this acquaintance, and the youth was compelled to seek protection elsewhere.

But it was then his good-fortune to attach himself precisely to the two prelates (Monsignori) who afterward attained to the highest dignities, Ludovisio and Pamfilio.

The opinion that Ludovisio would obtain the tiara very early prevailed in Rome. Thus when Ludovico, nephew of the cardinal, was admitted to the prelacy in 1619, many regarded him as the future "*cardinal-padrône.*" All eyes were directed toward him; his friends and dependents were already laboring, each to supplant the other. Cecchini himself complains that some had attempted to displace him, but that he contrived to retain his position; he was even enabled to render his patron important services; being a kinsman of the Aldobrandini, he was in a condition to effect an alliance between the two houses. Cardinal Aldobrandini promised his vote to Ludovisio.

The requisite measures were soon taken with a view to Ludovisio's elevation. That cardinal long hesitated whether or not he should accept a pension of 1,200 scudi offered him by the Spaniards, after the conclusion of peace with Savoy; fearing lest he should incur the enmity of the French. Cecchini was called on to speak of this matter with the French ambassador, and remove from his mind all suspicions that might arise from that cause.

Under these circumstances, Cardinal Ludovisio came to the conclave held in Rome after the death of Paul V, already expecting to be chosen. Cecchini hastened to meet him. "I conduct the Pope to Rome," he exclaimed in his joyous zeal. "We have but to be on our guard against the Cardinal of Aquino," replied Ludovisio, "and all will be well."

"Ludovisio felt so secure of the pontificate, that he asked me in jest who was to be pope, and when I replied that the Pope was not in Rome, but that I was conducting him thither, he answered me with the utmost confidence, 'Defend me from Cardinal d' Aquino, and we shall do well.'"

All succeeded to their wishes. Ludovisio was really elected. The nephew embraced Cecchini for joy, and made him his auditor.

The latter was thus brought into contact with the supreme power. He was not without a certain share in public business, or was at least admitted to the knowledge of affairs, but his next important occupation was still the arrangement of the cardinal's money matters: the revenues from Avignon and Fermo passed through his hands. The cardinal did not wish to have the exact sums that he expended made known, for he was in the highest degree magnificent in his habits. When Ludovisio became grand chamberlain, Cecchini was raised to be auditor of that office.

The most singular abuses are here brought to our notice. Certain orders, called "*non gravetur*," were issued in the name of the cardinal-nephew, and whoever possessed these was secured from arrest—people sought to defend themselves from their creditors by a "*non gravetur*;" there were even artisans who were thus protected. But our author relates things much worse than this. Under Pope Paul V a suit had been instituted against the Prior and Prince Aldobrandini. Cecchini declares that the fiscal-general employed false witnesses to obtain sentence of condemnation against them. It was not their death that was desired; the object proposed was to force the Aldobrandini into resigning certain castles and domains to the Borghese family. Under Gregory XV, the fiscal-general was imprisoned for this affair. "Pietro Maria Cirocchi, who was fiscal-general under Paul V, was imprisoned by Gregory XV for many imputed crimes; among the chief of these was this, that in the criminal process instituted against the Prince and Prior Aldobrandini, in which they were condemned to suffer loss of life and goods, he had caused the examination of false witnesses, as without doubt he did; and the said sentence was pronounced for no other end than that of forcing Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini to yield the castles of Montefortino and Olevano, which he had bought of the Duke of Zagarolo, to Cardinal Borghese, in return for which the said condemnation of the nephews was to be remitted; and he agreed to do it, they being also sent prisoners to the castle St. Angelo, where they remained four months." Acts of baseness that are hateful as they are atrocious—the duty of the historian forbids him to be silent respecting them; but we must not fail to remark that Cecchini was naturally an adherent of the Aldobrandini family.

On the death of Gregory XV, Urban VIII was elected Pope. Cecchini had previously found an occasion for rendering him an important service, though it was only by remaining silent. In a moment of violent anger, and while yet cardinal only, Urban had once said that a certain something should be borne in mind, to Cardinal Ludovisio's cost. Now there was nothing that would so fatally have injured Urban in the conclave, where Ludovisio was so powerful, as this menace; but at the entreaty of Magalotto, Cecchini remained silent on the subject.

This pontiff appears in extremely characteristic colors on another occasion in this biography.

Urban VIII felt deeply mortified by the protest of Borgia; he attributed to the cardinals Ubaldini and Ludovisio some share in this matter, and desired to punish them for it. He would have thrown Ubaldini into prison had not the fiscal steadfastly opposed himself to that pur-

pose; but the cardinal was at least compelled to absent himself, nor would the Pope suffer even Ludovisio to remain in Rome. He therefore called Cecchini, who was still in the service of Ludovisio, to his presence, and bade him notify to the cardinal that he must depart for his bishopric of Bologna within fourteen days. He announced this determination with expressions of the most violent anger. "For a good hour," says Cecchini, "was I compelled to listen to him; while the Pope threatened, with the most insulting expressions, that Borgia should be punished also, I dared not interrupt him, and he repeated that Ludovisio must depart, or that he should be driven out by the *sbirri*." On this occasion also it would have been better for Cecchini to have held his peace, but he thought it necessary to report what had passed to his patron, and the character of this court is intimated by the fact, that in doing so he injured himself with everyone. Ludovisio thought that Cecchinni ought not to have submitted patiently to the violent language of the Pope, but should rather have brought matters to an open rupture. Cardinal Barberini was displeased, because Cecchini had not first spoken of the matter to him, the cardinal-nephew; but most of all was the Pope himself enraged, and the more so as the affair had become to a certain extent misrepresented in travelling round to him again. He caused the luckless Cecchini to be once more summoned, and made a scene in which his old anger against his enemies was mingled with regret for the violence of his late expressions; repentance for what he had done, and now wished undone: the conviction of his omnipotence as pope, with the consciousness that the other had, after all, not acted wrongfully, were very strangely blended together. But Urban VIII was a man who was sure to recover himself after a time. Ludovisio left Rome, and soon afterward died. Cecchini, it is true, lost the post he had previously held, but he obtained a new one, and this even furnished him with occasional opportunity for approaching the pontiff. "Monsignor Cecchini," said the latter one day, "forgive us; we went too far with you." Cecchini says that the tears rose to his eyes on hearing this, and that he replied with the most profound devotion. The Pope's master of the household paid him a visit that same day, declaring that his holiness had for four years been awaiting that hour, and rejoiced from his heart that it had at length arrived.

Cecchini then again attached himself principally to the Aldobrandini; we find him actively occupied with the marriage of Olympia, the rich heiress of that house. Cardinal Ippolyto had died without having definitively arranged that matter, and it was feared that the Barberini would not allow so rich an inheritance to escape them. Olympia was obliged to feign sickness. With aid from the general of the Jesuits, whom it was necessary to consult on all occasions, they contrived to bring about her marriage with the young Borghese; this was in accordance with the last wishes of Cardinal Ippolyto, and took place six days after his death.

But the Barberini did not suffer Cecchini to drop on that account; when they had made inquiry as to whether he were in any manner connected with the Farnesi also, they employed him to promote the measures adopted for the defence of the city.

Cecchini soon discovered that a new impost laid on the wines of Roman growth was causing extreme dissatisfaction. He declared to Cardinal Barberini that this was a tax which the Romans never had endured, and which had caused them to revolt against Eugenius IV; he succeeded in fact, although there had already been a *monte* founded on the proceeds, in prevailing on the cardinal immediately to summon the contractor. This man willingly resigned his contract, perceiving that

tnere would be great difficulties in levying the amount. Cecchini hastened to the Capitol, where the people of Rome were holding an assembly, and at once imparted his intelligence. At first he was not believed, but he caused the contractor to come forward, by whom the statement was confirmed. All cried, "*Viva Monsignor Cecchini! viva Papa Urbano!*" The people kissed his hands and his clothing.

But Cecchini had not yet attained his highest position. He had the good-fortune to see another of his old protectors, and perhaps the most earnest of all, Cardinal Pamfili, ascend the papal throne.

In the first days of the new pontificate, the Barberini were in favor with Innocent X. Cecchini received an invitation to appear in the presence of the Pope with the two cardinals. "Has Cardinal Barberini told you anything?" inquired Innocent. "No." The pontiff turned first to Francesco and then to Antonio, bidding them to speak. Both declined to do so. "We will no longer keep you in suspense," said the Pope at length; "we have made you our datary; you are indebted for this to the cardinals Barberini, who requested this favor from us, and we have willingly granted their request."

But this office had much that was unpleasant attached to it. The Pope was changeful, obstinate, and distrustful. We learn from other sources that the administration of Cecchini was not wholly free from blame. Donna Olympia Maidalchina could not endure him, if for no other reason than that her sister-in-law, Donna Clementia, also received presents from him; but of these things I have already spoken; they possess a certain importance in relation to the government of Innocent X, since they occasioned the most revolting and disgraceful scenes. Cecchini was rejoiced that Donna Olympia had at length been expelled the court. It was during the time of her disgrace, and shortly after the death of Panzirolo, who died in November, 1651, consequently about the beginning of 1652, that he wrote this little work.

It appears to me that the prevalent character of this performance is entirely modern. I find evidence of this, not only in its modes of thought, but even in its various expressions; they are those that might depict the daily life of the Roman prelate in our own times, or in those immediately preceding them.

No. 122

Diario veridico e spassionato della città e corte di Roma, dove si legge tutti li successi della suddetta città incominciando dal primo d' Agosto 1640 *fino all' ultimo dell' anno* 1644, *notato e scritto fedelmente da Deone hora Temi Dio, e copiato dal proprio originale.* [A true and dispassionate diary of the city and court of Rome, wherein may be read all the events of the aforesaid city, commencing with the 1st of August, 1640, to the end of the year 1644, noted and written faithfully by Deone, now Temi Dio, and copied from the original itself.] Informatt. Politt. vol. xl. to the close of 1642; vol. xlvii. to the end of 1644; vol. xlii. continuation, 1645–47; vol. xliii. 1648–1650. Altogether more than 2,000 leaves.

I have not succeeded in finding any other information respecting the author of this unusually extensive diary, than that occasionally communicated by himself.

We discover from this, that he was in the Spanish service, and was employed in affairs arising between the people of the Netherlands and the Roman See, more particularly with the *dataria*. I should judge this writer to have been a Spaniard, and not a native of the Netherlands.

During the carnival he translated comedies from the Spanish into Italian, causing them to be acted by young people before a very brilliant company. He entertained a religious veneration for the Spanish monarchy, to which he belonged, and often speaks of the "holy monarchy," but for which, the bark of St. Peter would soon be overwhelmed. He sets his face against all dissidents and apostates with the most violent and undisguised abhorrence. The Catalans, who for a certain time had maintained themselves in independence, he considered to be a nation of barbarians; and when any of their number applied to him for a recommendation to the *dataria*, he bade them first become good servants of the king before begging favors at his hands. He finds it still less endurable that the Portuguese should have set up a king for themselves; his book is filled with invectives against that nation. He considers that at least all those belonging to it who had settled in Rome were inclined to lapse into Judaism. Yet, bad as matters were, he did not despair. He still hoped that Holland would once more submit to the King of Spain, and that in his own day. Heresy he thought had its stated periods, and must be suffered to come to an end. He was an enthusiastic and orthodox devotee of the Spanish monarchy.

Every fourteen days, this determined servant of Philip IV dictated a letter or report of the remarkable occurrences taking place within that period, which he then transmitted to one or other of the Spanish grandees. They were originally "*avvisi*," so common at that time; written in a collected form, they constituted a journal.

That before us is composed entirely in the spirit proper to the author. The disposition of Urban VIII to France, and the whole character of the political position he had adopted, were regarded with infinite displeasure, and most unfavorably construed. Pope Innocent X, on the contrary, who pursued a different policy, was viewed with much more friendly eyes.

There is no subject which this author does not handle: ecclesiastical and literary affairs; histories of the religious orders and of courts; the most intimate domestic relations, and the most extended foreign policy; political considerations in general, and accounts of cities in particular.

If we look more closely into the sources of his information, we shall find them, I think, to be principally the following: In the antechambers of the cardinal-nephews, all who had business in the palace were accustomed to assemble on certain fixed days. A general conversation ensued; each communicated the intelligence he possessed; nothing was likely to attract great attention that had not been discussed there; and, so far as I am enabled to conclude from intimations given here, our author derived the greater part of his information from this source.

He proceeds to his purpose with great probity; takes pains to obtain accurate information; and frequently adds notices previously omitted.

But he was also in occasional contact with the Pope, the cardinal-nephew, and the most influential statesmen; he is most scrupulous in specifying whatever he received from their conversations, and it is sometimes sufficiently remarkable.

We cannot affirm that the reading of so diffuse a performance is altogether very interesting, but we derive from it an acquaintance with persons and things which becomes gradually almost equal to that afforded by personal intercourse, so frequently and in positions so varied are they placed beneath our notice.

But it would not be possible to give insertion to extracts that would present even a moderately sufficing idea of a work so voluminous; we must content ourselves with those passages to which I have already alluded.

"1. One of the most beautiful monuments of this former mistress of the world is an ancient relic, of a round form and very great circumference, made of the finest marble" (a mistake, without doubt, for the monument is of Travertine); "it is near St. Sebastian, and is called Capo di Bove. Bernino, a famous statuary of the Pope, had thought to turn this to his own purposes; he is planning a gorgeous façade to the Acqua Vergine, called the Fountain of Trevi, and obtained a brief from the Pope empowering him to cast that most beautiful structure to the earth, which he had commenced doing; but when the Roman people perceived that, they prevented him from proceeding, and the work has been stopped, that there might not be commotions.

"2. On Tuesday morning the Roman people held a general council in the Capitol, which was the most crowded ever seen, from the fact that it was joined by many of the nobles who had never presented themselves on former occasions. The business proposed for discussion was this: that the Roman people being oppressed by the taxes which Pope Urban had imposed, they should petition his holiness to take off at least the tax on ground corn, and the rather, as this had been imposed only for the duration of the war then proceeding, but which had now ceased. The petition was agreed to, and six Roman gentlemen were deputed to present it at once to the Pope. Then there appeared Don Cesare Colonna, uncle of the Prince of Gallicano, who demanded audience from the Roman people on behalf of the Signora Dońna Anna Barberina. He was directed to come forward, and having mounted the temporary rostrum, drew forth a memorial which he said was from Donna Anna Colonna (Colonna-Barberina), and demanded that he might read it. It was read, and was to the effect, that the Pope ought not to be asked for the repeal of taxes lawfully imposed for a legitimate purpose by Pope Urban, whose zeal for justice, and many services rendered to this city, forbade them to abrogate what he had decided. All were amazed at such a proposal for impeding the relief required by the people, but it was at once comprehended, that the good lady concluded this tax likely to be repealed at the expense of the riches held by the Barberini. The reply returned to Colonna was, that the Senate and people did no more than lay before his holiness the necessities of the people: and with this he ran in all haste to Donna Anna, who stood waiting for it at the church of the Ara Cœli.

"On Wednesday, Cardinal Colonna, having heard of the extravagant proposal made by his sister, sent to the Roman Senate, assuring them that he had no part whatever in that absurdity, but was ready to aid the just petition of the people. On Friday morning the Roman people again convoked a new council, when a report was presented, to the effect that his holiness had been pleased to take off the tax on ground corn, taking the property of Don Taddeo Barberini for that purpose. Thus the contrivance of Donna Anna Barberina was very shrewdly devised."

No. 123

Del stato di Roma presente. [Report of the present state of Rome.] MS. of the Vienna Library. Foscarini Papers, No. 147. Also under the title of *Relatione di Roma fatta dall' Almaden.* [Report on Rome prepared by Almaden.]

I will not venture to decide whether this belongs to the latter days of Urban VIII or the earlier part of Innocent X, but it is of great importance for its elucidation of domestic affairs relating to the former

period; as, for example, the state of the Tiber and Arno, the increase of the malaria *(aria cattiva)*, the revenues of the Romans, financial affairs in general, and the condition of families. This little work may possibly proceed from the author of the above diary; there are certain intimations that might lead to such a conclusion.

But I will not give extended extracts, because I think I have seen an old printed copy in the possession of the late Fea. I will but quote the passage which follows, and to which I have referred above (see page 81 of this volume).

"Gregory XIII, considering the large amount of money sent from Rome and the Ecclesiastical States in payment for corn which came by sea from Barbary and other places, this, too, being frequently heated and spoiled, or else arriving too late, nay, sometimes failing altogether, commanded that, to obviate all these inconveniences, the country should be cleared of wood for many miles around, and should be brought into cultivation, so that Rome has from that time rarely needed foreign corn, and the good pontiff Gregory in so far obtained his intent. But this clearance has opened a passage to the pestilential winds, which occasion the most dangerous insalubrity, and cause a disease called by Alessandro da Città, the physician, in his treatise on the diseases of the Romans, '*Capiplenium*,' a most distressing complaint, even more troublesome to foreigners than to natives, and which has increased since the formation of so many waterworks; because Rome, being already low and thus humid from its position, has been rendered more so by the abundance of waters for the fountains. Moreover, as Gregory XIII cleared the country below Rome and toward the sea, which was rich and well calculated for the cultivation of corn, so did Sixtus V clear that above the city, though less fertile, that he might destroy the haunts of the robbers who infested the highways; and truly he succeeded in his object, for he rooted out all the assassins."

The author approves the proceedings of Sixtus V because they procured a free passage for the Tramontana; but how many evils have since been attributed to the Tramontana!

No. 124

Compendio delli casi più degni e memorandi occorsi nelli pontificati da Gregorio XIII. fino alla creatione di Clemente IX. [Compendium of the most important and most remarkable events occurring in the pontificates from Gregory XIII. to the accession of Clement IX.] 50 leaves.

The author declares that he saw the clouds which darkened the Quirinal on the death of Sixtus, August, 1590. Since then this little work extends to 1667, it is obvious that it cannot proceed from one sole author; it must have been continued at a later period with a similar purpose to that with which it was commenced, namely, the formation of a collection of Roman anecdotes and remarkable events. We read in it, for example, of the French monks in Trinità di Monte having quarrelled with those from Calabria and elsewhere, and having driven them out, so that the latter built "Andrea delle Frate," which was then still surrounded by gardens; of how the Jesuits aroused all other orders to the performance of their duties; of miracles that were performed, together with notices of buildings erected by the popes.

But there is much in all this that deserves attention. The following narrative, for example, describing the death of Bianca Capello.

"The Grand-Duchess of Tuscany, Bianca Capello, desiring to poison her brother-in-law, Cardinal Ferdinand, in a certain confection, the grand duke Francesco, her husband, ate of it first; when she perceived this, she ate of it also herself, and they both died immediately; so that Cardinal Ferdinand became grand duke." And the next, relating to removal of Cardinal Clesel from Vienna, to which the Jesuit-confessor of Ferdinand II would never consent. "One day Verospi found an opportunity for being alone with the Emperor, and free from the Jesuit's presence; then, with much address, he made the Emperor understand that he could not withhold the said cardinal from the Pope, who was his sole and proper judge. He so wrought on the Emperor as to make him weep, and the cardinal was at once consigned to him." We find traits of manners also. A rich prelate inserts a clause in his will to the effect that his nephew shall inherit his property, only in the event of his dying a natural death; otherwise, it was to go to pious institutions. Again, Duke Cesarini would never pay any debt until preparations were made for selling the pledge that he had given for it. . . . An Orsino threatened to throw a creditor, who entreated for his money, from the window; the creditor implored that he would first let him confess to a priest; but Orsino replied that none should come into his presence without having confessed beforehand ("*che bisognava venirci confessato*"). A necromancer arrived in Rome in a carriage drawn by two dogs; these were reported to be a pair of devils, who conducted him wherever he pleased to go; the courier, from Milan, affirmed that he had left him in that city, yet now found him in Rome. The supposed wizard was therefore arrested and put to death.

Were these notices the work of writers possessing higher powers of mind, they would be invaluable, and would have placed the life and manners of those times before us, without the necessity of studies so toilsome as that of the above-named diary.

We will now proceed to the writings immediately relating to Innocent X.

Remarks on "Gualdi, Vita di Donna Olimpia Maldachina." [Life of Donna Olympia Maldachina, by Gualdi.]

When we learn that Gregorio Leti, with whom we are sufficiently acquainted, was the author of the work before us, we find little motive remaining for a discussion of its credibility; there are the strongest presumptions against it.

But since a French translation of it appeared in 1770, and one in German in 1783, since also the German Schröckh considers that its principal facts at least may be relied on, from the circumstance that they have never been contradicted, it may not perhaps be superfluous to say a word on that subject. The author, on his part, affirms boldly that he will relate nothing which he has not himself seen, or of which he has not procured the most authentic information.

But from the first outset he pronounces his own condemnation by a narrative, to the effect that the Maldachini family, which he considers to be of Rome, having once undertaken a pilgrimage to Loretto, were joined at Borgheto by the young Pamfili, who fell in love with Donna Olympia, the daughter of the house; that he married her on the return of the family to Rome. But Olympia was very soon more intimate with her husband's brother, at that time a young "*abbate*," and afterward

pope, than with her husband himself. To this intimacy the influence subsequently possessed by Donna Olympia over Innocent X is attributed.

But we may confidently affirm that of all this, not one word is true. The Maldachina family was not Roman, but from Acquapendente. Donna Olympia was a widow when she was married to Pamfili. Paolo Nini, of Viterbo, the last of his race, was her first husband, and as she inherited his wealth, she brought a rich dowry into the house of Pamfili; it was on this wealth, and not on the imaginary intimacy with the Pope, that the influence she enjoyed in the family was founded. When this marriage was concluded, Innocent X was very far from being "a young *abbate*." On an inscription placed by the head of the house in the Villa Maldachina at Viterbo, we find it notified that he had adorned this villa in the year 1625, before his sister had married into the house of Pamfili. In Bussi's "Istoria di Viterbo," p. 332, the whole inscription is given. The marriage then could scarcely have taken place until 1626, at which time Giambattista Pamfili, afterward Innocent X, was already fifty-four years old, and for twenty years had been no longer an abbate, but a prelate. He was at that very time occupied in various nunciatures. If any conclusion may be drawn from his own expressions, the merit of Donna Olympia in his eyes was, that she then, as well as subsequently, assisted him from her own possessions. He was thus enabled to maintain that splendor of appearance which was then essential to advancement. It was in accordance with this beginning that their whole connection afterward proceeded; since Donna Olympia had promoted the rise of the prelate, she had some share in securing his elevation to the papal dignity, and desired to obtain a certain amount of the advantage resulting from it.

In the circumstantial diary above alluded to, which follows Donna Olympia step by step, and wherein all the mysteries of the papal household are discussed, not the slightest trace of an illicit intimacy between the pontiff and his sister-in-law is to be discovered.

This little work of Leti's is also a romance, composed of apocryphal assertions and chimerical stories.

No. 125

Relatione degli ambasciatori estraordinarj a Roma al sommo pontefice Innocentio X., Pietro Foscarini Cavaliere, Zuanne Nani Cavaliere Procuratore, Aluise Mocenigo I fu di q. Aluise, e Bertucci Valier Cavaliere. 1645, 3 *Ott.* [Report of Pietro Foscarini, knight, Zuanne Nani, knight procurator, Aluise Mocenigo, (?) Aluise, and Bertucci Valier, knight, ambassadors extraordinary to the supreme pontiff Innocent X. Oct. 3, 1645.]

After the death of Urban VIII a complete change ensued. Innocent X was not liked by the French, and would on his part gladly have aided the emperor had he possessed the power to do so; toward the Venetians he was very friendly. He may, perhaps, have shown a certain degree of indecision in his policy, from the irresolution natural to his character. The ambassadors considered it, therefore, doubly imperative on the republic to avoid all quarrels arising from private grounds, and not to throw away the papal favor on account of a dissolute monk.

The previous history of Innocent X is related in the manner following:

"The present pontiff, Innocent X, formerly called Giovanni Battista, Cardinal Pamfilio, was born of the house of Pamfili, which originated

from Ugubbio, a city of the State of Urbino. His family came to settle in Rome during the pontificate of Innocent VIII; the Pamfili allied themselves with the first houses of the city, living always in high repute and honor. The mother of his holiness belonged to the family of the Marquis of Buffolo, a noble and princely house, of which the Pope now makes great account, more than one of its members being in his service at the palace. His holiness was brought up by his paternal uncle, Cardinal Gerolamo Pamfilio, who lived in great credit, and was himself near being pope. He was created cardinal by Clement VIII, while auditor-dean of the *rota,* and was illustrious for his virtues and the blameless purity of his life. His holiness is in his seventy-second year, of height above the common, well proportioned, majestic in person, full of benevolence and affablity. Thus, whenever he comes forth from his apartments to hold consistories, appear in the chapels, or on other occasions, he willingly and promptly gives audience to all persons, of whatsoever condition and however poor and miserable, who present themselves before him; he receives their memorials with great patience and charity, endeavors to relieve everyone, and comforts all; his subjects heartily applauding him, and finding a great difference between the present pontificate and that preceding. The Pope was first consistorial advocate, and next, auditor of the *rota,* elected by Clement VIII. He was sent nuncio to Spain by Gregory XV, and was employed under Urban VIII in the French and Spanish legations of Cardinal Barberino, with the title of datary. He was elected patriarch of Antioch by the same Urban, was sent nuncio into Spain, and afterward promoted to the cardinalate on the 9th of November, 1627. As cardinal he had the reputation of being severe in character, inclined to rigor, exact in all ecclesiastical affairs. He was always chosen for the most important congregations, and may be said to have exercised all the principal offices of the Roman See to the general satisfaction: modesty, patience, integrity, and virtue, having always made their abode in his mind; his purpose ever being to offend none, to be friendly to all, and to forgive injuries. He enjoys good health, and has a tolerably robust constitution, is temperate in his diet, loves exercise, attends in the chapels and at other services with great majesty, and performs all his ecclesiastical duties with extreme pomp, decorum, and punctuality, as also with particular enjoyment to himself. He proceeds with the gravest deliberation in all important affairs, and will have time to examine and determine them. In all his past life he was accustomed to rise late and go late to bed; he pursues a similar method in his pontificate, so that he rarely retires before midnight or rises until some hours after day. He was formerly much inclined to make great account of the sovereigns, and wished to give them all just satisfaction on every occasion; he affirms himself to remain in the same dispositions, nor will he show partiality to either of the two crowns, desiring to be the affectionate father of all. He feels that he has not been well treated, either by the one or the other, and has spoken his sentiments very freely on that matter with us. He believes that each complains merely to advance his own interest, although both know well the necessity that exists for his maintaining his independence, to which he is bound as well by his natural love of peace, as by the position of sovereign pontiff in which he is placed. He encourages himself in these views, receiving great support from his confidence in the most serene republic, which he believes capable by its influence, counsels, and friendship, of proving his most effectual safeguard; indeed, a person of great eminence, and in whom we entirely confide, has admitted to some of us, perhaps by order of his holiness, that the pontiff might be easily disposed to ally himself with your Excellencies by a particular

treaty, when he thought the state of public affairs favorable. Whereunto a reply was made in general terms, but with respect, that no bond could more effectually unite princes than sincerity, concord of hearts, and uniformity of purposes and interests."

No. 126

Relatione dell' ambasciatore Veneto Aluise Contarini fatta al senato dopo il ritorno della sua ambasceria appresso Innocentio X. 1648. [Report presented to the senate by the Venetian ambassador, Aluise Contarini, on returning from his embassy to Innocent X. 1648.] 22 leaves.

This pontificate also was far from turning out so advantageously as had been expected. To the first and somewhat honorable report, are already added by Aluise Contarini, the son of Niccolo (the earlier Aluise was a son of Tommaso Contarini), many particulars that are much less favorable.

In his youth, Innocent X had preferred knightly exercises and light amusements (*passatempi amorevoli*) to study. He had acquired but little consideration during his nunciature in France; and for his perpetual evasions and refusals he had received the by-name of "Monsignore That-can't be" (Mr. Non-si-puol). In Spain, on the contrary, his frugality of words had obtained him the reputation of being a wise man.

What made him pope? Answer: three things—he talked little, dissembled much, and did—nothing at all.

"He now shows but little disposition to confer favors, is difficult and punctilious. . . . He is considered by all to be slow of apprehension, and to have but small capacity for important combinations; he is, nevertheless, very obstinate in his ideas; he seeks to avoid being thought partial to any sovereign." A friend to repose and to justice, not cruel, and a good economist.

The immediate circle of the Pope:—Donna Olympia, dear to him because she had brought a large dowry into the house and assisted him with it. "A woman of masculine mind and spirit; she proves herself to be a woman only by her pride and avarice." Pancirolo: "Of pleasing manners and vigorous intellect; courteous, both in look and word." Capponi: "He conceals his malice of purpose beneath a smiling countenance." Spada: "He plumes himself on his valuable endowments of mind." We perceive that our author does not always express himself in the most respectful terms. With a pope of Innocent's character, the want of a nephew was doubly felt.

Then follow certain features of his administration: "There is a remark current among the courtiers to the effect that whoever has to treat with the Pope believes his business all but completed in the first audience; in the second he discovers that it has yet to be commenced; and perceives to his amazement, in the third, that the thing has gone against him. . . . The pontiff considers that prince contemptible who neglects to keep a good amount of ready money at hand to be used in case of emergency. To save himself from expenditure, he is content to endure the most opprobrious buffetings of adverse fortune; the yearly supplies of Rome being diminished by the failure of those resources which had in fact been utterly destroyed by the results of the Barberina war. His holiness knowing the supply of corn in particular would be scanty, has repeatedly intimated his intention of advancing a large sum of money to make up the deficiency; but his very nature revolting from the dis-

bursement of money, he has been laboring to fulfil his intent by other means, and has done it very inadequately. . . . The municipalities are all so exhausted and ruined by the Barberina war that it is impossible they should ever recover from its effects. The private revenues of the Pope are 800,000 scudi, consisting of the gains from compositions with the *dataria,* and from the vacancies of offices in that department as well as in the chancery, together with those proceeding from a kind of *monti vacabili,* of the auditor and treasurer of the *Camera,* clerks of the *Camera,* and other offices of similar character. This entire amount, which flows into the privy purse, and not into the public treasure, is at the pontiff's absolute disposal; he may expend the whole at his pleasure, and give it to whom he pleases, without fear that any amount of it will be demanded by his successor." His buildings on the Capitol, at St. Peter's, and the Lateran: "In the latter, while he renewed the three naves of the church on a new model, he permitted all the essential parts of that beautiful and well-imagined entablature to remain untouched." In the Piazza Navona: "By the casting down of certain buildings that were near St. Giacomo de' Spagnuoli, the place assumed the form of a square."

It will be remarked that Contarini, notwithstanding the unfavorable impression produced on him by the court, was yet on the whole impartial, and is extremely instructive.

No. 127

Memoriale presentato all Santità di N. Signore Papa Innocenzo X. dai deputati della città di Fermo per il tumulto ivi seguito alli 6 *di Luglio,* 1648. [Memorial presented to Pope Innocent X by the deputies of the city of Fermo, touching the commotion that occurred there on the 6th of July, 1648.]

In the "Historia delle Guerre Civili di questi ultimi tempi," Ven. 1664, by Majolino Bisaccioni, will be found, as we have already observed, together with the most important events, with facts concerning Charles and Cromwell, and with accounts of the insurrections of Portugal and Catalonia, a "History of the Civil Wars of Fermo," an account of a tumult, that is, wherein the papal Governor, Visconti, was killed.

The memorial before us is that with which two Deputies, Lorenzo Nobile and Lucio Guerrieri, appeared before the Pope, to implore forgiveness for that offence.

According to their narration, which is much more authentic and more life-like than that of Bisaccioni, and which affords us an insight into the domestic condition of cities at that period, the corn harvest had failed, and bread was unusually dear, yet the Governor was determined to export corn from the district of Fermo notwithstanding. He would listen to no warning. With his carbine at his side, and pistols on the table before him, he declared that he would rather die as became a governor and a soldier, than yield to the pressure. He forbade the meeting of the Council, to which deputies had come from the neighboring communes, and drew together his forces. But these troops of his "came from the fields they had reaped, from the barns wherein they had thrashed the corn." They knew the privations to which the country was exposed, and instead of assailing the insurgent people, they adopted their party. The Governor saw himself compelled to yield, in despite of his boastings, and the corn was suffered to remain within the territory of the city.

But scarcely was quiet restored, when a body of Corsican soldiers, called in by the Governor, appeared at the gates. The people would not be persuaded but that Visconti still proposed to carry through his purpose by means of these troops. An insurrection ensued; all exclaimed, "We are betrayed! To arms!" The alarm bell was rung, the palace was stormed, and the Governor slain.

The deputies protested their fidelity, and deplored the occurrence. . . . At which the nobles more particularly were troubled: "To see a prelate, who had been given to them by your holiness for their government, thus slain by men of the people, while they could do nothing to prevent it."

No. 128

Relatione della corte di Roma del Cavre. Giustiniani data in senato l'anno 1652. [Report from Rome, presented to the senate in the year 1652, by the Cavalier Giustiniani.] Copy in the Magliabechiana Library, Florence, 24–65.

From admiration and hope the Romans soon passed, under Innocent X, also, first to doubt and disapprobation, and finally to complaint and reproach.

Zuan Zustinian (for thus it is that the Venetians write and pronounce this name) proceeded, after many other embassies, from Vienna to Rome, where he resided from 1648 to 1651. With the events of these years his despatches are filled, and it is to that period that his report refers.

His description of the court is by no means cheering.

He affirms that whatever good qualities the Pope possessed were turned to the advantage of Rome, or at most of the Ecclesiastical States; while his faults were injurious to all Christendom. But even in the States of the Church, crying evils resulted from the practice adopted of remitting the severest punishments for money. "I am assured, on the most unquestionable authority, that during the seven years of his pontificate, there have been extracted from the compositions with persons under criminal process, no less a sum than 1,200,000 scudi, which make nearly 2,000,000 ducats." The influence of Donna Olympia Maldachina is here described as a sort of public calamity. "A woman of great spirit, but her sole title to influence is that of a rigid economist. When offices fell vacant at court, nothing was decided without her good pleasure; when church livings were to be distributed, the ministers of the *dataria* had orders to defer all appointments to them, until, notice having been given to her of the nature of those benefices, she might then select such as best pleased her, for her own disposal; if episcopal sees were to be conferred, it was to her that the candidates applied; and that which most effectually revolted every upright mind, was to see that those were preferred who were most liberal in giving."

The author proceeds thus throughout his work; but I cannot be quite certain that the report is really genuine.

It is not to be found in the Venetian archives. In the Magliabechiana Library at Florence there are two copies, but they do not agree perfectly throughout. I have confined myself to the more moderate of the two.

I was fortunately not reduced to this report for materials; since the diary above named (see No. 122), with the notices supplied by Pallavicini in his life of Alexander VII, offered much better resources.

No. 129

Relatione dell' ambasceria estraordinaria fatta in Romaalla Siz. di N. Signore Alessandro VII. dagli Eccellentissimi Signori Pesaro, Contarini, Valiero, e Sagredo per rendere a nome della Serenissima Republica di Venetia la solita obedienza al sommo pontefice l' anno 1656. [Report of the extraordinary embassy of Signors Pesaro, Contarini, Valiero, and Sagredo, sent by the most serene republic of Venice to render the accustomed homage to his holiness our lord the sovereign pontiff Alexander VII, in the year 1656.]

The same Pesaro, in whose embassy it was that the dispute arose between Urban VIII and the republic, and who had from that time been considered an adversary of the clergy, was placed at the head of this embassy of congratulation, and was intrusted by his colleagues with the preparation of the report; and, whether because his opinions had from the first been very moderate, as he affirms, or that the years which had passed since his previous embassy had produced a change his views, it is certain that his report is extremely reasonable, impartial, and instructive.

It is true that he expresses disapprobation of Innocent X and his government, but not in terms so extremely severe as those used by others. "In addition to the insatiable cupidity prevailing in that house, there was a further evil arising from the want of ministers capable of administering so important a sovereignty; for the suspicious character of that pontiff rendered him incapable of putting trust in anyone. Thus it came to pass that almost everything was regulated by the immoderate demands of a woman, by which there was afforded ample scope to satirical pens; and good occasion was offered for making the disorders of that government seem even worse than they really were."

Now, however little this may sound like eulogy, yet it is a very mild judgment, as we have said, when compared with the violent declamations of other writers.

But the principal object of this report is the new pontiff, Alexander VII.

The opinion of Pesaro, and the conviction of all else at that time, was that the elevation of Fabio Chigi was attributable to the fame of his virtues, and the reputation he had gained in his nunciatures; but that the Medici had not been sincerely gratified by the promotion of one of their subjects to the papacy. "A more righteous election could not have been hoped for, even from a senate of men, who, although they may sometimes have their minds distracted by worldly affairs, yet could not fail to be finally influenced by that Holy Spirit which they suppose to be present at an act of such high moment."

He describes his early progress, and gives a general sketch of his first measures as pope: "He appears to be but slightly acquainted with financial affairs, although profoundly skilled in those relating to the Church; he is by no means immovably attached to his own opinions." Pesaro speaks also of his connections, but we need not repeat what we have already said on that subject; affairs very soon took a different direction from that which had been expected.

"The world is in too much haste, as it seems to us (remarks Pesaro), in exalting to the skies these opinions of the Pope respecting his kindred: to judge properly, there must be time for observing how he may withstand the pretences of affection to which he will be subjected." Even then, so many representations were made to the pontiff from all sides that it seemed impossible for his firmness to avoid being shaken.

But this mission had another and more important object than that of congratulating the pontiff on his accession; it was charged to entreat the Court of Rome for assistance in the war of Candia.

The envoys enlarged upon the efforts made by Venice to withstand the enemy, upon the means they had adopted for defraying the costs of the war: they had taken up loans at heavy interest, some by way of life annuity, others perpetual; they had effected sales of allodial and feudal domains; had extended the dignities of the State, which had hitherto been closely restricted, to large numbers; nay, they had even conferred on many the honors of Venetian nobility, although conscious that its value was maintained by the rarity of the grant. But all their resources were now exhausted; nothing was to be hoped from the other potentates of Christendom, who were too completely occupied by dissensions among themselves: their only refuge was the See of Rome.

The Pope did not hear all this without marks of interest; he replied by an eloquent eulogy on the republic, who had opposed the fury of the barbarians, not with iron only, but with gold; with regard to the principal question, however, he declared that he was not in a condition to help them. The papal treasury was so completely exhausted that he did not even know by what means he was to provide the city with bread.

The envoys did not yet resign their hopes; they represented that the danger was so pressing as to justify his having recourse to the ancient treasure laid up by Sixtus V, "Before the urgency of events that may arise becomes more pressing, and for the support of religion; but most especially for that of his own ecclesiastical dominions." The Pope was particularly impressed by the consideration that the enemy would be emboldened by perceiving that a new pope also refused the succor so greatly needed. Alexander was fully convinced that something must be done; he suggested that a certain portion of their ecclesiastical property might be confiscated.

How remarkable it is that measures of this kind should be first recommended by the Roman Court. Innocent X had already proposed to the Venetians the abolition of two orders—those of the "Canons of the Holy Spirit," and of the "Cross-bearers" *(Cruciferi)*: it was the design of that pontiff to form secular canonries from their revenues. But the Venetians were afraid, in the first place, that the Roman Court would reserve to itself the patronage of these canonicates; and secondly, they considered these institutions as a refuge for the poor nobility. This proposal Alexander now renewed.

"The pontiff, seeming to reflect on what could be done for our relief, began by saying that, for some time past, the Apostolic See, considering, not the abundance only, but the superfluity of religious institutions, had become convinced that some of them, degenerating from the first intentions of their founders, had lapsed into a total relaxation of discipline, that it was equally advisable for the Church as for the laity to adopt the expedients used by prudent husbandmen, when they see that the multitude of branches has impoverished their vines, instead of rendering them more fruitful. That a commencement had been made in that matter by the suppression of some orders, but that this was not enough; rather it was obviously necessary to restrict this great number, and reduce them to such as retain, or can at least be brought back to the primitive form of their institutions. That to open a way for this purpose, there had been suppressed a great number of very small convents, wherein the rigor of monastic seclusion had been suffered to relax with but little observation; and that it was proposed

to continue the work by proceeding to the final abolition of certain others, which, by their licentious mode of life, filled the world with scandal and murmurs, instead of presenting good examples and affording edification. But he further said that he proceeded slowly, because he desired, in a matter of so much importance, to obtain the good-will of the secular princes, who, not having well examined the motives of the Apostolic See for this resolution, had given evidence of some dislike to the execution of the papal briefs: but that hoping to find all eventually ready to help forward a resolve so well matured, he placed it meanwhile before the most serene republic for consideration. The Venetian territory, he further remarked, abounding in this kind of religious orders, an easy method was presented of promoting the upright intentions set forth by him who has the supreme direction of the Church, and at the same time of obtaining a considerable sum in aid of the present war against the infidels: that none could know better than ourselves to what an extremity of dissolute excesses the canons of San Spirito in Venice had proceeded, the serene republic having been compelled to restrain the disorders of that convent: that, not content with a total departure from all conventual observances, the brethren had furthermore so indecently abused the wealth which might have been made to serve for the maintenance of a number fivefold larger than their house contained, as to be always deeply in debt: that the same might be said of the Cruciferi, among whom there was scarcely a vestige of monastic life discernible. His holiness accordingly thought it desirable that these two orders should be suppressed, and that measures might be taken into consideration with regard to the rule of their possessions, the produce whereof might be converted to the uses of this war, since the same was directed against the most terrible enemy of the Christian name."

This time the envoys were inclined to the opinion that such a proposal was not to be rejected. They computed the large capital that would result from these sales, compared with the small and soon to be extinguished annuities, and the advantages to be secured to the cultivation of the country by the secularization of estates so important. Their mode of considering a question then so new, and which was afterward so universally treated, may deserve to be given in their own words.

"In effect, when we have made the suitable assignments to the monks, which, for both orders, will not amount to more than 10,000 ducats per annum, should their estates, returning a revenue of 26,000 ducats, be sold, as might be expected, for 600,000 ducats, the public will have but two per cent. to pay in annuities—nay, rather less. And the arguments usually put forward against transactions of this kind fall to the ground in face of the annual provision to be made for the surviving brotherhood. Moreover, by thus dismembering from the ecclesiastical body so vast an amount of property, situated in the best parts of the Venetian dominions, the laity will enter into possession of the same without offering wrong to the piety of those great souls who had the firmness to deprive their descendants of so rich a possession to found and establish religion in these lands; for if now these benefactors could see how well religion is rooted among us, they would give no other expression to their sentiments than this, that if it had been satisfactory to them to be the founders of so many monasteries for the retreat of holy men, no less would they rejoice to know that these same riches, seeing that religious orders superabound, should be converted to the repulsion of that impious enemy who is menacing to destroy the piety, which they, with their own inheritance, had labored to promote."

After the affairs of Venice, which here again present an aspect of great importance, the concerns of Europe generally are discussed.

The undertakings of Charles X and Gustavus produced a powerful impression in Rome, and money was collected in aid of King Casimir.

But a thing still more sensibly felt by the Court of Rome was that the French were not only disinclined to make peace with Spain, but that Mazarin even allied himself with England—a cardinal with Protestants, the most Christian kingdom with a usurper who had expelled the legitimate princes; and that he should do this, without any necessity, without being driven to it by any pressing danger—this shocked the Curia extremely.

Were it not for these troubles, the Pope would direct his every effort for the entire restoration of Germany—where his personal reputation stood so high—to the Catholic faith. The conversion of the Queen of Sweden excited the hopes of all on that subject.

The ambassadors saw the splendid preparations making for the reception of that queen. They could in no wise approve the unsettled life she led "incompatible perhaps with her age and with her maiden state," as they very discreetly express themselves, yet they render full justice to the vigor and boldness of her determination.

"You have here in few words what we have thought it suitable to relate," says Pesaro at this point of the narration.

To this concluding phrase he further subjoins the good advice that the best possible understanding should always be maintained with the Pope.

His holiness had expressed himself explicitly as to the satisfaction it would give him if Venice would consent to the readmission of the Jesuits at his request. The ambassador is disposed to think that this should be conceded.

"It appears to me that the time has come for deciding whether this return is to be permitted, or whether—to avoid occasions, arising from time to time, for becoming on bad terms with the pontiffs, by reason of these Jesuits—the subject should be consigned to perpetual silence. . . . We may perhaps find a motive for complying with the desire of the Pope in this respect by considering that these men, being, as they are, very active instruments for supporting the rights of the Church, all reigning pontiffs will be likely to renew the request for their readmission, and the constant rejection of the same at the commencement of each pontificate may give occasion to ill-will."

No. 130

Vita, attioni, et operationi di Alessandro VII., opera del Cardinale Pallavicini. 2 vols. fol. Bibl. Cors. [Life, acts, and proceedings of Alexander VII, by Cardinal Pallavicini. 2 vols. folio.] Corsini Library.

In the Barberini Library, in Rome, a manuscript was one day placed in my hands, with the title "Alexandri VII. de vita propria liber primus et tertius cum fragmentis libri secundi." It contained about 300 leaves, and was as full of corrections as only an autograph could be; but, by an unhappy chance, the whole was in utter confusion. The bookbinder had arranged the sheets, which were to have been read separately, in groups of five. It was almost impossible to make anything of it.

It begins thus: "Although it has been usual, both now and in former times, that a man should record the transactions of his own

time, yet many of these works have been the less approved or trusted, because of the difficulty experienced by the writer in divesting his mind of hope, fear, love, or hatred, clouds which obscure history, the light of truth." Wherever I examined this manuscript I found interesting notices, derived from good authority, respecting the youth of Alexander, the invitation of his kindred to Rome, the arrival of Christina, etc.; but was it possible that the Pope, amidst the occupations of the supreme power, could yet have found time, not only to write his own life, but also to correct the style throughout with so much diligence?

It soon became evident that, notwithstanding the title, this could not have been the case.

The author affirms, among other things, that he was enabled to undertake this work by an intimate acquaintance with the Pope: "It was a benefit of consenting fortune that, with this prince, in his inferior station, I should have had a singular agreement of opinion, and mutual exchange of thought, both by word of mouth and by letter."

The question then became, who was this intimate acquaintance, nay, confidant of Alexander VII?

Under date of the year 1656, Muratori informs us that the Jesuit Pallavicini had prepared himself—at the commencement of Alexander's pontificate, which awakened hopes so brilliant—to write the life of that pontiff; but that after the invitation of the nephews to court, and the changes connected with that measure, "the pen fell from his hand." Pallavicini was without doubt personally intimate with Alexander: in the beginning of his pontificate he saw the Pope every day. This fragment may, therefore, very possibly have been the work of Pallavicini.

After some further researches a biography of Alexander VII, attributed to Cardinal Pallavicini, was found in the same library. It is true that it was written in Italian; but the question was worth the trouble of collating the two for the purpose of solving it.

The first glance showed that the Latin and Italian were the same work. The first paragraph runs thus: "It is the opinion of many that no history should be written but that of things long past, and with respect to which, hope and fear, love and hatred toward the persons commemorated, have no longer place, nor can obscure the truth." The second passage that I have quoted is thus expressed in Italian: "Because it fell to my lot, in the less advanced fortune of this prince, to hold with him the most intimate intercourse of friendship and confidence of communication, now by word of mouth, and now by the pen, for the space of full thirty years."

And thus it proceeds. The Latin copy was clearly proved to be a translation of the Italian, only somewhat freely rendered, and with a slight change in the mode of thought.

But the resemblance was unfortunately closer than I could have wished; for as the Latin copy, as announced in its title, was but a fragment, so was the Italian also throughout in a most dilapidated condition. After some intimations of Alexander's early youth, the narration proceeds at once to his election, and the first measures of his pontificate.

To seek earnestly, yet with insufficient results, does but increase the eagerness of inquiry. I sought through all quarters, and ultimately found another copy in the Albani Library, but this also is equally imperfect.

And now I believed that I must needs content myself with this, since in an anonymous life of Pallavicini I found a fragment only of this history cited, the very books, that is to say, which were already

known to me; but at last I was so fortunate as to meet with a more complete copy (it is that of which the title is given above), in two folio volumes.

The work here bears the name of Pallavicini on its front, and proceeds without interruption to the second chapter of the sixth book; in this state it is that we first attain a full perception—as will be at once perceived—of the value attached to this book in relation to the history of the period.

The first book contains the early history of Alexander VII: "Race, parentage, birth, and childhood of Fabio Chigi; studies and occurrences of his boyhood; his philosophical and legal studies; his private friendships." These chapters were all comprised in the Latin and Italian copies, but to which the Corsini copy further adds: "Pious actions and exercises; vicelegation of Ferrara under Sacchetti; nunciature of Cologne."

In the second book the government of Innocent X, and the part which Chigi took in the administration, are described in fourteen chapters, which bring the narration down to the time of the conclave.

The third book treats of the commencement of Alexander's pontificate; describes the state of Europe generally, with that of the Ecclesiastical States; alludes to the first financial measures, and refers to those respecting the *monti vacabili*. The writer further discusses the conversion of Queen Christina of Sweden, which he does minutely, and with manifest pleasure. I hold the opinion that when it has been affirmed, as, for example, by Arckenholtz, "Mémoires de Christine," iv. 39, that Pallavicini wrote a "Historia di Christina regina di Suezia," this assertion has rested merely on an imperfect acquaintance with these fragments. In the Latin copy Christina's conversion is accounted for in the manner following:

"Perceiving in the works of Cicero, on the 'Nature of the Gods,'* that there could not be more than one true religion, but that all might be false, she labored in thought on that passage for many days. She was also brought to doubt whether any true difference existed between good actions and bad, freely performed, unless as one might be beneficial to the world and the others injurious, which would decide their nature. She doubted also of Divine Providence, its regard or indifference to human actions; and as to the Divine Will, whether it required a certain worship and settled faith. There was no author of repute who had written on these subjects, whom she did not examine; no man eminently learned in these matters through the Northern lands, with whom she did not seek to converse; and she was inclined meanwhile to the opinion that it was sufficient to follow in public the religion of one's country, and for the rest to live according to nature. Finally, she came to this opinion—that God, the best of beings that is, would be rather the worst of tyrants, if he had crucified the whole human race by bitter stings of conscience which were yet false; if, after giving to mortals the common idea that their sacrifices are pleasing to him, and their vows accepted, he were then to render no regard to these things."

In the fourth book, of which a part only is given in the Latin and older copies, the author begins with the summoning of the papal kindred to Rome—"Motives which induced the Pope to summon the nephews. Remarks concerning this in Rome." So far is it from being true that "the pen dropped from Pallavicini's hand" on approaching this subject, that he describes it, on the contrary, at full length, and discusses the opinions prevailing in Rome respecting it. Next follows the position of Queen Christina in Rome, with the support accorded

* See Cicero, lib. i. c. 2.

to her by the Pope. "The Queen, who had lived with that prodigality which impoverishes without deriving either pleasure or honor from its expenditure, and consisted not in giving, but in permitting herself to be robbed, had pledged all her jewels at the time of her residence in Rome, with the hope of future remittances, on which account she had not a scudo to provide for her intended journey. But as necessity conquers shame, she was at length compelled to do herself violence, and request aid from the Pope, but in a manner that should be as far as she could devise from begging; and because letters do not blush she wrote to beg that his holiness would cause some merchant to lend her money, with a promise of entire restitution." The Pope did not think it would redound much to his honor to make himself surety for the whole burden of her debts without any advantage to himself. He preferred therefore to send her, through an ecclesiastic, who was in his confidence, probably Pallavicini himself, a purse of 10,000 scudi as a present, together with certain medals in gold and silver, which had been struck at the time of the Queen's entry into Rome in honor of that occasion. "'Excusing the smallness of the sum by the exhaustion of the treasury,' the Queen in thanking him wept more than once, from the mixture of feelings that arise on such occasions." To the reinstation of the Jesuits in Venice, Pallavicini also devotes a circumstantial elucidation, entirely in the spirit which we have already observed him to display in his history of the Council of Trent.

The fifth book is occupied by the history of the year 1657; promotions of cardinals; buildings in Santa Maria del Popolo, and della Pace, as also on the Piazza di S. Pietro; Queen Christina in France, and the affair of Monaldeschi, whose death is here described in the following manner: "While Christina was residing at Fontainebleau, Ludovico, the brother of Sentinelli, and rival in the favor of his mistress of Giovanni Rinaldo Monaldeschi, a principal gentleman of these parts, conveyed to her certain notices, transmitted to him, as is said, from Rome, by the aforesaid brother, which revealed proceedings of Monaldeschi, convicting him, as she thought, of breach of trust; for which cause, having first drawn a confession from his lips, she gave him but one hour to provide for his conscience by the aid of a priest, and then, a thing which would scarcely have been permitted in Stockholm when she governed there, she caused him to be put to death by the very hand of his rival."

In the sixth book the author returns to the internal affairs of Rome. He concludes with the arrangements relating to the prelature, for which Alexander demanded a fixed amount from the revenues.

But even this, the most complete copy of the biography, is far from comprising the entire life of the Pope.

No. 131

Paolo Casati ad Alessandro VII., sopra la regina di Suecia. Bibl. Alb. [Paolo Casati to Alexander VII, respecting the queen of Sweden.] Albani Library.

Malines and Casati were the two Jesuits despatched by the general of the order to Stockholm for the conversion of the Queen.

A private letter from Malines, in regard to this undertaking, will be found in the "Mémoires" of Arckenholtz, vol. iv., Appendix, No. 27.

But a much more circumstantial, and, so to say, official account of this matter, was presented by Casati to Alexander VII. It was writ-

ten with his own hand, was addressed "Alla Santità di Nro. Signore [illegible] dated from the *Collegio Romano*, December 5, 1155, and signed "The most humble and most obedient son in Christ of your holiness, Paolo Casati, of the Company of Jesus." We have here a far more minute and satisfactory account of the particulars.

"In obedience, he begins, to the wishes of your holiness for a short memorial of what passed in regard to the Queen of Sweden's resolution to renounce her kingdom for the purpose of becoming Catholic, I am compelled to go back a step, that I may explain the cause thereof—*in conformity with statements received from the mouth of the Queen herself*; to whom I am assured that it cannot be other than pleasing to know that your holiness is truly informed of the whole matter."

But the notices given by this author respecting earlier times are not of much importance, since he has no acquaintance whatever with Swedish affairs; he becomes worthy of attention only when he discusses the interests of religion.

"Having acquired thus much knowledge, she began to reflect that many tenets of the Lutheran sect, in which she had been educated, could not be sustained, and beginning to examine them, she found many discrepancies. Thus she began to study matters of religion and points of controversy with more diligence, and finding that the faith in which she had been brought up had no semblance of truth, she applied herself with extraordinary curiosity to gain information respecting all, and to weigh the difficulties of each. In this occupation she employed the space of five years, suffering much disturbance of mind, because she could find no settled point of conviction; and judging everything by mere human reason, she thought that many things might be simply political inventions, intended for the restriction of the common people. The arguments that any sect used against its adversary, she acquired the habit of turning against itself; thus she compared the works of Moses among the Hebrew people with the proceedings of Mahomet amongst the Arabs. From all which it resulted that she found no religion which appeared to her to be true. And I have heard her more than once accuse herself of having been too profane in desiring to investigate the most sublime mysteries of the divinity, for she did not permit one mystery of our religion to escape her examination, while she sought to give rest to her mind by the final discovery of a religion. Then, since she read every book treating on that subject, she sometimes encountered many assertions of the ancients, the gentiles, and the atheists; and although she never fell into such blindness as to doubt the existence of God, or his unity, which she held to be greater and clearer than all else, yet she suffered her mind to be disturbed by many difficulties, of which, at various times, we discoursed largely. But, finally, she could arrive at no other conclusion, than that it was expedient to proceed in externals as others did, believing the whole to be a matter of indifference, and that it signified nothing whether she followed one religion or sect or another; it was sufficient, she thought, if she did nothing contrary to the dictates of reason, or for which, having done it, she should have cause to blush. By these principles she governed herself for a certain time, and she seemed even to have found some repose for her mind, particularly after having discovered that other persons (summoned indeed from distant lands) whom she believed to be learned and wise, were of opinions but slightly different from her own—they being without the pale of the true Catholic religion, which they considered to be mere childishness. But the Lord God, who desired to have mercy on this Queen, nor would suffer her to perish in the errors of her intellect, since she had the most perfect will and

desire to know the truth, and in doing as she did, allowed herself to be guided by the light of sound reason; for she has frequently assured me that she never suffered herself to do anything for which she ought to blush (that being her form of expression). God, I say, began to make her perceive that when the eternal safety of the soul is in question, every other interest must give way, and that error in a matter so momentous is of eternal prejudice; accordingly, she reverted to the thought that there must be some religion, and having granted that man must have a religion, then among all that she knew in the world, none appeared to her more reasonable than the Catholic. Wherefore, reflecting more attentively upon that subject, she found that its tenets and institutions were not so absurd as the Lutheran ministers (they call them pastors) would make people believe."

Now as we cannot give place to the whole work, the following minute description of the first introduction of the Jesuits to the Queen may be permitted to suffice:

"Departing from Hamburg, after staying two days at Rendsburg, we joined ourselves to the Signor Senator Rosenhan, who was returning to Sweden, and with him we proceeded as far as Roschilt, where the kings of Denmark are buried, with the exception of Saint Canute, whose head is at Ringstede. The Senator then went direct to Elsinore to cross the straits, and we to Copenhagen. This acquaintance with the Senator Rosenhan was afterward very useful to us in Stockholm, causing us to be less suspected; and the Queen remarking to him one day that she did not know what to think of those two Italians, he told her that there was nothing to fear from us, that we were good people, and he always treated us with great courtesy. We had also the good-fortune to be in company for some days on our journey with General Wachtmeister, grand equerry of the kingdom, who was in like manner of no small use to us; for when we arrived in Stockholm, on the 24th February, according to the old style, and I having sought on the day following to speak with John Holm, gentleman of the chamber to her Majesty, that I might be introduced, to present the letter given to me in Rome by the father vicar-general, but not being able to find him, the said General Wachtmeister was, that evening, the occasion of her Majesty's hearing that I had arrived. And the manner was this: While the Queen was at supper, two gentlemen complained that it was very cold, and the general reproached them, declaring that two Italians who had come thither in his company had shown no such fear of the cold. The Queen hearing this contest, and inquiring the cause of their contending, heard that two Italians were come, and asked if they were musicians; but the general replying that they were two gentlemen travelling to see the country, her Majesty said that she would by all means like to see them. We were immediately informed of all this, and advised to go to court on the following day: on the following morning we were accordingly conducted thither by Signor Zaccaria Grimani, a Venetian noble, and who introduced us to pay our respects to Count Magnus de la Gardie, her Majesty's Prime Minister, that through him we might obtain the honor of kissing the hand of her Majesty. He received us with much courtesy, and assured us that her Majesty would have much pleasure in seeing us. It was then the hour of dinner, and her Majesty came out into the *vierkant*, when we were directed to approach her Majesty, and, having kissed her hand, we made a short compliment in Italian (for so she had commanded, although she had caused us to be informed that she would reply in French, since she understood it), suitable to the character we had assumed, and she replied with the utmost urbanity. Immediately

afterward the marshal of the court, and with him all the other gentlemen, set forward toward the hall wherein the table was laid for dinner, and I found myself immediately before the Queen. She who, during the night, had thought over the matter of the two Italians, and reflecting that it was precisely the end of February, about which time it had been written to her from Rome that we should arrive, had begun to suspect that we were the persons whom she was looking for; thus, when we were but little distant from the door, and that nearly all the company had already gone out of the *vierkant*, she said to me in a low voice, 'Perhaps you have letters for me?' and I, having replied, without turning my head, that I had, she rejoined, 'Do not name them to anyone.' While we were discoursing after dinner on the matters that had occurred, we were joined by a person, who made us various compliments in French, and then proceeded to inquire if we had letters for her Majesty. I began at once to give ambiguous replies, that we were not there for business; that we had no letters of recommendation, etc., until at length he repeated in order all that in our short and fortuitous colloquy the Queen herself had said to me. I then perceived that he could not be sent by any other than herself, yet, for the greater security, I asked him his name, and hearing that he was John Holm, I gave him the letter. The following morning, nearly two hours before the usual time for going to court, John Holm gave us to know that her Majesty would speak with us. We went immediately, and had scarcely entered the *vierkant*, where there was then no one but the officer on guard, than the Queen came forth, and appeared to be surprised, either because none of the gentlemen were yet there, or because we had been the first to arrive. She put some few questions to us concerning our journey; then, hearing the officer, she asked him if any of the secretaries had yet appeared. He replying that they had not, she commanded him to go and call one of them, when he did not return for an hour. When he was gone, her Majesty began to thank us in the most courteous terms for the pains we had taken in making that voyage on her account; she assured us that whatever danger might arise to us from being discovered, we should not fear, since she would not suffer that evil should befall us; she charged us to be secret, and not to confide in anyone, pointing out to us by name some of those to whom she feared lest we might give our confidence in process of time. She encouraged us to hope that if she should receive satisfaction, our journey would not have been made in vain; she questioned us respecting the arrival of Father Macedo, and how we had been selected to visit her court; and related to us in what manner the departure of Father Macedo had taken place."

No. 132

Relatione della corte Romana del Cavaliere Corraro. 1660. [Report relating to the court of Rome, by the Cavalier Corraro. 1660.]

Very brilliant hopes had been conceived of Alexander VII. Court and State awaited their restoration from his hand; and the Church expected a renewal of the primitive discipline: even among the Protestants there were many who were well disposed toward the new pontiff. The amazement and anger were therefore general when he began to govern precisely as his predecessors had done; the good opinion that had been entertained of him was abandoned for the most violent ill-will.

The first ambassador sent to Rome by the Venetians, after the em-

bassy of congratulation above mentioned, was Geronimo Giustiniano. His despatches belong to the year 1656. He died of the plague.

His successor was Anzolo Corraro, at that time podesta of Padua. He delayed his journey so long that another was already chosen in his place; but he thereupon hastened to Rome, where he remained from 1657 to 1659.

The report which he presented on returning from the Papal Court was by no means a favorable one. The Pope and his family were loaded with censure.

A particular circumstance has meanwhile rendered it unnecessary that we should give a more minute account of this report.

This is no other than the fact that the work produced so profound an impression as at once to have found its way into public notice.

A French translation appeared at Leyden: "Relation de la cour de Rome faite l'an 1661(0), au conseil de Pregadi, par l'excellme. Seigneur Angelo Corraro," chez Lorens, 1663. This represents the Italian original most faithfully in all the passages which I have compared, and is not rare, even at the present time.

It was printed at that moment when the contentions between the Chigi and Crequi caused the general attention to be directed toward Rome. The publication was both calculated and intended to inflame the public indignation against the Pope. It was dedicated to Beuningen, who had not yet said, "*Sta sol.*"

No. 133

Relatione di Roma, dell' eccellentissimo Signore Nicolo Sagredo. 1661. [Report from Rome, by the most excellent Signor Nicolo Sagredo. 1661.]

This is a report of which I have seen no authentic copy, and which is also found under the name of Anzolo Correro.

But since no doubt can exist of the preceding report being by Correro, whose activity in the war against the Barberini is expressly mentioned in it; while in that before us, on the contrary, the author declares his wish, that, released from his twenty-seven years' wanderings, he might now devote himself at home to the education of his children; which would by no means apply to Correro, whose previous office had been that of podesta in Padua; so I have no hesitation in deciding that the name of Sagredo is the true one. Sagredo, as we know, had already been once sent to Rome, and afterward to Vienna. He now went to Rome for the second time. Upon the whole, he was indeed one of the most frequently employed statesmen of Venice, and ultimately became doge.

This report is not nearly so severe as the last; but neither is its tone that of eulogy: it has indeed the impress of entirely dispassionate observation.

With respect to the promotion of the nephews, Sagredo remarks that Pope Alexander was even then constantly exclaiming against the riches of the Borghesi, Barberini, and Ludovisi, although he was already taking care to neglect no opportunity for increasing the wealth of his own family.

His description of the Pope runs thus: "Placid and gentle of disposition; but in matters of business neither easy to deal with, nor particularly ready of comprehension; he is by nature irresolute in questions of importance, whether from fear lest they should not succeed,

or because he is unwilling to endure the fatigue of carrying them through; he fancies himself pierced by every thorn, however distant."

He thought he had done enough for the Venetians by the suppression of the two orders previously mentioned, and eventually the Candian war did not appear even to him of a very perilous character. He was much more nearly affected by the fact that Parma and Placentia were supported in their claims on the Ecclesiastical States by France. Neither was the Portuguese affair settled. "The absolute want of bishops in that kingdom, and the ruined state of the revenues in all the churches, being made manifest, not only have many clamors been occasioned, but most earnest entreaties have been made on the part of Orsino, the cardinal-protector, to the effect that this should be remedied; but the Pope has never been prevailed on to do it."

Moreover, we find the papacy already at variance with most of the Catholic States. There was not one which the judicial or pecuniary claims of the Curia had not utterly revolted.

Among the affairs then proceeding in Rome itself, our author chiefly specifies the architectural undertakings of Alexander. He informs us that in the general opinion the "Cattedra di San Pietro," in the church of St. Peter, was greatly preferred to the Colonnade. The embellishments of the city were occasionally carried forward in a somewhat arbitrary manner. "Many streets of the city have been rendered straight by the casting down of houses and palaces; the columns and other impediments that stood before the doors of individuals have been removed; and at the instance of the Jesuits belonging to the Collegio Romano, the Piazza Colonna has been enlarged by the destruction of that most noble pile, the Salviati palace. The projections and signs of the shops have been restricted within due limits; all works, that while they doubtless increase the beauty of the city, yet as the weight of them falls on private purses, they cannot fail to excite many murmurs: the seeing one's own nest thrown to the earth, and being compelled to contribute large sums for the adjustment of streets which produce no advantage to those who thus pay for them, is but ill compensated by the pretext that their dwellings will have a more agreeable appearance or enjoy a finer view; nor are they thus consoled for the burdens they suffer, and the force by which they are compelled to consent to these changes."

No. 134

Relatione di Roma del Cavaliere Pietro Basadona. 1663. [Report from Rome, by Pietro Basadona. 1663.]

In the manner of Corraro, who is however greatly exceeded, I will give place to some few passages.

First, in relation to the dispute with France, without doubt the most important event that took place during this embassy. "With regard to the present commotions, I know that I have sufficiently extracted the marrow from the bones on that subject (*dispolpate le ossa di tal materia*): but must not conceal the fact that if the imprudent pride of the Chigi family has caused them to fall into the ditch, their ambitious blundering has miserably entangled them in it. These people persuaded themselves that Rome was the world; but the King of France has given them to know, and that at their own cost, that they had not studied geography well. Much gossiping has caused the general feeling to be pretty well known in respect of the insolence of Cardinal Imperiale and Don Mario concerning the immunities of the French ambassador. I

will not say that they were blameless, but I can positively affirm that to their ill-will there was conjoined some fault of chance, which not unfrequently diminishes or increases the effect of human labors. This it is in part which has constituted their guilt, and now compels them to make full satisfaction to such claims as the King of France may legitimately found on the affronts that he has too certainly received in the person of his ambassador. And since I knew the truth of this matter, so did I use indefatigable efforts to cool down the rage of Crequi, and apply the balsams of negotiation to this schism, before it had extended to what was manifest ruin. But there were too many fancies in the heads of those Chigi (*teste Chigiarde*), and too much obstinacy to permit their condescending to a suitable humiliation toward the King, whose bravadoes they would not believe, considering them a mere pretence, and nothing more than a little ephemeral French heat. And this went so far that his holiness told me the Roman hearts were not to be frightened by the rhodomontade of a French stripling. To which I replied that it was sometimes more dangerous to have to do with hare-brained boys than with older and wiser heads, since the first would rush to the very edge of the precipice for the gratification of some favorite caprice; moreover, that to play with those who, if they have whims in their heads, have also armies at their side, and millions under their feet, was not a fit game for the popes, who have nothing but their two raised fingers.* I also represented to him, more than once, when it became obvious that the King was in earnest, that the States of the Church were but too completely ruined by the 14,000,000 scudi spent in the Barberini war; that the millions in which the treasury is indebted exceed fifty; and that, in fine, his holiness could not provide arms without ruining himself, could not fight without destroying himself, while the enemy could ruin him even without fighting. But all these, and a hundred other powerful reasons, were equally vain, he having too much affection for his kindred to send them away, and being, besides, too much displeased about the matter of Castro. And one day that I found him in the vein, he said to me in these precise words: 'Every one cries out that Castro must be given up, but no one says that Avignon ought to be restored; every one declares that the King must receive satisfaction for the affronts offered him, but no one utters a word of the compensation that should be made to ecclesiastics for the injuries they have endured; and if it were true, as it is known not to be, that Cardinal Imperiale and our brother Mario had given orders for what was done with respect to the ambassador, and that so the King might pretend to satisfaction as against those two, why should Castro be brought into the question? and then if Mario be innocent, why should we send him away from us?'"

Thus does the whole report proceed. It is filled with self-sufficient invectives, and betrays profound contempt for the whole ecclesiastical system — a tone of feeling entirely modern. The possibility of the French becoming masters of Rome was already contemplated. The reader is sometimes tempted to doubt whether such statements ever could have been ventured upon before the Senate. But the improbability is greatly diminished, when we consider that the most violent attacks were just then made on the Roman See from all quarters (the fiercest satires were then appearing—"*Le putanisme de Rome*," for example, wherein it was directly declared that the Pope must be allowed to marry for the prevention of other evils, and that the papacy might be made hereditary), and if we remember that this was the period when

* "Le due dita alzate," alluding, as the reader will perceive, to the two fingers raised by the pontiff in the act of benediction — Tr.

the credit of the Roman Court began to decline in the general estimation. Our author was, upon the whole, well acquainted with the court and city. He also deserves to be heard in person with relation to the Ecclesiastical States.

"It is an obvious truth that the ecclesiastical dominions are utterly borne down by their burdens, insomuch that many proprietors, finding it impossible to extract from their lands sufficient to pay the public impositions, increased beyond all measure, have made necessity their counsellor, and throwing up their estates, have gone to seek the good-fortune of being allowed to live in countries less rapacious. I do not speak of the duties and imposts on all things eatable, without any exception, but the personal taxes, tolls, donations, subsidies, and other extraordinary oppressions and extortions, studiously invented, are such as would excite compassion and amazement, if the terrible commissaries, whom Rome despatches into the subjected cities with supreme authority to examine, sell, carry off, and condemn, did not exceed these, as well as all belief. There is never a month that these griffons and harpies, wrapped in the cloak of commissioners, are not sent flying to their different posts, either for the buildings of St. Peter, or to gather pious bequests; or else they are commissioners of the *spoglia*, or of the archives, or of some dozens of other Roman tribunals: by which the already exhausted purses of the helpless subjects are pressed to the last coin. Accordingly, if we except Ferrara and Bologna, toward which there is some measure used, and which are favored by nature and art with the richest lands, and with an industrious trading community, all the other cities of Romagna, of the March, of Umbria, the Patrimony, Sabina, and the Territorio di Roma, are miserable in every respect. Nor is there to be found (oh! shame on the Roman governors) in any of these cities the manufacture of wool or of silk, to say nothing of cloth of gold, two or three little villages of Fossombrone, Pergola, Matelica, Camerino, and Norcia, alone excepted; although from the abundance of wool and silk, every kind of profitable manufacture might be introduced. But the ecclesiastical territory is as an estate leased out to tenants, and those who rent it do not think of improving, but only of how they may best press forth whatever can be extracted from the poor ill-treated soil, which, exhausted and dried up, cannot offer to the new tenant any better return than sterility. And then the papal treasury seems to be consumed in an all-devouring abyss. It was thought proper to take arms twice, as if the first error, which cost 2,000,000 scudi, was a thing fit to be imitated. There was some pretence of defending the State, although every consideration of prudence commanded that an accommodation should have been sought at the very first, that France might be deprived of all pretext for demanding heavier terms. By a calculation which I made of the reduction of interest in the *luoghi di monti* from four and a half per cent. (or in our mint seven per cent.) to four per cent. I found that at half a scudo per cent. on 50,000,000 of debt, the treasury would gain 250,000 scudi per annum, which at four per cent. would form a capital of 6,500,000."

No. 135

Vita di Alessandro VII. Con la descrizione delle sue adherenze e governo. 1666. [Life of Alexander VII. With a description of his adherents and government. 1666.]

This is not a biography, at least not such a biography as Pallavicini wrote; but a general description of the transactions of this pontiff, ac-

cording to the impression produced by them in Rome: the author was a well-informed and, upon the whole, conscientious contemporary.

"He is in truth of a pious mind," he remarks of the Pope; "religious and devout, he would fain work miracles for the preservation of Christianity. . . . But he is indolent, timid, and irresolute, and very often does ill, by doing nothing." He denounced all nepotism in the first instance, yet afterward carried it to extremity. Financial affairs were all in the hands of the nephews—they enriched themselves greatly. The contentions with Crequi were entirely to be attributed to them. The Pope retained only the management of foreign affairs for himself; and to these he did not give sufficient attention. He had literary meetings in his apartments, which occupied much time. In the evenings Rospigliosi had audience for one short hour. Business proceeded in fact but very indifferently. The Pope replied in general terms only to the different applicants; yet he had no minister to whom the parties seeking could be referred.

The conclusion is not of the most cheering character. The author sums up his relation in the following words: "Ambition, avarice, and luxury rule the palace; and yet piety, goodness, and zeal govern Alexander VII."

No. 136

Relatione di Roma di Giacomo Quirini Cavaliere, 1667 (8), *23 Febr.*
[Giacomo Quirini's report from Rome.]

Giacomo Quirini was at the Court of Rome three years and a half under Alexander VII; he was afterward accredited for a certain time to Clement IX: his report relates to the whole of this period.

He first describes the last years of Alexander VII, not with the animosity of his predecessor, it is true, but essentially to the same purpose.

"In forty-two months during which I served Alexander VII, I perceived that he had but the name of a pope, not the exercise of the papal power; as supreme head, he thought only of securing his own tranquillity; he rejected all business with fixed determination; and the virtues by which he was so eminently distinguished as cardinal—his readiness of mind, discrimination of judgment, promptitude in difficulties, freedom in resolve, and extraordinary facility of expression, were all entirely destroyed." He also describes the abuses of nepotism. From the building of the colonnades of St. Peter's, for which Bernini has been blamed, he predicts evil as follows: "It will depopulate the Leonine city forever; the houses being levelled, the waters required for the fountains will increase the humidity, while the fires (hearths) will have been taken away; the result of which will be malaria." He investigates the abuses of pensions, and the mode of bestowing places, with especial reference to Venice, whence the sum of 100,000 ducats was yearly sent to Rome. It is remarkable that Alexander VII on his side was greatly dissatisfied with the cardinals; he complained that they attached themselves to the party of the princes even in the affair of Castro; that they could never aid him even by useful advice. "He bewailed himself, because there was neither learning nor virtue among those purple prelates; nor did they ever suggest expedients or measures that he had not first thought of himself." It was a decay and degeneracy pervading all things.

The conclave was mastered by the subserviency of Chigi to the *Squadrone volante*. It was afterward seen that Chigi had proceeded

very prudently in this; to that subserviency he was indebted for the share of power accorded to him by Clement IX.

Quirini declares Clement IX to have been physically weak, and worn by various diseases, but firm, nay, obstinate in his opinions; he would sometimes prohibit his ministers from speaking again on a subject respecting which he had taken his resolution. A musician named Atto, a native of Pistoja, well known in Venice, was admitted to a confidential intercourse with the pontiff. The determination of Clement to remit a portion of the taxes, Quirini considers heroic. "He displayed heroic piety, by taking off two giulios per measure from the tax on ground corn, thus depriving himself of 2,000,000 scudi."

He next comes to the family of Clement IX, more particularly Cardinal Rospigliosi, whom he describes as follows:

"Although the promotion took place on the day before my departure only, the abbate Rospigliosi attaining the cardinalate just as he had finished his thirty-eighth year, yet having known him at two separate times in Spain, and transacted business with him in Rome on various occasions when he was cupbearer to Cardinal Chigi, I can relate thus much to your excellencies from distinct knowledge, that the Pope, speaking to me frequently during the audiences, permitted himself to allude with a just warmth to the abbate as a prudent minister, and in attributing merit and worth to him did but speak as all by common consent were doing; and in this I think it certain he is not deceived, for no nephew of a pope has ever appeared on the scene more highly informed than he, who was always employed during the long nunciature at the Court of Spain; he was, besides, sole director in the office of secretary of state in Rome, dictating all letters and replies to the affairs of foreign princes. Then, on occasion of the troubles respecting those most injudicious determinations adopted toward the ambassador Crequi, he was first sent to St. Quirico, and afterward to Leghorn, but rather to be the bearer of the palace flatteries than to satisfy the ambassador-duke; and when that affair was finally adjusted, he was sent to France in the legation of Chigi to arrange the formalities of the treaty; whence returning to Rome with the title of internuncio, he passed into Flanders. When Pope Clement was raised to the pontificate, the hope and opinion were entertained that he would be able to conciliate all differences, at once preserving the advantages of peace and averting the perils of war; then Rospigliosi received full powers for the adjustment of all disputes between the two crowns. In these journeys and employments, as well as in his earlier days, he lavished much gold with great generosity; but having fallen grievously sick at Susa, he thought proper to squander a vast amount with extreme prodigality, insomuch that the apostolic treasury was burdened to the extent of 140,000 scudi. He is upon the whole of a character naturally melancholy; a man of few words and retired within himself. During all these years of intercourse and meetings in anterooms, he has evinced indifference to all, seeming to feel a cordial friendship for and confidence in none, being too reserved, rather than frank in discourse. And now, in consequence of the sufferings that he has endured, he sometimes remains fixed in a sort of mental abstraction, and halts in the business before him; then he seeks to divert his mind by visits, and mingles in the movements of the court. On this account the cardinal Azzolini now directs the office of secretary of state, signing the orders to the legations, as well as those to the nunciatures of princes. Up to the present time, he has been provided by the munificence of the Pope with 3,000 scudi of pensions, and with abbacies formerly held by the pontiff himself; he has derived 4,000 scudi from the death of Cardinal Palotta, and has 12,000 from the legation of Avignon as cardinal-padrone."

No. 137

Relatione della corte di Roma al re Christianissimo dal Signore di Charme. 1669. [Report from Rome, presented to his most Christian majesty the king of France, by the Seigneur de Charme. 1669.]

This report has been printed both in French and Italian, yet it contains very little deserving attention, and this is, perhaps, the very reason why it was printed.

The embarrassments of the apostolic treasury are discussed here also; the little that had been accomplished by the restrictions imposed on his nephews by Clement IX is alluded to; it is affirmed that no congregation could do anything effectual, and that a general bankruptcy was to be apprehended.

The remarks of Grimani respecting the want of able men, with his observations on the uprightness of intention, but absence of energy conspicuous among the Rospigliosi; on the state of the prelature and that of the country, are here confirmed.

He adds certain reflections, of which we perceive that many have been taken directly from Grimani.

I have myself felt a doubt whether this work proceeded from a French ambassador; but if it did, it must have been from the duke de Chaulnes, whom we find to have been ambassador to Rome during the negotiations relative to the Spanish succession ("Négotiations relatives à la succession d'Espagne," p. 579); but in any case, it was obviously written by a contemporary who was not without good information.

No. 138

Relatione della corte di Roma del Signore Antonio Grimani, ambasciatore della republica di Venetia in Roma durante il pontificato di Clemente IX. 1670. [Report of Antonio Grimani, ambassador from the republic of Venice to the court of Rome during the pontificate of Clement IX. 1670.]

We have seen that Quirini expressed himself doubtfully with regard to the virtues of Clement IX. The experience gained from Alexander VII had probably rendered him cautious. Grimani, on the contrary, breaks forth into unbounded praise, at least with respect to moral qualities. "In good sooth, meekness, modesty, affability, moderation, clemency, candor, and purity of conscience, are his especial gifts." He declares that he had never known a better man.

He first discusses the moderation with which Clement had endowed his nephews, yet it is obvious that in Rome there were many things said to the contrary. Grimani is even of opinion that the people of Pistoja would avenge themselves at some future time on the nephews for the unexpected neglect with which they were treated.

But amidst these conflicting statements, thus much remains certain—that Clement adopted no effectual measures for the abolition of other abuses. Men soon exclaimed that if another Sixtus V did not appear, the pontificate would incur the danger of utter ruin.

Grimani points out the principal evils—the sales of offices, which resulted in the absence of all able and useful men, and the ruinous financial arrangements; he also specifies the neglect of the religious orders. "The monks are now held in so much contempt, that they have desisted

of their own accord from appearing at court, to save themselves from the insults of the lowest hangers-on about the palace. Bishoprics and the purple are considered to be debased when conferred on the regular clergy, and in all competitions, coarse, ignorant, and even vicious priests, will obtain the prize in preference to a learned and upright monk. The nephews have no regard for the regular clergy, because they cannot receive so much court from them as from the priests. If burdens are to be imposed, the monasteries are first thought of; if reforms are to be effected, it is not the priests who are referred to, but the monks. In fine, they deprive men of all inclination for study, all care for the defence of the Church from those false doctrines which the enemies of Rome are constantly disseminating; those enemies, too, increasing daily, while the number of learned and exemplary monks is as constantly diminishing; from all which the court itself may soon come to suffer no little injury. Wherefore it is my opinion that the pontiffs would do well to take measures for the restoration of the regular clergy to their former credit, by conferring on them from time to time certain offices of dignity; and this they could the better do, from the fact that the number of monks being so great, they would be able to select from them such men as might be required. By this means, men of distinction would be led to enter the orders, whereas, nowadays, the very bankrupt traders think scorn of covering their shoulders with the robe of the monk; nor are any seen to enter the monasteries but people of the working classes." Yet, unhappily, no remedy was to be expected from Clement IX—he was too lukewarm, too easy in temper.

After this description of the Pope, the ambassador proceeds to his nearest connections, and first to Cardinal Rospigliosi, of whom hopes had been entertained "that he was he who should redeem Israel" ("*quod esset redempturus Israel*"). He points out how and wherefore this hope had been disappointed. "There are three things, in my opinion, which cause the aforesaid cardinal to walk with leaden foot, and to be accused of r·ental indolence and want of application. The first is his great anxiety to do everything well, and to please all the world, a thing which can hardly be done by a man who is not absolute master. The second is, that his will is restrained and rendered uncertain by the Pope, who, although he loves this nephew, nay, regards him with extraordinary affection, yet he likes to do everything in his own way. Whence, Rospigliosi, fearful of having his decisions rendered null by the negation of the pontiff, and desirous, on the other hand, of contenting the applicants and parties interested, is deterred from arriving at any conclusion whatever. Thirdly, the very extent of his own capacity is injurious to him, more particularly in matters which depend on himself; for although he abounds, as is said, in those qualities required for maintaining the post of papal nephew, yet a real penury in practice results from this abundance, because he loses the greater part of the most precious hours in meditating and sifting the materials before him, which, while he is pondering and laboring to choose so as not to miss the best selection, the time flies, and the occasion for acting flies with it." Rospigliosi must, however, not be refused the justice of an admission that he did not enrich himself, "having neglected many opportunities for enriching himself, when he might have done it without scruple, and with a clear conscience." It was indeed believed that he favored Chigi, principally to the end that he might one day become Pope by his aid; but the ambassador contradicts this assertion. The extent to which the character and habits of thought, distinguishing the Pope and cardinal-nephew were reflected in the inferior members of this government, is remarkable. They were not destitute of good intentions or of ability,

yet, from one cause or another, they produced no effectual result. "For the current affairs of the day, the cardinal employs two ministers in particular. The one is Monsignore Agustini, a prudent man and of exemplary life; it may be said of him as of Job, 'an upright man and one that fears God' ('*vir simplex et timens Deum*'); but slow withal; procrastinating and irresolute, so greatly desirous, moreover, of doing well, that he will not act at all, from the fear of doing ill. With this character, he has found means to get so completely into the favor of the cardinal-padrone, that the latter extols him in all places as an oracle, and esteems him the most able minister of the court, although those who continually hear him in the congregation form a different opinion of him, holding him to be but a very ordinary kind of person, the Pope also being of the same opinion. The other is Monsignore Fiani, on whom the office of secretary of the Consulta was conferred; a trust which imperatively demands the most perfect confidence on the part of the cardinal-padrone. Rospigliosi has therefore done wisely to select this man, who knows the duties of a friend, and who has all the capacity for government that can be desired; but he is almost unfitted for the exercise of his office, being very infirm, and much afflicted by gout; he therefore also protracts all business, to the extreme annoyance of the court, where he is but little liked, in part perhaps because he is reported to have a ready hand for receiving presents; but my opinion is, that this report is the mere malignity of evil speakers."

It is not necessary to repeat the further particulars given respecting the papal family, which never attained to any permanent influence. The brother of the Pope, Don Camillo Rospigliosi, deserved, as our author says, to have been canonized even during his life, had that been a thing customary. He had five sons, of whom two only require to be named here; the second, Don Tommaso, who had already turned his thoughts toward effecting improvements in the manufactures of the Ecclesiastical States; and the youngest Giambattista, "a youth of most comely aspect, and of acute and penetrating mind," who married a Pallavicina of Genoa, and founded the house of Rospigliosi. It will suffice to give a general description of the new relations in which these nephews were placed. "Among all the popes who have occupied the Vatican, there has perhaps never been seen one more prudent or moderate in his deportment toward his nephews than Clement IX, who enjoyed their society, but would never suffer himself to be ruled by them; on the contrary, the more affection he displayed for them, the more he kept them back, excluding them from all share in his more secret thoughts. And the excellence of the nephews themselves came in aid of the Pope's good intention to remove from the Church that scandal so long subsisting of the delegation of almost all the authority vested in the Vatican to the nephews of the pontiffs. Wherefore, it may be said with good cause, that never have kinsmen of the Pope been seen in Rome more modest, more humble, more charitable, or more disinterested than the Rospigliosi; and what is more important, all endowed with such piety and excellence, that one must be devoid of human feeling not to love them; nay, we may even affirm that the Pope never loved them to the extent of their merits, since he treated them rather as strangers than as kinsmen, and never confided to them any matter of importance; and hereby he was himself rendered unhappy, because on the one hand he voluntarily deprived himself of that satisfaction so needful to princes—the relief of unbosoming himself with his own family; and, on the other hand, was prevented from unburdening his mind with his immediate attendants, who were, for the most part, untaught people, and of very slight capacity. It is believed that the Pope does not intrust the more important matters of

the court to anyone but Cardinal Chigi, who being crafty and dexterous, has found means to ingratiate himself most completely with the pontiff."

Then follows a description of the cardinals, and of the ambassadors residing at the court; but the persons thus described are of no great importance, and the interests treated of were too fleeting and transient to warrant our giving them any further attention.

No. 139

Relatione della stato delle cose di Roma del mese si Sett. 1670. [Account of the state of Rome in the month of September, 1670.] Altieri Library, 9 leaves.

To the Venetian reports, and those purporting to be French, some that were Spanish are also added; the account before us was unquestionably drawn up for Spain. Allusion is made in it to another, which had been sent to the Spanish Court, and the notices contained in which were on that account omitted in the one before us.

Clement IX, "whose disposition is most gentle, so that none present themselves at his feet to whom he would not fain do some kindness. . . . He is very economical in expenditure, and exceedingly parsimonious in giving to his kindred." Cardinal Altieri: "He does everything himself, and is little influenced by others. Ages have passed since a papal nephew was seen in Rome of greater weight, of higher ability, or of more integrity." We remark that under this pontificate also, the greater part of the officials were permitted to retain their employments unchanged.

But the most important circumstance communicated by this author is the division of the court. Chigi, Barberini, and Rospigliosi were connected in the closest intimacy with Altieri. This league had been effected principally by the Spanish ambassador. Opposed to it stood the faction of the *squadronisti*, that is to say, the cardinals created by Innocent X, who had exercised so powerful an influence on the last papal elections, and had placed their dependents in the public offices during the last two pontificates. To this party belonged Omodei, Ottoboni, Imperiali, Borromeo, and Azzolino. Into the disputes of these two factions the queen of Sweden entered with extraordinary zeal. We know the high estimation in which she held Azzolino. In this document she is called his faithful servant. She is charged with planning a thousand intrigues to promote the views of the *squadronisti*.

No. 140

Memorie per descrivere la vita di Clemente X., pontefice massimo, raccolte da Carlo Cartari Orvietano, decano degli avvocati consistoriali e prefetto dell' archivio apostolico di castello S. Angelo di Roma. [Memoirs toward a life of the supreme pontiff Clement X., collected by Carlo Cartari, of Orvieto, dean of the consistorial advocates, and prefect of the apostolic archives of the Castle St. Angelo in Rome.] Altieri Library, 211 pages.

Composed immediately after the death of the Pope, and completed in October, 1676; the author expressly imposes on himself the duty of avoiding all flattery and speaking only the simple truth. "From these sheets, flattery, my irreconcilable enemy, shall be entirely banished; I

shall restrict myself exclusively to the pure and candid truth." But this work, as the author had proposed, was a collection of materials only, to be used by some future biographer.

It would at first appear as if this declaration had merely proceeded from modesty on the part of the author.

The father of the Pope, the old Lorenzo Altieri, with whom Cartari had been well acquainted, is most agreeably described, as a man of powerful mind and majestic deportment, but very modest withal, as was manifest from his countenance. Although only a collector of materials, our author has not abstained from subjoining a conceit, altogether in the spirit of that age. "He was adorned externally by his beautiful gray hair, as intrinsically by his purity of life, and the rare piety with which he was wonderfully endowed."

Emilio Altieri was born in 1596; received the degree of doctor in 1611; passed a certain time in study under Pamfili, who was afterward pope, and in 1624 accompanied Lancellotti, Bishop of Nola, whose "Instruction" is still extant, to Poland. On his return, he was appointed Bishop of Camerino, in the place of his brother Giovanni Battista, who had entered the College of Cardinals. It has been asserted, though Cartari has no word respecting it, that Emilio himself had even at that time been selected for the cardinalate, and would have been more cordially received than his brother, but he had the self-command to leave Rome at the decisive moment, and thus resigned the place to his elder brother. Pope Innocent X sent Emilio as nuncio to Naples, where he is said to have contributed largely toward the settlement of the commotions excited by Massaniello. Alexander VII appointed him secretary to the congregation for bishops and monastic clergy, a position which all had found to be exceedingly tiresome. It was not until his seventy-ninth year that he was effectually promoted. On November 29, 1669, Clement IX appointed him cardinal; but this pontiff had not even time to give him the hat; without having yet received that sign of his dignity, Altieri proceeded to the conclave, which ended by the election of himself as pope, on April 29, 1670. He refused this dignity for a certain time, declaring that there were persons of higher merit that might be chosen, and even naming Cardinal Brancacci; but eventually he consented to ascend the papal throne.

So far was the new pontiff advanced in years he had not even a near relation by his side; but it was necessary that he should select a kinsman to share with him the weight of affairs.

"His holiness was in the eightieth year of his age; wherefore, on that account, and after the example of his predecessors, who, well knowing the heavy weight of the pontificate, had esteemed it necessary for their own relief to depute some portion of it to a cardinal, with the title of general superintendent of the Ecclesiastical States, he was pleased on that same day to declare the cardinal Paluzzo Paluzzi degli Albertoni, his connection, to be charged with that laborious office, changing his name for that of Altieri."

Proceeding to the transactions of this pontificate, we find that the author gives his first attention to those which took place in Rome itself.

The arrival of the ambassadors from Ferrara and Bologna to proffer their allegiance; the discovery of the monument of Constantine at the foot of the steps of St. Peter's; the decoration of the bridge of St. Angelo with ten angels of Carrara marble; the building of the Altieri Palace, on which nearly 300,000 scudi were expended, which could not, however, be called a loss, because they went to the benefit of the poor; the erection of a second fountain on the Piazza di San Pietro, but which the Pope did not see completed. These are the principal circumstances on which

Cartari dwells. Speaking of the palace, he also describes the library: "In almost the highest part of the said palace, there was a space reserved for the library, equally noble in extent, and delightful for the charming view to be obtained from it of the city and country surrounding; here magnificent ranges of shelves are filled, by the generosity of Cardinal Altieri, with precious books in all sciences, amounting to the number of 12,000." Well do I know that place—how often have I mounted those steps! He then speaks of the fountains: "The fountain of Paul V was transported by means of wonderfully powerful machinery—I might almost say in one piece, from the position where it formerly stood, to that where it is now to be seen, corresponding to the lateral entrances of the theatre; and as an accompaniment of the same, he ordered that a second should be constructed exactly similar in front of the Cesi gardens, as was done."

But the most remarkable fact that Cartari relates on this subject, is that respecting that pretended mosaic of Giotto, the "Navicella di San Pietro." It had suffered frequent change of place after the destruction of the old basilica, where it had originally stood, having been removed by Paul V to the palace, by Urban VIII into the church, and having been taken by Innocent X again into the palace. Alexander VII once more found it unsuitably placed there; but despairing of effecting its removal as it was, he decided on having it taken to pieces, the small stones belonging to each figure being put into a separate bag. Under Clement X, Cardinal Barberini proposed that it should be restored after a copy taken in the pontificate of Urban VIII. It was then once more put together, and placed in the lunette over the middle entrance of the vestibule; but how this was managed we must let Cartari tell in his own words: "As the recess was not large enough, it was suggested that the figures might be left in their proper form, but that the spaces between them might be lessened; and this was very diligently accomplished." We perceive from this, that those who attribute the work in its present form to the new master, are not without some ground for their opinion.

The author at length applies himself to affairs of state; but respecting these he is very defective. He asserts that Clement X, notwithstanding his financial necessities, would never proceed to any new reductions of the *monti*, from consideration to the numerous families, and still more to the many pious institutions which must suffer by such a measure. He preferred to make retrenchments, and even the cardinal-nephew also proposed to resign his own emoluments as *sopraintendente dello stato*. The Curia still contrived to sent money to Poland, then hard pressed by the Turks; 30,000 scudi at one time, at another time 16,000 scudi, and again a third sum of 70,000 scudi, were forwarded to that country. The cardinals had themselves made a special collection.

This is all I find respecting foreign affairs; but neither are those concerning the States of the Church very profoundly treated. "Some effort was made to procure the free introduction of foreign merchandise, and all exemptions from the regular customs-duties were recalled; regulations were made respecting the *officii vacabili* of the *dataria*, and the proceeds of the same; the tax of a quatrino imposed on artists, was repealed; and it was enacted that the Romans and other nobles of the Ecclesiastical States might engage in commerce without prejudice to their nobility." This is in fact all that he tells us of essential importance.

The transactions of the papacy in reference to the internal state of the Church are scarcely even alluded to.

No. 141

Clementis Decimi Pontificis Maximi vita. [Life of the supreme pontiff Clement X.] Altieri Library, 288 pages.

It was the opinion of Cartari that many would be found to write the life of Clement X, and it is to these persons that he dedicates these materials. An author did, in fact, soon appear to undertake that office; but this was a Jesuit, writing at the command of his general Oliva. He was supplied with his materials by Cardinal Pauluzzi Altieri.

This author does not mention Cartari; it is nevertheless manifest that he had his work before him. He frequently does nothing more than translate and amplify that writer.

But if Cartari was careful to avoid flattery, the Jesuit is equally careful to infuse it. He sets forth the opinion that in the year of Clement's birth—when the Tiber had produced violent inundations, this took place. "As though the river of the imperial city had foreseen the increase of the Roman glory that was to proceed from the infant then born."

But he has also occasionally made more useful additions. He relates that characteristic trait of Clement's having voluntarily given way to his brother.

In subsequent chapters he also enters on the affairs of the Church. "During his reign, the realm of Hungary saw numbers return to the way of truth; so that he made the country, to use the words of Cardinal Francesco Nerli, almost wholly Catholic." This is indeed a strong hyperbole, for not only was Hungary at that time far from being so nearly Catholic, but Clement X had contributed very little toward promoting even what Catholicism there was. "He labored with judicious industry for the propagation and preservation of the true religion in Ireland. . . . Bohemia and the realms attached to her saw many, and among them great princes, retrace their steps to the Vatican. The Tyrol (Rhætia) also beheld many, as did the valleys on her confines; a great body proceeded from Holland, and still more from France." But the Jesuit's assertions are mostly in general terms only.

While he lauds the justice and love of his subjects displayed by Clement, he excuses him for having raised contributions to support the Poles against the Turks by taxes on the clergy, and for having taken up new loans; he maintains that the Pope had repealed oppressive taxes, and in their stead had laid imposts on luxuries—foreign wines and tobacco for example; he extols the extreme moderation shown by Clement in regard to his kindred. About the building of the Altieri Palace, there should not be too much said; people should rather remember how few estates the Altieri family had acquired. "Within how small a space are those towns and villages comprised which are subject to the Altieri princes, while the rule of others was most widely extended."

No. 142

Nuovo governo di Roma sotto il pontificato di Papa Clemente X. [New government of Rome, under the pontificate of Pope Clement X.] Barberini Library, 17 leaves.

The family connections of Pauluzzi are here discussed, with his singular elevation to the position of papal nephew.

The brother of the pontiff, and chief of the house of Altieri, had left an only daughter, and had commanded that the husband whom she might marry should take the name of Altieri.

A nephew of Cardinal Pauluzzi married this heiress of the house of Altieri, and the two families were thus united.

All the other connections, the Gabrielli, for example, who would else have been the nearest, were compelled to retire.

This government seems upon the whole to have been less lenient, even from its commencement, than the preceding one had been, and this proceeded from the fact that Clement IX had loaded with debts even those portions of the revenue which had previously always been reserved. The disbanding of the little army had already begun. The author is of opinion that even the trifling diminution of the taxes effected would cause the whole State to be disarmed.

Even this writer complains of the forms of administration, and of the recklessness which had then become habitual with the authorities of the Ecclesiastical States. "Perceiving themselves to be detested and abhorred, they harden themselves all the more, and, drawing their hats over their eyes, they look no one in the face; but making every herb help to increase their pack, they care for nothing but their own interest, and are without a thought for the public welfare."

No. 143

Relatione dello stato presente della corte di Roma, fatta all' eccellentissimo principe di Ligni, governatore di Milano, dall' illustrissimo Signore Feder. Rozzoni, inviato straordinario da S. E. alla corte appresso Clemente X. [Report on the present state of the Court of Rome, presented to the most excellent prince de Ligni, governor of Milan, by the most illustrious Federigo Rozzoni, ambassador extraordinary from his excellency to Clement X.] 24 leaves.

Written somewhat later than the preceding report.

The position of parties had already changed. Rospigliosi and Chigi were neglected by the reigning house, which was seeking an alliance with the *Squadronisti*.

The relations subsisting between the Pope and Cardinal Altieri are described in the following manner:

"The Pope has no power of application whatever, partly because of his declining years, but partly also because it is natural to him to regard his own repose, and to retire from those heavy cares which might disturb the serenity of his mind, which is solely bent on living in tranquillity. Thus he cannot be made acquainted with the proceedings of justice, or of other political affairs relating to the court and the Ecclesiastical States. Wherefore, the having recourse to him avails nothing to those who are oppressed by his ministers; and to give himself a better excuse for not interfering in these matters, he frequently affects illness; but not on that account abstaining from his private *conversazioni*, which he holds every day after dinner, with the playing of cards, and enjoyment of music and singing.

"He leaves the government of the Church entirely to Cardinal Altieri, and does not meddle with it except when required to give his assent by voice or writing; in all besides, he has so completely resigned everything to his decision that he has frequently shown fear of him, giving alms, granting favors, and doing other things in secret. But the appointment to benefices and bishoprics, with the selection of those who

are to be raised to the purple, remains exclusively with the cardinal, who is a man of cool temper, not easily roused to anger, and, even when offended, not seeking to avenge himself. He is well calculated to sustain the post he occupies, and is, in fact, determined to know and to direct all affairs, whether great or small, not of the court only, but of the whole ecclesiastical dominion. This is attributed by some to a great avidity as respects his own interests, concerning which he is most vigilant, never suffering any occasion whatever to pass without making profit of it. At a fixed hour of each day, he gives audience to all the ministers of the court and their secretaries, himself imparting to them their orders and instructions—not in general only, but also in particulars, in such sort that the judges, and even the governor himself, are not permitted to exercise any discretion of their own in their different charges.

"The principal minister of the aforesaid cardinal, both is and has been the abbate Piccini, a man of poor capacity and inferior parentage, who was chamberlain to Clement X before his elevation. Thus, by the access that he has to the cardinal, or, as some say, by the power he has of determining his resolutions, he has got together an annual income of 12,000 scudi, and a capital of 200,000, having filled his head with smoke as completely as he has filled his purse with gold. But the favoring gale that he has enjoyed has ceased just now, some say from political causes, and not because his high influence has been diminished by the union of the four royal ambassadors; although the said abbate Piccini and the commissioner of the treasury, called Monsignor Zaccaria, are more intimately about the person of the cardinal than any others. But as to all this, it is merely an affair of interest, to which this cardinal desires to appear indifferent. Thus he would fain suffer the blame of that avarice with which the common opinion loads him, to fall on the shoulders of these two ministers or interpreters.

No. 144

Relatione della corte di Roma del N. H. Piero Mocenigo, che fu ambasciatore a Papa Clemente X., fatto l' anno 1675. [Report from the court of Rome, by N. H. Piero Mocenigo, late ambassador to Pope Clement X, presented in the year 1675.] 44 leaves.

Piero Mocenigo had previously been in England; he then proceeded to Rome, which presented him, more particularly in a commercial point of view, with so totally different an aspect. He was here involved in rather earnest contention with the house of Altieri, having assumed the office of leader to the ambassadors, whom the Curia sought to deprive of some of their immunities. We cannot wonder that he does not seem to have been much edified by what he perceived, and by all that he experienced.

He divides his report into three parts:

1. "The character of that court, its authority, as well spiritual as temporal, with additions respecting the treasury and forces. The whole thought of these rulers," he begins by observing, "is absorbed by their determination not to leave their own house exposed to the persecutions and scorn that wait on poverty. Thus the pole-star of that court is private interest, and the application they affect to business and the public weal is a mere specious appearance." The result of the favor shown to the great families now, was, that not only the middle classes, but even the inferior nobility were deprived of all advancement—not possessing sufficient wealth to raise themselves by their own power, yet

feeling too much independence of spirit to debase themselves by imitating the subserviency of the really indigent.

"This country," observes Piero Mocenigo, "is the very home of flattery; there are nevertheless many who console themselves for their disappointed hopes by slander and evil-speaking; and they propound this maxim—he will never be mistaken who judges the worst."

The more important congregations were those of the Inquisition, of Ecclesiastical Immunities, of the Council, of the Propaganda, the Bishops and Monastic Clergy, and the Index. When the court desires to refuse any request, it refers the affair to these congregations, which cling fast to their canons and to the practice of past ages; the merest trifles are thus magnified into importance; but if the court be favorably disposed, it then takes the matter into its own hands.

It is more particularly in secular affairs that this absolute power of the court is displayed. Cardinals would never have sanctioned the declaration of war. (We may add that for a considerable time this had no longer happened.)

The condition of the country became daily worse. In the course of forty years, as the author was informed, the number of inhabitants had decreased by one-third. Where a hundred hearths had formerly been counted, there were now found no more than sixty; many houses were pulled down, although this was forbidden by the *Consulta;* less land was daily cultivated; marriages decreased; parents sought refuge for their children in the cloister.

He estimates the interest of the public debt—of the *monti* and *officii vacabili* that is—at 2,400,000 scudi; and the deficit at many hundred thousand.

2. "The present government of Clement X, his household, the Sacred College, and correspondence with princes."

Clement X.—It is true that he gave audience at stated hours to the datary, the secretary of briefs, the secretary of state, and Cardinal Altieri, but he merely went through the formality of signing papers; disagreeable things were concealed from him—an object to which Cardinal Altieri gave his whole attention. The ambassador affirms that the Pope had no knowledge whatever of the affairs of the world—he had never been employed as nuncio. We know that this is false. "It is said in Rome that the pontiff's business is to bless and to consecrate—that of Cardinal Altieri, to reign and govern."

Cardinal Altieri: "His constitution is delicate . . . his character is ardent, impetuous, and impulsive; he is accustomed to the Roman courtesy of refusing nothing, but on the contrary, to show the utmost readiness of agreement, with many obliging words, on first hearing a request; but after he has considered the matter, he retracts, nay, will even deny the promise given, and display marks of anger. . . . He is elevated by slight hopes, as, on the contrary, he is depressed by unimportant fears." In these expressions, we clearly perceive the operation of personal dislike.

It is in a similar spirit that the other persons here described are treated. Laura Altieri, to whom the family owed its prosperity, was, according to our author, not content with her position in it, and for that reason was never permitted to approach the Pope; but I do not fully believe this assertion.

The remarks of Mocenigo, when describing the union of the court with the *Squadronisti,* are less liable to suspicion—we have already seen how the way was prepared for this. Barberini, Chigi, and Rospigliosi were now but slightly esteemed; the *Squadronisti* particularly insisted on the independence of the Curia on foreign courts. They had drawn

the Altieri completely to their party. The author affirms that the perplexities in which the court became involved were to be attributed to them.

He enters more minutely into the detail of these embarrassments, but with the irritable manner usual with him.

According to him, the court was obliged to propitiate the Emperor from time to time by spiritual presents, *Agnus Dei*, etc. It had so many contentions with France, that to see the French involved in war was a cause of rejoicing in Rome. How then could the Pope negotiate a peace? Spain complained of this among other things, that robbers from Naples were received into the Roman States, and were suffered to sell there the property they had stolen. "But they give no ear to these complaints, because it is thus that the quiet of the frontier is secured; the bandits engaging themselves to maintain peace in those confines." Mocenigo declares that Rome neglected to press the Poles earnestly to the war against Turkey, merely to avoid being compelled to give aid; that it would not acknowledge the title of the Czar, and therefore entered into no relations with him, although they might have derived so important an assistance from such a connection, against the hereditary enemy. "From the fear of involving themselves in the obligation to remit and contribute large succors, they suffered the proposals made by a Polish envoy to fall to the ground; these being, that the King of Poland would pass the Danube, enter Bulgaria, and promise to carry the war into the heart of the Ottoman Empire." I notice this only because we learn from it that such hopes were entertained even at that time; but what the Roman Court could have done toward the matter, it is not easy to perceive, more especially if the papal treasury and dominions were in the condition described above. Mocenigo says, further, that the court would not concede to the King of Portugal the patronage of his churches situate beyond the seas, nor an "indult" to the Duke of Saxony for appointing to the vacant bishoprics in his own territory. These claims to ecclesiastical independence were now put forward in Tuscany also, and even in the smaller principalities.

The annexation of Castro to the treasury turned out to be a positive loss. The debts thus undertaken required 90,000 scudi for their interest; while the farmer of the revenue paid only 60,000. The people of Rome declared that it was not thus a prince should reckon.

3. *Corrispondenze colla Republica.*—This was but very short, and principally in relation to personal contentions. "A most difficult employment." All in the same spirit.

They had already been prepared in Venice for a report in this tone. Even before Mocenigo's return, there had appeared a "Letter written to Venice by a person well informed respecting the embassy [another hand has here added, 'infamous embassy'] of the Signor Mocenigo," wherein the little man with the great wig, who is forever talking of England, is somewhat roughly dealt withal. He was described as "now sitting closeted day and night with a scribe, that he may blacken the Court of Rome in his report:" "a government, than which there has not been a better for the secular princes from the times of St. Peter till now—conciliatory, moderate, and given to no cavils."

It is certain that Mocenigo has gone too far; but we are not on that account to reject all that he has said.

Everyone, after all, impresses the mode of his own opinions on the affairs that he describes. It is for the reader to see that he makes the right distinction between object and subject.

No. 145

Scrittura sopra il governo di Roma. [Treatise on the government of Rome.] MS. Rome.

This document will be found among writings relating to 1670–80, and belongs to somewhere about that time. "It is as cheerless as ever" were the bewailings of Sacchetti. 1. "On the wretched state of the people, and how they always, in every pontificate, can find means to bestow ten, or even 150,000 scudi on one house, but cannot make it possible to take 50,000 scudi from the burdens of the overloaded people; and the worst of all is that they will not allow their subjects to fill their purses by seeking from lawful trade those gains which others unduly appropriate to themselves by favor of the authorities." 2. "Concerning the great poverty, and the great luxury of the land." A mere rhetorical contrast. 3. "On the corn-laws and the wine-trade." This relates principally to abuses arising from the duties and regulations respecting corn. "The ministers of the sovereign choose to play the part of merchants. Hence proceed the many bankruptcies of the true merchants, and of dealers in corn; the many embarrassments of families and pious institutions, whose principal possessions consist of lands; hence, too, the quantity of grain left to spoil in the granaries of those who would not submit to the extortions of so detestable a traffic." 4. "Of the delays of justice, and of the interests due from the *monti*." Even the *Depositarii de' Monti* are accused of dishonesty and arbitrary proceedings. 5. "Touching irreverence in the churches," which he says were treated like theatres. 6. "On the luxury and splendor of banquets in the palace." 7. "Concerning the abuse of religious ceremonies." The author disapproves of the frequently repeated *Sanctissimus;* it revolts him that people should dare to say, as in the procession of Corpus Christi," *Sanctissimus, sanctissima portat,*" "the most holy (pontiff) bears the most holy (symbol)." 8. "On ecclesiastical immunities." He bewails the fact that an asylum was granted to criminals in the churches. 9. "On the neglected state of the public ways." This is a well-meant report, and is upon the whole a true description; but the views of the writer are not very extensive.

No. 146

Vito del servo di Dio Papa Innocentio XI., raccolta in tre libri. [Life of the servant of God Pope Innocent XI, comprised in three books.] MS. Rome.

A very beautiful copy on 144 leaves, probably prepared for special presentation to some later pontiff.

The first book is occupied by the early life of Innocent XI. The author has not spared his labor in the search of authentic information respecting it. He denies that the Pope had made a campaign in his youth; the question had been asked of his holiness himself. He affirms also, that it was Cardinal Cueva (to whom the young man had been recommended by the Governor of Milan) who had directed the attention of the future pontiff to the advantages presented by the career of the Curia.

The second book comprises the earlier administrative measures of Pope Innocent, his financial arrangements, the repeal of useless appointments, decrease of interest on the *monti*—even as touching corporate

bodies, the restriction of usury, which was carried on with particular activity in the Jewish quarter (Ghetto), and the imposition of new taxes on ecclesiastical fees. His maxim is said to have been that "he was not the master of things appertaining to the Holy See, but the administrator, and under the rigorous obligation to distribute them, not in accordance with preferences for kindred, but in conformity with the laws of justice. . . . He said of himself, that from his elevation to the cardinalate he had begun to be poor, and as pope he had become a beggar." The author alludes, moreover, to English affairs, and does not hesitate to say that King James desired to render all England Catholic: "Proposing to send back his people into the Roman fold, he began by employing Catholic ministers."

In the third book, the part taken by Innocent XI in the Turkish war is discussed, and his personal qualities are described. He is here presented as he really was—energetic, impartial, and honorable. His conduct and proceedings are described with much penetration, and infinitely better than in the small work of Bonamicus, which we find in Lebret, and which is really nothing more than a hollow panegyric.

Remarkable instances are also given here of the opposition aroused by the practical measures of this pontiff. How innumerable were the objections put forward against the proposal of a bull for the abolition of nepotism. "The unthinking populace, seeing many offices in the palace suppressed, while the duties attached to them were united to those of other ministers, without considering the motives, cast reproach on the character of Innocent, as incapable of rising to his sovereign condition." This disaffection was made manifest, now in one way, and now in another.

No. 147

Memoriale del 1680 *al Papa Innocenzo XI., concernente il governo e gli aggravj.* [Memorial presented to Pope Innocent XI. in the year 1680, concerning the government and the public burdens.] Vallicella Library.

The holy zeal of the pontiff, as this document assures us, was acknowledged by all, but unhappily the effect of his endeavors was a general discontent. By the reduction of the *monti*, many families had been ruined; the cardinals were not listened to; no favors were granted to the temporal princes; the prelates were bereaved of their hopes; the poor were deprived of alms; all Rome was one great scene of misery.

Who could believe this? Scarcely does a pope give ear to the incessant complaints respecting nepotism, and abolish the abuse, than the people demand its restoration! Therefore, says our "Memorial," after adducing certain reasons, "it is a great favor of fortune for a prince to have kinsmen who are good and capable of governing; for these, having more powerful motives for taking interest in his reputation and glory than any mere minister can have, may also give him their opinions with greater frankness and sincerity."

No. 148

Ode satrica contra Innocenzo XI. [Satirical ode against Innocent XI.] Library at Frankfort-on-the-Main, MS. Glauburg, No. 31.

In writings such as those above cited, the expression of disapproval is still subjected to moderation; but whether some previous fault really

committed, or a mere rumor, gave occasion for censure, certain it is that it found a voice in the most vehement outbursts, as in the passage following:

"I do not find a more wicked monster even in ancient annals, nor one who, clothed in hypocrisy, more deeply tinged with blood his beak and wings. He was zealously rigid with others, but nevertheless permitted his kinsmen to buy up corn at two scudi the rubbio, and to sell it again at nine."

No. 149

Discorso sopra la soppressione del collegio de' secretarj apostolici fatta per la Santità di N. Signore Innocenzo XI. [Discourse on the suppression of the college of apostolic secretaries decreed by his holiness our lord Pope Innocent XI.]

In despite of this violent opposition, Pope Innocent proceeded with his reforms. This "Discourse" describes the manner in which they were conducted in certain individual cases.

We are first made acquainted with the origin of these secretaries, whom we find from the time of the schism, and with the abuses attached to their existence. These proceeded principally from the fact that no share in the administration was connected with the office. "The possessors of these offices have not, in fact, any administrative duties or services to perform for the despatch of business; while the secretary of briefs, as well as the secretary of letters and mandates to sovereigns, being conversant with the business, are wont to be deputed at the good pleasure of the Pope, and out of the limits of the college. Neither does the office bring with it an assurance of the prelacy, being conferred on laymen, for the most part incompetent, and frequently even on mere children, in the manner of those other popular offices, which are constantly on sale, and exist only for pecuniary purposes."

The rates of interest being enormous, the treasury had to pay 40,000 scudi for the 200,000 scudi which it had received. Innocent resolved to suppress the college, and commissioned a "congregation" to estimate the claims of the shareholders.

The Pope wished to pay back no more than the treasury had actually received, but the shareholders required at least as much as would equal the current price of the offices. The congregation could not come to any decision.

Our author is of opinion that the Pope was not bound to pay more than the nominal price—he considers this to be decided by the practice of the Roman See.

Other writings are to be found which treat of this subject; for example—"Stato della camera nel presente pontificato d' Innocenzo XI."; but they consist of calculations, which are not capable of being made useful in extracts.

No. 150

Scritture politiche, morali, e satiriche sopra le massime, istituto e governo della compagnia di Gesù. [Political, moral, and satirical writings on the maxims, institution, and government of the Company of Jesus.] Corsini Library.

A collection of all sorts of writings, concerning the Jesuit order; some of which, as for example "A Consulta of Acquaviva," are satirical

and mere invention, while others are entirely in earnest, and are derived from the best sources.

The most important is, "In the name of Jesus—a discourse respecting the Jesuit fathers and their mode of governing." This of itself contains nearly 400 leaves. It was written about the time when Noyelle was general, consequently between 1681 and 1686. It is certainly unfavorable to the order, yet is so treated that we perceive in every word the evidence of profound knowledge on the part of the author, of all connected with the society from the middle of the century. He adopts the following method:

I. First, he arranges the defects, which he notices under different heads. "Of some of their maxims." The opinion, for example, that their order is the chief and principal of all; that all their prayers are heard, and that all who die members of their company were sure of salvation. 2. "Of their greediness and avarice." Touching their tricks for obtaining bequests, a multitude of stories of their dexterous proceedings for extracting presents from the people; of their trafficking, and many worse things. The larger part of his attention is given to their trade, of which they found the circle too narrow, being principally Rome and the Ecclesiastical States. 3. "Of their government." Concerning the abuse of the monarchical power—the deposition of Nickel, see p. 120. 4. "Peculiar characteristics of the government." For example, "*Flagello sordo*," which means the penalties inflicted on those who were punished without having their crime properly specified; denunciation without previous warning; the superiors also availed themselves occasionally of inferior officers as superintendents, which was subversive of all order. 5. "Government in respect to their inmates and pupils." Their dishonoring punishments. 6. "The multitude of their rules." They frequently contradicted each other—there was no one who knew them all.

II. The author then seeks, after some repetitions as to the cause and effect of these evils, to point out some means of cure. It is remarkable that among the latter he considers the most important of all to be the appointment of a vicar-general, which had been so often demanded, but to which the order itself would never agree. "To constitute a vicar-general for the provinces of Spain, Germany, France, and the Indies—to subject the too plethoric body to phlebotomy—to have fixed laws for well-defined offences."

He then reverts to his old method of enumerating the faults of the institution under various heads. A multitude of particulars are thus brought into discussion, bearing marks of a more or less assured authenticity. The most important of all is perhaps the last section, "Of their Indian missions." This is derived from the correspondences preserved in the papal archives, and is treated with great care, insomuch that each original is separately indicated. The acts of disobedience against the Pope of which the Jesuits had been guilty in India are here adduced—even so long before the times of Père Norbert.

This work is without doubt unfavorable to the Jesuits, but is at the same time extremely instructive. It unveils the defects of the institution with so shrewd a penetration that we obtain a much clearer insight into the nature of its internal economy than could otherwise have been possible. It cannot be described as directly hostile, since it acknowledges the good existing in the order. But we are enabled to perceive from this work the heavy storms that were gathering in the depths of men's minds against the Company of Jesus.

No. 151

Relatione di Roma di Gio. Lando Cavaliere, inviato straordinario per la serenissima republica di Venetia ad Innocentio XI., et ambasciatore straordinario ad Alessandro VIII. in occasione della canonizazione di S. Lorenzo Giustiniani. [Report from Rome by Giovanni Lando, envoy extraordinary from the most serene republic of Venice to Innocent XI, and ambassador extraordinary to Alexander VIII, on occasion of the canonization of St. Lorenzo Giustiniani. 1691.] 17 leaves.

It is to be regretted that we have no report in relation to the important government of Innocent XI which is worthy of the name, or from which we might gather an impartial elucidation of the results produced by the efforts of that pontiff. The affairs of the Republic were managed in the first years of Innocent's pontificate, 1678 to 1683, by Cardinal Ottobono, a Venetian, and afterward Pope Alexander VIII, but who never returned to Venice, consequently never reported. To him succeeded Giovanni Lando, but without any proper official character. It is true that Lando, nevertheless, presented a final report, but not until after the conclave which followed the death of Alexander VIII had already assembled; moreover, his report unluckily departs from the tone usually adopted by the Venetian ambassadors.

He begins by exalting the divine right of the papacy, and laments that its rule is not universal—nay, the number of heretics was even greater than that of the Catholics. Have not even the accursed Quietists set up their machinations and workshops in Rome? At the Roman Court they would not believe that they were themselves to blame for this, and yet that was the case. They would still show far less regard to a man who labored to benefit the Church by profound learning, or by the example of his holiness of life, than to the Canonists, who wrote in defence of the papal dignity. Yet their encroachments were directly producing the effect of causing the secular princes to set themselves in opposition to the Roman Court.

After having first attempted to define the limits of the spiritual and temporal power, he at length slowly approaches the affairs of the world. Of the condition of the Ecclesiastical States he gives a deplorable account. "Desolated of her children, ruined in her agriculture, overwhelmed by extortions, and destitute of industry." He estimates the debts at 42,000,000 scudi. Alexander VIII had lessened the expenditure by 200,000 scudi per annum, and had thereby restored the balance between the payments and receipts. In the Dataria the Pope had, as it were, a vein of gold; but that money could by no means be kept in Rome; in small portions it came in, but was poured out in a full stream. Innocent XI had certainly despatched 2,000,000 scudi to Hungary in aid of the Turkish war. Of those 42,000,000 of debt, perhaps 15,000,000 had been used for the benefit of Christendom in general.

He considers still that Rome is nevertheless the common country of all; it yet formed the gathering-place of all nations, although each one came thither merely for his own interest. Of Germans and French but few were to be seen, because their promotion did not depend on the Roman Court; and the Spaniards were only of the inferior classes. If each prince of Italy were also to possess the power of appointing to the ecclesiastical offices in his own dominions, the Roman Court would soon fall into utter decay. But Italy, as a compensation, enjoyed all the patronage of the papacy. "The whole court, all dignities, all employments, the whole ecclesiastical state, remains at the disposal of

Italians." And how much was involved in the maintenance of this, considering the insecurity of succession in all Italian houses, the safety of Italy was absolutely dependent on the union between Venice and Rome. He takes occasion to enlarge on the necessity for a good understanding between these two States. But he thinks that much might yet be conceded by Venice; the protection extended to the turbulent friars, and certain jurisdictional pretensions, were taken very ill at Rome.

Now these are all very good and useful observations, as will be at once admitted—they indicate rectitude of intention on the part of the speaker; but those who, like ourselves, are seeking for positive information respecting the administration, cannot be satisfied with them. Of the two popes with whom he served, Lando, upon the whole a singular writer, and one who, among all the figures of speech, likes none so well as the *anacoluthon,* has told us only what follows. "When I reflect on what I have heard affirmed without reserve against Innocent XI, who was accused of not giving audience, of harshness and cruelty, of being the inflexible enemy of princes, of delighting in controversy, of being irresolute and yet obstinate, of destroying bishoprics and ecclesiastical property generally: because he had suffered many years to pass without providing incumbents *—when I reflect that this pontiff was charged with having suppressed the *monti,* yet not relieved the State by any advantage resulting from that suppression, of having upheld the extortion, as they call it, of the corn-laws, of being too indulgent to the Quietists, and many other things; there was no one who did not exclaim against him, and the unthinking vulgar then thought that there was nothing commendable in that pontificate, although it was most remarkable for a constant alienation of the papal kindred, and an unspotted disinterestedness, having left untouched whatever was in the treasury, save only what was used for the wars against the infidels; and so they desired a pope who, if even a little too indulgent to his own family, would also be a little so to others, and who should be endowed with such virtues as they then believed the more necessary, because they supposed them to be wanting in their then pontiff. But afterward, when I saw that Alexander VIII, having been once elected, was also maligned, and although he was all humanity, easy of access, gentle, compassionate, pliable, considerate toward princes, averse to intrigues and disputes, upright in business and contracts of all kinds, a benefactor to the State, which he relieved from imposts to the amount of 200,000 scudi, and from the vexation of the corn-laws; who fell like a thunderbolt on the Quietists, and silently put an end to that most troublesome affair of the right of asylum in the ambassadors' precincts; who also promoted the war against the Turks, and arranged important affairs of every kind during the very brief period of his pontificate: yet because he, on the other hand, did show affection to his kindred; because he was more disposed to intrust important charges to them than to others; because he wished to provide for them with a certain liberality, though much less than had been exercised by many before him; and because in that respect he gave evidence of some human feeling and indulgence for his own kin, so he, too, was made the very mark of their malignant invectives, and so continued even to his death. But these invectives were equally unjust in the one case as the other."

Finally, he refers to his own services, telling us how in the course of his official duties he had written more than 700 despatches.

* The reader will find in the obscurity of manner pervading this passage, which obscurity has yet been partially removed in translation, a complete justification of the author's remark that Lando was addicted to the use of the figure anacoluthon.—Tr.

Among all these, there may possibly be discovered the facts that we mainly seek here. They are to be found partly in Venice and partly in Rome.

No. 152

Confessione di Papa Alessandro VIII. fatto al suo confessore il Padre Giuseppe, Gesuita, negli ultimi estremi della sua vita. [Confession of Pope Alexander VIII., made to his confessor, Father Giuseppe, a Jesuit, in the last moments of his life.] MS. Rome, 21 leaves.

It is seriously affirmed by G. B. Perini, a writer in the Vatican archives, that among other papers of the time of Alexander VIII he found also the document now before us. He wrote this assertion on April 9, 1796, when no one could have had any motive for slandering a pope who had already had so many successors. This little work is thus worthy of our attention, notwithstanding its ominous title. And what is it that the Pope herein confesses?

He begins by declaring that since the year 1669 he had never regularly confessed; but, assured of absolution by voices from heaven, he will now do so. And hereupon he confesses to such acts as the following: He had made use of the permission, granted him at one time by Pope Clement, to sign papers in his stead, for making the most unwarrantable concessions; he had incited Innocent XI to take the measures adopted by that pontiff against France, and yet had secretly conspired with the French against the Pope. When himself exalted to the papacy, he had knowingly and deliberately promoted unsuitable and unworthy, nay, profligate men; had thought of nothing but enriching his kindred, and had, moreover, permitted justice and mercy to be sold even in the very palace, with much besides of the same character.

It soon becomes obvious that no confession of a pope is to be found here; that would be a totally different matter, would reveal particulars altogether unlike these. I believe it to be one of those satirical writings of which many appeared at that time. It may, perhaps, represent an opinion then prevalent respecting Alexander, but by no means the truth. It became mingled very probably among the documents of that period, and being then found in that position by some zealous official of the archives, was received as genuine. In the Venetian archives likewise I met with some papers that were manifestly not authentic.

No. 153

Relatione di Domenico Contarini Cavaliere. Roma, 1696, 5 *Luglio.* [Report by Domenico Contarini. Rome. July 5, 1696.] Venetian Archives, 18 leaves.

Contarini had already been accredited to the French and imperial courts before he was despatched to that of Rome. He was originally sent to Alexander VIII, but this pontiff was even then so ill that he could not be presented to him. His report is consequently in relation to Innocent XII.

Antonio Pignatelli, born 1615, was descended from the ducal family of Montelione, in the Kingdom of Naples, and was early admitted to the prelature. He became vice-legate of Urbino, inquisitor of Malta, and Governor of Perugia, a career which in itself was certainly not to be despised, but which offered little to satisfy ambition. There were

times when Pignatelli was disposed to abandon the ecclesiastical profession altogether; but he finally succeeded in obtaining a nunciature, which he believed to present the most certain path to promotion. He was nuncio to Florence, administered the Polish nunciature during a period of eight years, and then proceeded to that of Germany, which was most commonly followed by the cardinal's hat. But whether, observes Contarini, from the influence of inauspicious stars, or from disinclination toward him in the then government of Clement IX, instead of being rewarded, he was recalled and despatched as Bishop to Lezze, on the extreme boundaries of Naples. Under these circumstances he was compelled to exert the whole force of his mind, and the most manly firmness; all the court was, in fact, astonished at the moderation and resigned spirit of which he gave proof. With a supernatural serenity he even returned thanks for that appointment, "because he should now no longer have to endure the heavy burden of the nunciature." Contarini understands that it was Clement IX by whom Pignatelli was banished to that bishopric, and that he was recalled by Clement X; but we are told by the Roman authors that both events took place under Clement X. Be that as it may, and whether Cardinal Altieri desired to atone for injustice committed by himself or by another, he gave Pignatelli the post of *maestro di camera* to his uncle. Innocent XII found him in his office, and confirmed his appointment.

But his fortunes now took a sudden spring. He was made cardinal in the year 1681, immediately afterward Bishop of Faenza, legate of Bologna and Archbishop of Naples. He was thought of in the conclave after the death of Innocent XI; and after that of Alexander VIII, even the French, a thing that no one had expected, declared in his favor, and voted for him—a Neapolitan. The cause of this was that they required a mild and peaceable man. He was therefore elected, although not until after a tedious conclave of five months, by which all the cardinals were wearied out.

Innocent XII also confirmed the secretary of briefs, Panciatichi, whom he found in office, as also the datary Albano, although both were indebted for their fortune to his predecessor. The nomination of Spada to be secretary of state was received with universal approbation. This took place by the advice of Altieri. The nephews of Alexander VIII alone were refused confirmation in their offices: the new pontiff adhered entirely to the example of Innocent XI. "He labored to imitate Pope Innocent XI, by whom he had been promoted to the cardinalate, and whose name he had assumed, seeking to make the practice of that government serve as the model of his own, but departing from the austerity and harshness which had failed to meet approval in the rule of Innocent XI." We perceive that he endeavored to surpass his model by adding clemency to the good qualities he desired to imitate. He gave audience most readily, and owed much of his reputation to the facility of access afforded to the poor by his public audiences; and although these did not, as the applicants had hoped, insure the speedy termination of their difficulties, they yet served to restrain the violent proceedings of the superior classes. "All confessed that this public audience was a powerful check on the ministers and judges; for the means of approaching the ear of the prince were thus afforded to all, and made it easy to disclose to him things which had previously been concealed from the pontiffs, either by the authority or the craft of those who surrounded them."

An unfortunate accident suspended the efforts of Innocent XII for a certain time, but he soon resumed the activity of his habits.

The French affair was arranged, the most important reforms were

commenced. The bull respecting nepotism appeared, and in this it was enacted that the benefices and church revenues, henceforth to be conferred on a kinsman of the Pope, could never exceed 12,000 scudi per annum. Innocent XII also abolished the sale of appointments so important as were those of the clerks of the chamber (*chierici di camera*), and paid back the price advanced for them—1,016,070 scudi. "He thus deprived gold of its power, and made it once more possible for virtue to attain to the highest places." Many other reforms were already looked for. "The Pope," says Contarini, "has nothing in his thoughts but God, the poor, and the reform of abuses. He lives in the most abstemious retirement, devoting every hour to his duties, without consideration for his health. He is most blameless in his habits, and most conscientious; he is also extremely disinterested, nor does he seek to enrich his kindred; he is full of love to the poor, and is endowed with all the great qualities that could be desired for a head of the Church. Could he only act for himself on all occasions, he would be one of the first of the popes."

But these modes of proceeding were not agreeable to all. Contarini laments that Innocent had no nephews, who might have felt a personal interest in the glory of their uncle—a circumstance which left too much power in the hands of the ministers. "Those great and resplendent virtues were seen to be obscured by the craft of the ministers, who were but too well practised in the arts of the Court." They are accused of having taken measures for giving a different direction to the zeal of Innocent XII by turning his attention exclusively on the support and relief of the poor. The hospital of the Lateran was proposed. This soon engrossed all the thoughts of the Pope. "*Questo chiodo fermò l' ardente volontà del papa di riformare*"—"That nail effectually barred the Pope's eager progress in reform."

The author is persuaded that this pontiff had saved and laid by nearly 2,000,000 scudi. He is deeply impressed by the purity of his intentions, and calls him a man of the most irreproachable—nay, the most faultless character.

No. 154

Relazione di Roma di Nicolò Erizzo Cavaliere, 1702, 29 Ottobre. [Report from Rome by Nicolo Erizzo, Oct. 29, 1702.] 40 leaves.

N. Erizzo had already accompanied Piero Mocenigo on his embassy to Clement X: he was now himself ambassador. He arrived in Rome during the pontificate of Innocent XII, and remained there through the earlier years of Clement XI. The fact that he was so long acquainted with Rome gives increased value to his report.

He first treats of preceding popes, and after a few general observations comes to Innocent XI: "that holy man, who did not certainly possess distinguished merit in learning and science, but who possessed, in compensation, great knowledge of financial economy, and not only succeeded in restoring the balance between the revenues and the expenditure, but also found means to supply most liberal aid to the Emperor and the Poles in their conflicts with the Osmanli." Neither could Alexander VIII be charged with giving the money of the treasury to his nephews, but he suffered immense losses by the failure of the house of Nerli, and many persons attributed his death to that misfortune. Innocent XII closed the abyss of nepotism; and although he did so much for the poor, lightened the public burdens, erected buildings for the court, and completed the construction of harbors, he yet left a con-

siderable amount in the treasury. But he lived too long for the College of Cardinals, whom he, on his side, did not esteem very highly. The cardinals considered him to sacrifice the interests of the Papal See, by too conciliatory a deportment toward the sovereign courts.

At length he died, September 27, 1700, and the cardinals threw themselves eagerly into the negotiations of the conclave. Their intention was to elect a pope who should indemnify them for the injuries that they fancied the see to have sustained. They turned their eyes, therefore, on Cardinal Marescotti, a man "of a stout heart, worthy to be a ruler, unbending in his purposes, and of immutable resolution." Erizzo calls him a great man. He was supported by the imperial and Spanish ambassadors. But a great display of zeal is frequently dangerous in the papal elections, and was fatal to Marescotti. The French, who feared to find in him a declared enemy, succeeded in excluding him. Many other candidates were then proposed, but objections were made to all; one was too violent, another too mild, a third had too many nephews; the friends of the Jesuits opposed Cardinal Noris, because he had touched them too closely in his "History of Pelagianism." The *zelanti*, who were first so called on this occasion, would have willingly elected Colloredo, but the rest considered him too austere. At length, on receiving intelligence of the death of Charles II, "the cardinals," says Erizzo, "were manifestly touched by the hand of God, so that they at once cast off the influence of their passions, abandoned the hopes with which each had been flatttering himself, and cast their eyes on Cardinal Albani, with that internal conviction which is the clearest evidence of a divine impulse." Cardinal Albani refused the honor, and Erizzo believes the opposition he made to have been sincere, and meant in earnest. He seemed to yield at length, more from certain scruples, and to escape from their entreaty, than of his own free-will.

Erizzo then proceeds to relate the origin and describe the personal qualities of the pontiff-elect.

Albani drew his origin from Urbino. When the old Francesco Maria of Urbino resolved to resign his duchy to Urban VIII, even before his death, he despatched a member of the Albani family, and one who had recommended that determination, to make the Pope acquainted with his purpose. Twice was the emissary sent forth. On the first occasion Francesco repented, and recalled his ambassador. Erizzo affirms that he altered his mind the second time also, and issued a countermand; but Albani did not return in consequence on that occasion, he proceeded, on the contrary, and delivered the act of abdication to Urban VIII without delay. As a reward for this, he was nominated Senator of Rome; his son became *maestro di camera* to Cardinal Barberini: and the son of this *maestro di camera* was Giovanni Francesco Albani, the Pope whose election we have just described.

Giovanni Francesco Albani devoted himself to literature and to the ecclesiastical career. He was so fortunate as to have early personal intercourse with the pontiffs of the period. "Under Innocent XI," says Erizzo, "he learned to deliberate before resolving, more carefully than he was by nature inclined to do, and to persevere in what he had once determined on. Under Alexander, he adopted freer and bolder forms of negotiation; he was remarked as at once cautious and determined, prompt and circumspect, in outward appearance, also, well disposed to everyone. These acquirements he then practised under Innocent XII. That suspicious old man could not endure either his datary or his secretary of state; Albani alone had access to him, and found means to become indispensable both to the Pope and the court."

Clement's first step after his election was to inform the ambassadors that he proposed to abolish many innovations which had been suffered to glide in by his predecessors. He summoned the *governatore* to his coronation, a call that was very unwelcome, on account of the disputes existing with respect to precedency; he revoked all privileges of asylum; the ambassadors declaring that he did so only to produce an impression on the court.

The appointments which he next proceeded to make did not appear to Erizzo particularly fortunate. Clement XI surrounded himself with men of weak capacity exclusively. "The boldness of these ordinances being happily followed by success, and by the respect of the royal representatives, his holiness did not think he had need of very distinguished ministers in the palace; whence he chose Cardinal Paulucci, who had very little experience, for his secretary of state, and appointed Cardinal Sacripante datary—a man of indefatigable diligence in that office, but only remarkable as a good follower of rules. Next he conferred on his kinsman, Monsignor Olivieri, the secretariat of briefs, which had been formerly conducted admirably under his own direction. In the offices nearest to his person, he placed his old friends and relations, as Monsignor Paracciani, a good lawyer; Monsignor Origo, whom he made secretary of Latin letters; and Maffei, whom he appointed confidential cupbearer—all people of very little account, belonging to Urbino, or the neighboring townships, and who, having seen no place but Rome, had by consequence very little knowledge of princes, and still less acquaintance with the affairs of the world in general. He does not wish to have cardinals of great ability about him, nor Ministers who would be dependent on such cardinals; preferring his own authority and quiet to those counsels which he is secured from having offered to him by the persons aforesaid, they having no practice in public affairs, and being besides at variance and jealous among themselves. Still less will he suffer his brother Don Orazio to share his counsels; this last is father of three sons of high promise, and is a man of singular modesty and integrity; but the pontiff has left him to his straitened fortunes, that he may display his own observance of the bull against nepotism, to which his holiness made attestation on the day of his enthronement, with evidence of proposing entirely to avoid the scandal of that practice, which will, nevertheless, as many believe, be always forbidden, but always retained (*semper vetabitur et retinebitur semper*).

The most formidable difficulties immediately presented themselves. The contentions respecting the Spanish succession soon became extremely dangerous to the Court of Rome. Clement XI at first conducted himself with extraordinary weakness and vacillation. The ambassador believes his whole proceedings to have resulted from excess of cunning; he considers that when Clement proposed an Italian league to the Venetians, he did so only to the end that he might ascertain the opinions and intentions of Venice.

From these observations of politics and affairs in general, Erizzo proceeds to those of the Church, more particularly to the disputes which were continually arising between Rome and Venice. Rome, he remarks, has a twofold character: the one sacred, in so far as the Pope is the guardian of the sanctuary and of the divine law; this must be revered: the other secular, in so far as the pontiff seeks to extend his power, which has nothing in common with the practice and usage of the early centuries; against this, men should be on their guard. Erizzo is unable to control his displeasure that Venice should have been passed over on occasion of a promotion of cardinals during the

last pontificate: he laments that the republic no longer possessed the power of nominating to its own bishoprics as it formerly did—for how many poor nobles could she not in such cases assist; but now Venetian subjects sought advancement by indirect paths, and had recourse to the intervention of foreign princes. Cardinal Panciatichi had introduced into the *dataria* the maxim that those persons who were most independent of the sovereigns in whose dominions the diocese was situated, were precisely the persons who ought to be favored and promoted. The ambassador further declares it an abuse that the papal nephews should have so large an interest in the ecclesiastical property of his native land; and wherefore, too, should the rank of Venetian *nobili* be so readily conferred on them? Other States, even the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, had a list of the nuncios sent them, and could make choice of such as they preferred, while no such honor was enjoyed by the republic: again, the title of *Carissimo* was refused by Rome to the Doge of Venice. We perceive that in addition to the old causes of contention new subjects of dispute were continually added.

The ambassador therefore recommends his republic to give more earnest attention to Roman affairs. If a Pope could no more afford so effectual an assistance as formerly, it was still in his power to do considerable injury, more especially if he were young, energetic, and economical.

No. 155

Relatione del N. U. Gio. Franc. Morosini Cavaliere fu ambasciatore al sommo pontefice Clemente XI. 1707, 17 Dec. [Report of Giovanni Francesco Morosini, ambassador to the supreme pontiff Clement XI. Dec. 17, 1707.] 36 leaves.

Morosini, the successor of Erizzo, resided at the Court of Clement XI from January, 1702, to November, 1706; during his embassy the government of that pontiff first displayed its peculiar character in the utmost extent of its development.

Morosini describes minutely the zealous manner in which the pontiff imitated his most distinguished predecessors. Even the tears with which he refused the supreme dignity were not without precedent; he performed all those external observances by which a man is supposed to give a good example. "Of a sober and well-regulated life, he is frequent in public devotions at the Scala Santa, in visits to churches, and in the service of hospitals; he is accurate to edification in all sacred rites, and in the most solemn or most humble duties, which he fulfils even to the injury of his health. As regards self-interest also, he is equally blameless, having first advised, and afterward acted on the bull against nepotism. He confers gratuities on the poorer bishops with the utmost readiness, sustaining many pious laborers, and promoting many pious works from his own resources. In the selection of bishops, a matter of essential importance to the church, he proceeds with all due deliberation, seeking information from the most authentic sources, and admitting but very sparingly the influence of favor. He sometimes examines the candidate himself, after the manner of the ancient popes. With respect to other ecclesiastical dignities and benefices also, he proceeds so carefully and deliberately to their distribution that even from his own relations he exacts attention to the propriety of proving themselves possessed of the requisite learning, and of commendable habits."

Jurisdictional matters were treated by Clement XI in the same spirit; that is to say, with all the zeal which his office demanded. In

some places, and on certain points, he even gained ground. The new King of Spain, for example, found himself moved to beg his permission for compelling ecclesiastics to appear before the secular tribunals and for the levying of tithes. The King of Poland presented certain members of the high clergy before the judgment-seat of the pontiff. The Viceroy of Naples, after long resistance, submitted to the papal commands at the critical moment when the Germans were advancing upon Lower Italy—"*un trionfo che sarà registrato nelli annali della chiesa*"—a triumph which will be registered in the annals of the Church. Savoy and Lorraine were then attacked with all the more vigor. The Pope well understood the art of seizing the most favorable moment—"*studiosissimo d' ingrandire con i motivi di pietà la potenza*"—being most careful to assign motives of piety for the ncrease of his power. Morosini considers the whole court to be inspired by a similar spirit. They would not hear of any distinction between Church and State. The Church was everything. Every congregation styled itself "sacred." Whatever might be the subject of its deliberations, no difference was admitted between pastors of the Church and prelates of the Court, since the former also were frequently excused from the duties of their office, and employed in the affairs of the State. Piety, moreover, was used as a sort of coin, indispensable to the advancement of such as sought promotion. Four of the congregations are specified as particularly worthy of attenton: 1st. The Inquisition, which deserved a zealous support as the guardian of purity in doctrine; but it was an extraordinary circumstance that the worst of all heresy was to be met with in Rome (he here alludes to Quietism). 2d. The Propaganda; but unhappily few were to be found who would devote themselves with true earnestness of purpose to the affairs of the missions. 3d. The Congregation for Bishops and Monastic Clergy, which exercised a much required supervision, more particularly over the latter; and, lastly, the Congregation of Immunities, which was posted like a sentinel to watch the boundaries of the spiritual and temporal authority. Could all things have been arranged in accordance with the desires of this body, the power of the temporal sovereign would soon have been annihilated.

Morosini now proceeds to the condition of the Papal States. He repeats the complaints that had for some time been so frequent of a decline in population and the decay of agriculture. The Pope would gladly have introduced improvements, as, for example, the cultivation of the Campagna; but the end of all was merely a forming of splendid projects. The ambassador remarks that the spiritual dignity of the pontiff increased his temporal power. He considers the power of the Roman Senate to be a mere mockery of such a name. The barons he describes as placed on a level with the lowest of the people, in respect of punishments; the Pope kept them under rigorous supervision—knowing that their position rendered them liable to be tempted to acts of violence. At length Morosini alludes to the political relations of Rome; the most important passage, which treats of the position of the Pope in reference to France and the Emperor—on which all was once more at that time depending, must be given word for word. "Whether the Pope had had either hand or part in the testament of Charles II, I will not venture to decide. Nor is it easy to ascertain the truth with certainty; but two facts I will mention, and only two. The one is that this secret was made public—with what truth is not known—in a manifesto which was issued by the printing-office of Rome in the first months of my entry on the embassy, and at the time when war was waged on both sides with arms as well as letters. The other is that the Pope did not refrain from uttering public eulogies on the most Chris-

tian king for that he had refused his sanction to the partition, receiving the monarchy entire for his kinsman. Reflecting on these premises, there can be no cause for astonishment at the consequences seen to have resulted from plans so unsettled and discordant among themselves, for it is not possible that uniformity of action can ever spring from diversity of principles; yet such was manifestly the Pope's obligation to evince that impartiality proper to the common father, on the one hand, and his secret inclination and engagement, entered into without sufficiently mature deliberation, as to the advantages and merits of the case, on the other. His holiness piously considered the dignity and profit that would result to religion from the exclusion of heretics from all they had usurped. He entertained a hope—suggested by his partiality to the French—that there would be no war, or that it would be waged in vain against the forces of that unconquered nation; and since it seemed probable that the monarchy would be maintained entire, he did not imagine that his anticipations would be proved erroneous, having miscalculated the Spanish subtlety, which in this case was moved by necessity rather than policy. The result made manifest those other considerations which ought to have presented themselves earlier. Then there gathered and burst that fierce tempest, raised by jealousy, envy, and interest, in the confederate powers, and urging them to combat the suspected machinations of France for universal monarchy. This still rages, and is fatal alike to friends and foes. The French long succeeded in maintaining their reputation of being invincible with the Pope, who, full of confidence in them, and implicitly following their counsels, was lauded by the unthinking for proceedings which threw those of others into shade; for whereas the most serene republic in particular, observing a sincere neutrality, endured losses in the substance of its people, injuries to its dignity, and the resentment of both parties; he, on the contrary—by professing neutrality, while he threatened at the same time to break it instantly against either party that should offend him, and yet maintained a secret understanding with the French in the meanwhile—was courted by the latter, and found himself defended at no cost, and treated with respect by the imperialists, that they might not provoke him to abandon even the pretence of neutrality. His States, too, for a time, enjoyed immunity: he saw his censures respected in the midst of arms, while heretic fleets appeared in his seas without committing the slightest offence against his coasts. But the reverses sustained by France, more especially in Italy, have caused all to discern whether the eulogies aforesaid were due either to his conduct or fortune, and whether those upright and judicious suggestions repeatedly made to him by your excellencies through the medium of your ambassadors, to the effect that he should maintain a real impartiality as father of all, that so he might be a revered arbiter, to his own benefit, and that of all Christendom—increasing his troops meanwhile under good officers, the better to sustain respect against the intemperance of others, should have been rejected as counsels proved unsound, even by the experience of those who proffered them. The fruit of having preferred oblique practices and devices of economy—the worst counsellor in politics, was the suffering since, and now, of such evils as are known to all—but what is more, of not suffering without added reproach from the tribunal of fame, which is the sovereign, even of princes. He despatched—as he adduces in his defence—extraordinary nuncios for the arrangement of universal peace, without regard to the expense; and in despite of that insulting exclusion encountered at Vienna, he proposed alliances, agreements, truces, for the particular quiet of this province, but he did this only when the time had passed for doing it

effectually; and after the proofs he had given of partiality in the beginning and during the progress of events had introduced a canker-worm among the best seeds; thus, having once rendered himself suspected, his zeal was despoiled of its authority, and the principal instrument of peace was thereby reduced to impotence. It will in fact be very difficult for his holiness to clear himself from this imputation, or from that of having contributed to induce all the princes of Italy to act in accordance with his views, and in favor of whomsoever he favored; for not only was the conduct of his feudatory Parma most notorious, but that of the house of Florence also; he was indeed restrained solely by the unvarying prudence of the most serene republic, which at the same time gave a lesson to others; but in return for this, Venice incurred the unmerited animosity of the French, which was discharged upon her by his holiness."

No. 156

Lorenzo Tiepolo Cavaliere Procuratore Relatione di Roma, 1712. [Report from Rome by Lorenzo Tiepolo, 1712.] 40 leaves.

The contests existing between the spiritual and temporal jurisdictions attracted increased attention every year. Tiepolo treats at once of this matter.

But he does so with unusual earnestness. The question, he says, has been designedly complicated; to disentangle these perplexities, to give the temporal sovereigns their own, and yet not to violate the reverence due to the Papal See, a man would need a double measure of the grace of God.

He first describes anew the personal qualities of Clement XI; he, too, expressing admiration of his zeal, learning, affability, and moderation. Yet he thinks it was possible that all these endowments were not directed toward their only true aim—the advancement of virtue, but were warped by considerations merely human, and might therefore not secure the blessing of God. It might be that the zeal with which he devoted himself to his administrative duties was accompanied by too high an opinion of his own merits, and was excited less by the thing itself than by the applause and dignity to be derived from it. Praise could effect everything with him. His physician, for example, took advantage of this weakness to maintain his influence over him; it was by flattery that he was incited to uphold the honor of the Holy See. Thence it happened that he paid so little regard to the rights of temporal sovereigns and States; those of his immediate circle even ventured to speak of temporal powers in terms of so much offence that they were neither suited to the high place of the Pope, nor yet, perhaps, compatible with Christian charity.

Tiepolo proceeds from the pontiff to his Ministers; whom he, like his predecessors, considers to be but little remarkable; men fit only for the occupation of subordinate offices, and not competent to conduct affairs of state. 1. Cardinal Albani. The Pope had waited until after his mission to Germany before conferring on him the cardinal's hat. The Court approved this nomination, hoping to find in him a means for making interest with the Pope, and a channel to the ear of his holiness; but Clement XI permitted him to exercise little or no influence. "It is certain that the authority of the cardinal-nephew does not make itself manifest to the degree that has been customary at that court." 2. The Secretary of State. Cardinal Paulucci, a thoroughly

good-hearted man, but one of no great ability, and depending on the Pope with a sort of terror. 3. Corradini, the Pope's auditor. "Learned in the law, but not equally well informed respecting the interests of princes; holding firmly to his engagements, but amenable to reason." The only person to whom a man might safely commit himself: it was very advantageous to bring matters before him with respect to which one was decidedly in the right, but much less so if that were doubtful. Corradini was not on good terms with the nephew; it was even believed that the latter had promoted his elevation to the cardinalate for the purpose of removing him from the vicinity of the Pope. 4. Orighi, secretary of the *Consulta,* a rival of Corradini, and on that account attaching himself closely to the cardinal-nephew. "He seems to have advanced his fortunes by address and adulation rather than by firmness and sincerity." 5. Cardinal Sagripante, the datary, had become rich by the exercise of a rigid frugality only; was strict in the discharge of his duties, and took no part in politics. The *Dataria* was daily finding its income decrease; the fraudulent rapacity of that office was no longer tolerated even in Spain. Thus it followed that those cardinals who had not learned to manage their property could no longer maintain their former splendor. "It may be said to be entirely characteristic of such abbacies as belong to cardinals that their houses are left to decay and their churches in ruins." When another papal election took place, the cardinals created by Clement XI would scarcely attach themselves very closely to Cardinal Albani, because he possessed so little influence.

And now Tiepolo proceeds to a description of political relations. His views, as we have said, are of a politico-ecclesiastical character; he discusses the dissensions between the Roman Court and the temporal princes. The Pope was said to have an equal love for all; but it would be more to the purpose to say that he had an equal indifference and equally slight esteem for all.

"It is perfectly true that if few popes have gone so far in assuming a display of superiority over the temporal powers, so we are compelled to say that few pontiffs have had so much ill-fortune as the present Pope, in not being able to escape from engagements voluntarily made with princes, without a certain loss of honor. If he have any secret inclination, it is toward France, although that Court is continually complaining of his partiality toward the house of Austria; and in many cases the event has certainly justified its lamentations; but these were occasioned solely by fear. With respect to that, the Court of Vienna, whether by chance, or guided by its knowledge of the pontiff, made the profitable choice of adopting menaces and fears."

These general remarks conduct him eventually to further detail respecting individual States until he comes to Venice, on the affairs of which, now no longer of extensive interest to the world, he dwells at the greatest length.

No. 157

Relatione di Andrea Corner Cavaliere ritornato dall' ambasceria di di Roma, 1724, 25 Luglio. [Report presented by Andrea Corner on returning from his embassy to Rome, July 25, 1724.] 24 leaves.

So vivid were the antipathies excited by Clement XI, in despite of the best intentions and the most blameless conduct. But in the report before us, wherein he again appears, but after his death, we find that opinions had then at least materially altered. Then everyone admired

him; even those who had but just before been reviling him now joined in the applause. It was now discovered that if he had sometimes promised more than he could perform this had really proceeded from a kindness of intention which none would previously admit. It came to light that he had distributed the most liberal alms from his own private revenues, the amount of these being not less than a million scudi for the twenty years of his reign; a sum which he might, with a clear conscience, have conferred upon his own family. Corner relates that Clement XI had entreated pardon of his nephew, Cardinal Hannibal, a short time before his death, for that he had left the house of Albani so poorly provided. "It will be thought that the pontificate of Clement was but ephemeral, although it was one of the longest."

The change that had been expected in the conclave took place. The whole college had been renewed, with few exceptions, under Clement XI; but, since Cardinal Albani had taken as little part in those nominations as in the administration generally, the cardinals divided according to their respective nations. Paulucci, who had been Secretary of State, as we have seen, to the previous Pope, was at first proposed, but the imperial ambassador, Count Althan, declared that his master would never acknowledge Paulucci as pope: this he submitted for the consideration of their eminences. Certain friends of the house of Albani had already directed their attention toward Michael Angelo Conti; and one of his party, Monsignor Riviera, was secretary to the conclave. He first spoke of the matter with Cardinal Spinola, who, after having tried the ground, and ascertained that Conti was not disliked, willingly placed himself at the head of the party, and proposed him. Count Althan made inquiries of his court, without delay, and the interests of Conti were promoted by the circumstance of his having been nuncio in Portugal, where he had won the favor of the Queen, Anna Maria of Austria, sister of Charles VI. The Austrian Court declared for Conti, and his adherents found that they might rely on the whole Austrian connection, more especially on Portugal and Poland. The Spanish ambassador also made inquiries of his court, and the answer was not favorable, but it arrived too late; Innocent XIII had meanwhile been already elected (May 8, 1721).

The new pontiff possessed admirable qualifications for the spiritual as well as temporal government, but his health was extremely delicate, which caused him to be very sparing in granting audiences. As a compensation, however, one audience was found to serve in place of many, and the fact of having received one conferred a certain importance on the recipient. Innocent XIII apprehended the question proposed with extreme readiness, and gave apposite and decisive replies. The ambassador of Malta, says Corner, will long remember how the pontiff, after a somewhat impetuous entreaty for assistance, gave him his blessing on the spot, and rang the bell for his departure. When the Portuguese ambassador required the promotion of the above-mentioned Bicchi to the dignity of the cardinalate, Innocent at length refused to listen to him any longer, "not finding any merit in the prelate, and being wholly uninfluenced by the many causes of consideration which he might have had for a crown of which he had been the protector."

The Roman families connected with Innocent XIII, and who had hoped to be promoted by him, found themselves completely deceived; even his nephew could not obtain without difficulty the enjoyment of those 12,000 ducats annually, which had now become the usual income of a nephew.

The principal endeavors of the Pope were directed toward the settlement of the disputes in relation to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but

in this he was by no means universally successful. With the imperial court alone a better understanding was effected, as it might have been expected that there would be, from the mode of the pontiff's election.

No. 158

Relatione del N. H. Pietro Capello Cavaliere ritornato d' ambasciator di Roma, 1728, 6 Marzo. [Report presented by Pietro Capello on returning from his embassy to Rome, March 6, 1728.] 14 leaves.

On March 7, 1724, and after a reign of little more than thirty-four months, Innocent XIII died.

Capello, who had been accredited under Innocent, agrees with his predecessor in his description of that pontiff. He considers him disposed to peace, possessed of sound judgment, deliberate and steadfast of purpose. He confirms the report, that the nomination of Dubois to the cardinalate, to which he had permitted himself to be persuaded from considerations of the power and influence wielded by this man, occasioned the pontiff to be disturbed by very painful scruples in his last moments. "His death did truly present a subject for deep moral reflection. Assailed by scruples of conscience, a worm that faileth not to gnaw the mind even of a pope, he could not be prevailed on to complete the nomination of four persons for the vacant hats, which were of that number; and, so far as could be ascertained, he was believed to refuse his assent to the consummation of such election by reason of his repentance, for having previously decided a choice in a manner calculated to trouble his delicate conscience. So unusual an event produced fatal consequences to his house, since there was no party disposed to adhere to it after his death; but there was, nevertheless, most palpable reason for judging well of his character, for by his excellent sentiments, he had displayed a spirit equally noble and resigned."

He was followed by Benedict XIII, who was chosen on May 29, 1724. Capello found him very different from his predecessor—particularly determined and vehement respecting all ecclesiastical affairs. In the College of Cardinals, Capello remarked but few distinguished men; no powerful faction, and no prospect of any such being formed under Benedict XIII, the rivalry already subsisting between Coscia and Fini not permitting things to go so far. There was a faction of the temporal crowns, but it had no fixed character. A great impression had been produced on the court by the fact that the Duke of Savoy had, at length, attained his purposes. Capello concludes, from his having done so, that in Rome everything might be brought about with the help of time; nothing was required but tranquillity, the zeal of the applicant must never be suffered to break forth in complaints.

Capello then goes more minutely into such interests as were peculiarly Venetian. He first repeats the assurance that Venice must assume a position of more dignity and importance in Rome. He again suggests the mode of conduct proper to be adopted toward the Pope—he should be continually conciliated by spiritual concessions, and imperceptibly brought to form an inclination for Venice. He next treats more in detail of political affairs, more especially those connected with trade. It is obvious that in the beginning of the eighteenth century the Roman State was devoting its attention very earnestly to commercial and manufacturing improvements.

The people of Dulcignote and Ragusa carried on a trade with Ancona, which was not beheld with favor by the Venetians. They were

particularly active in the importation of wax, which had formerly been supplied by Venice, and which was now beginning to be prepared in the Papal States.

Innocent XII had begun to build the town of St. Michael a Ripa, which had been enlarged by Clement XI. At the time when Capello wrote, it had risen into importance by means of its wool and silk manufactures. "From the buildings of a hospital, wherein many young people were fed by charity, it was converted, by the extension of its site and the addition of numerous workshops, into a house of commerce, wherein there are now manufactories of wool and silk." The cloths of St. Michael already competed with those of France, and were exported through Ancona to Turkey and Spain. I will give the whole passage respecting this as it stands in Capello. "Into this sumptuous edifice they have introduced the manufacture of hangings, which they have carried to a degree of perfection equalling that of France or Flanders; they have also established a woollen-factory, into which the wool enters untouched, but issues thence in cloth completed in the most perfect manner. The manufacture of silk in connection with this place is carried on in many districts of the Roman territories, and that of wool is divided into various kinds, adapted to the usage of the country, that so there may be realized a ready sale and quick return of profit. All kinds of cloth for the soldiery are manufactured at St. Michael's, as are also the stuffs for the dress of monastic bodies, and different sorts of cloth for the crews of the galleys. These fabrics are divided into various classes, which are distributed in given quantities, the merchants being under obligation to dispose of all. Of late there has also been a commencement of manufacturing colored cloths in the French manner, which are sent to Ancona and Sinigaglia to be exchanged for the commodities brought from Turkey. In short, the institution of St. Michael is one of the grandest conceptions that could have been carried into effect by a great prince, and would certainly be the emporium of all Italy, if it were not established in a city where people concern themselves with anything rather than trade and commerce; these great capitals being governed by a congregation of three cardinals, among whom is the Secretary of State, whose attention is always occupied and diverted by the most important affairs of the State. But in despite of all this, the establishment is in a prosperous condition and feeds thousands of laborers, its manufactures realizing a prompt return. The making of tapestry is carried on apart, because it is established for the profit of private individuals; and the great result of all these works is that most desirable one for a State, namely, that money is not sent forth to fatten foreign nations."

How extraordinary a thing it is that a Venetian should recommend his native city to take a manufacturing establishment of the popes as its model! Institutions had also been founded for intellectual culture, and these also he proposes as examples for their imitation. "In addition to the mechanical, there are also the liberal arts, which serve for the adornment and advantage of the State. The mere name of Rome, and the fame of its ancient monuments, attract many foreign nations to its halls, more especially those beyond the Alps. Many academies have been established in the city (wherein the study of painting and sculpture flourishes no less than that of polite literature), besides that of the Capitol, which subsists under the protection of a remnant, which is still to be found, of that authority exercised with so much renown in past ages by that illustrious republic. There are moreover other institutes founded and governed by foreign nations; and among these, that bearing the name of the crown of France is greatly distinguished."

It is the author's opinion that a similar academy should be established in Venice, for there also were assembled some of the finest monuments of antiquity. "Even Bologna has been able to undertake something of the kind with great success."

Moreover, there were other tendencies of a similar character associated with those pointed out by Correr, and respecting which we obtain information from other documents.

No. 159

Osservationi della presente situatione dello stato ecclesiastico con alcuni progetti utili al governo civile ed economico per ristabilire l'erario della reverendissima camera apostolica dalli passati e correnti suoi discapiti. [Observations on the present condition of the Ecclesiastical States, with certain projects, useful toward enabling the civil and financial government to repair the deficiencies of the most reverend apostolic treasury, both past and present.] MS. Rome.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century a conviction had become prevalent through the whole south of Europe, that the nations were in a deplorable condition, and that the interests of mankind had been neglected in a manner wholly unjustifiable; both the necessity and the desire to bring about a better state of things was universally felt. How much was written and attempted in Spain for the restoration of commerce and the finances! In the States of the Church, the "Testamento politico d' un academico Fiorentino" (Colonia, 1734), which shows the means whereby commerce, agriculture, and the revenues of the State might be improved, is still in good esteem. And it is in fact a well-intentioned, clever work, going deeply into its subject, and full of sound observations. Nor were these aspirations for the amelioration of the general lot confined to private persons; in the collections of those times we find a multitude of projects, calculations, and plans for the same purpose, and of a character more or less official. The "Observations" before us are an essay of this kind; they were intended for Clement XII himself, and are of the same period as the "Political Testament." The author is particularly anxious to specify those disorders and abuses which most urgently demanded reform.

After dwelling for a time on the melancholy spectacle of so many assassinations continually occurring in the States of the Church, computed at a thousand yearly, even exclusive of Rome and the four legations—the author being of opinion that the measures taken by other powers for the prevention of such crime should be inquired into—he then comes to the finances. He estimates the yearly deficit at 120,000 scudi, and makes the proposals that follow: 1. The dismissal of officers who received large pay without even residing in their garrisons. 2. Reduction of the expenditures in the palace. 3. Administration of the *dogana* by the State itself, instead of farming it out; which last he condemns on the further ground that the farmers opposed all prohibitions of foreign manufacture. 4. Restriction of the influence exercised by subordinate officials, who derived an advantage from the increase of taxes. He remarks that the *annona* could not maintain itself, because there was so large an importation both from Turkey and the North, that the corn-dealer could not make head against the competition. He is above all amazed and shocked to see so much money sent out of the country for cattle, oil, and wine, all of which were possessed in superfluity at home. "What could it signify if people did pay a little more for these

articles, when by this means the money, 'the life-blood of the State,' was circulating where it ought?" The holders of the *monti*, who drew their interest from the country without residing in it, should at least be taxed, as was done in the case of absentee feudatories in the neighboring kingdom of Naples.

Capello regards the state of the March, where the number of inhabitants diminished yearly, as particularly deplorable. He attributes this deteriorated condition of Ancona principally to the heavy restrictions imposed on the exportation of corn. This was absolutely prohibited between the months of June and October, and permitted during the rest of the year only after payment of certain dues, the produce of which was but of trifling importance to the treasury, while their effect on the market was that they caused the foreign customer to seek cheaper corn elsewhere. The fair of Sinigaglia proved injurious, because it rendered the districts surrounding dependent on foreign supplies. To be convinced of this, one need only pass through Urbino, the March, and Umbria, where neither arts nor prosperity were any longer to be found, but all was in a state of profound decay.

The author conjures the Pope to appoint a congregation, for the purpose of seeking escape from these evils; he recommends that the members should be few, but carefully chosen; and above all, that able and upright officials should be retained, while all others should be punished. "These," he concludes, "are the hopes cherished by the subjects of your holiness."

No. 160

Provedimento per lo stato ecclesiastico. [Precautionary and remedial measures for the Papal States.] MS. Rome. Autograph for the officers of state.

We have here a further proof that in these dominions also there were plans formed for the introduction of the mercantile system, which was at that time so greatly approved in Europe; and if these had been vigorously acted on, a certain impulse might perhaps have been imparted to the commerce of the country. But the misfortune of the Roman administration was, that each succeeding pontiff was anxious to adopt measures directly opposed to what had been thought good by his predecessor. We have an example of this in the document before us.

In the year 1719 the importation of foreign cloths from Venice, Naples, and more than all from Germany, had increased to such an extent that Clement XI considered it necessary to prohibit it altogether. We find the two decrees to that effect, of August 7, 1719, and August 1, 1720, alluded to in Vergani, "*della importansa del nuovo sistema di finanza.*" But when Vergani denies that they did any good, he is doubtless in error. Even in the year 1728, the impulse received by the industry of the Roman States is remarked on by Pietro Capello. In our "*Provedimento,*" which was composed under Clement XI, it is expressly affirmed that manufactures had shown an immediate increase, the direct consequence of that very prohibition. Innocent XIII and Benedict XIII confirmed it. "In a few years new manufactories for woollens, etc., were erected at the cost of private individuals in many towns and districts of the State, together with fulling-mills, dye-houses, and other buildings, more particularly in Rome, Narni, Perugia, etc."

But in the year 1735, a congregation appointed by Clement XII thought it best to remove this prohibition, and to permit the importation of cloth, at a duty of 12 per cent. in the provinces, and 20 in Rome.

The consequence was—at least as the document before us affirms—that the manufactories so lately established went to ruin. The author calculates that 100,000 scudi were sent out of the country for cloths; he desires a renewal of the prohibition, and would have it extended to silk goods; but I do not find that his representations produced any effect.

No. 161

Altri provedimenti di commercio. [Further commercial regulations.] MS. Rome.

This document presents a confirmation of the remark that the Roman manufactures had received a momentary impulse from the above-mentioned prohibition, and renews the old complaints against the prohibition of exports. There were so many things brought from Tuscany; but if anyone were to export but a measure of corn, he would be punished by confiscation of his property, excommunication—nay, even the loss of life. An extreme confusion of the currency had moreover taken place in the Ecclesiastical States as well as in Germany. The papal coin was too heavy, although Innocent XI and Clement XI had already issued some that was lighter. A quantity of foreign money, on which great loss was suffered, obtained currency. The Pope was pressed to coin money of a lighter sort on his part also, as he had already begun to do in respect of the zechins.

Many other documents of a similar import lie before us; but to make extracts from all would lead us too far into detail. It must suffice us to have remarked, that in the Roman States also, the commercial and economic tendencies prevailing in the rest of Europe had found acceptance, although they were prevented from producing their due effect by peculiar circumstances—the constitution of the papal State, and its ineradicable abuses. They were besides opposed by the listless habits of the aristocracy, the pleasures they found in a life of mere enjoyment—without any other object—the delights of doing nothing. The German, Winckelmann, was enchanted on arriving in Italy soon after this period. The habits of life prevailing there were to him as a deliverance from the restless activity and rigid subordination to rule, of his native regions; and the man of learning was right, so far as he was himself concerned; he had need of leisure, and of a place where the importance of his favorite studies was acknowledged; he required to breathe a freer air, and these were things that for the moment and for private life might be fairly placed in the balance. But a nation can become prosperous and powerful only by the exertion of its most strenuous efforts, steadily put forth on all sides.

No. 162

Relazione 28 Ottòbre, 1737 del N. U. Aluise Mocenigo IV. Cavaliere e Procuratore ritornato di Roma. [Report presented on his return from the Roman embassy by Aluise Mocenigo IV, Oct. 29, 1737.] Venetian Archives.

We are here made acquainted with the impediments presented by the Roman government to the prosperity of its subjects. Mocenigo is by no means addicted to cavilling, he acknowledges the increase of trade in Ancona, and even considers it a subject of some anxiety for Venice; he admits the administration of justice also to be in a sound condition,

contributing to the maintenance of the Roman Court, now abandon it; besides that not a few of the Romans themselves are induced to cultivate the favor of those foreign powers, either by their avarice or their necessities. The conduct of the Court of Rome with respect to the claim of that prince to have the cardinal, his son, made patriarch of Lisbon, has been very singular and curious. It was considered by the King to be an indispensable condition to the arrangement of the questions pending between the two courts, that this distinction should be conferred; and the Pope, proceeding in this respect accordingly to the wonted Roman fashion, appeared sometimes almost eager to comply with the wishes of the King, while at other times he seemed altogether averse to the proposal. The matter is not yet decided, and in whatever manner it shall be settled is certain to present argument for no small discussion, and even, perhaps, for contentions among the other sovereigns.

" The pretender was formerly an object of extreme interest to the Court of Rome, which flattered itself with the hope of obtaining support from the French and Spanish courts, since both were united in the house of Bourbon; but now that the jealousy existing between the elder line and the younger branch has become manifest, and since it has been made evident that the Queen of Spain has in truth no other interest in view than the aggrandizement of her two sons, the exiled pretender and his deserving family have at once become objects of anxiety, rather than of hope, to many in Rome.

" The Emperor has caused the present Ministry of Rome to tremble; nay, does so still, because it is seen that he has himself set the example of introducing into his Italian States such reforms of abuses as must in time present an example extremely prejudicial to the Romans; but what is still more serious for them, he had scarcely sent his troops into Tuscany before similar measures were entered on there, so that among all the States beyond the dominion of Rome, there is not one which continues to walk blindly in the footsteps of past ages. The Court of Vienna, having some time since made the distinctions conferred on the Spaniards, who are little loved by the Roman people, a decided ground of quarrel, has thus completely gained to itself the favor of the Romans, both in the city and State; and this has been maintained by most sagacious proceedings on the part of the imperial ministers and emissaries, so that we have the marvellous state of things, of the whole Roman people declaring in favor of the Emperor. The interest of the Corsini is, nevertheless, so strong in the present day, that no sacrifice is refused that can help to gain the friendship of the Emperor; a fact of which the most excellent Senate has abundant proofs in the direction of affairs now in progress."

No. 163

Relazione del N. H. Franc. Venier Cavaliere ritornato ambasciata di Roma, 1744, 24 Apr. [Report presented by Francesco Venier on his return from the Roman embassy, April 24, 1744.]

This is unfortunately only two loose leaves relating to Benedict XIV.

Venier assures us that the cardinals would never have elected this Pope of themselves. " He was exalted rather by his own rare virtues, by the peculiar events of that conclave, and by its well-known protraction, than by any actual desire on the part of the cardinals who elected him. It was the work of the Holy Spirit alone."

" The pontiff," he proceeds to remark, " endowed with a sincere and upright mind, would never practise any of those arts which are called

'Romanesque;' the same open character which he displayed without reserve as prelate, he continued to exhibit as Cardinal Lambertini, and may be safely said to have shown no other as pope."

No. 164

Relazione di Aluise Mocenigo IV. Cavaliere ritornato ambasciata di Roma, 1750. 14 *Apr.* [Report presented by Aluise Mocenigo IV on his return from the Roman embassy, April 14, 1750.]

This ambassador is not the "Aluise Mocenigo IV" whose report of 1737 we have given above (see No. 162). The first was a son of Aluise Mocenigo III; the present ambassador is a son of Aluise Mocenigo I.

Unfortunately he also has contented himself with three leaves. In the absence of any large amount of authentic intelligence relating to the Roman Court at this period, I will give the most important passages entire.

"The reigning pontiff, Benedict XIV, has not only been employed in no nunciature to any court, but he has never been even charged with any legation. He was raised to the rank of cardinal when Bishop of Ancona, and was elevated to the supreme station which he now holds when Archbishop of Bologna. He is well versed, by long practice from his earliest years, in the affairs of the Curia, and is certainly not unmindful of that advantage; besides which he piques himself on being a profound canonist and finished lawyer; nor does he consider himself inferior as a decretalist, his studies in which department he does not neglect even to the present day. He is very partial to his auditor Monsignor Argivilliers, for this cause, that he also pursues the same course of learning. This conformity of dispositions and of maxims between the Pope and his auditor renders the latter a man of importance in this pontificate; for whereas in his official duties, which are restricted to civil inspections only, he would enjoy no other advantage than that of daily access to the sovereign, he is now admitted to give his opinion respecting affairs of state. To say the truth, he is a man of probity, but of no experience in the affairs of foreign courts; he is austere and inaccessible, reserved in general intercourse, not only with strangers, but even with the members of the Curia themselves. By the extraordinary favor shown to him, he seems to dispute with Cardinal Valenti, the Secretary of State, those advantages of access to the Pope which the high qualities of that prelate, whenever he is pleased to demand them, must yet always obtain for him, and which belong to him on all occasions of great importance or difficulty. But I am falling into prolixity and needless repetition; for my most excellent predecessors will have told you all that was required, concerning this eminent person, so profoundly versed in affairs of state and policy, a minister of so much prudence and experience, and of manners so courteous; nor have I anything to add respecting him, except that the office of chamberlain of the Holy Church has been conferred on him by his holiness during my embassy. That very honorable and lucrative charge has indeed been confirmed to Cardinal Valenti, even after the death of the pontiff, and this will cause him to be still necessary and sought after, even though jealousy, envy, and ill-will should seek to employ their strength against him, when he no longer holds the office of Secretary of State. He is for the present exempt from these assailants, not because he is guarded on all sides, so much as because he is ever prepared to confront them and to parry every blow; if he think the matter deserving of notice, he joins combat;

if otherwise, he lets it pass. In addition to the above-mentioned auditor of the Pope, there is also the datary, Monsignor Millo, no great friend of his; for although in my time there was an appearance of reconciliation between them, yet there was no reality in their friendship, and the said datary is rather of the party of the auditor. These three persons may be said to be all who have any real participation in state affairs, or who understand them; but if the two prelates are accepted for the reasons aforesaid, and the cardinal manages to make himself necessary for many well-known causes, there are, nevertheless, occasions on which the Pope, though hearing them all, will afterward decide after his own manner, and contrary to their counsels. And further, if there be other very distinguished men among the members of the Curia, they have no great influence in the present pontificate, at least in relation to the principal affairs of state. One is Cardinal Passionei, a man of most studious habits, and attached to science; he is a minister of experience, having held many nunciatures, yet he is only employed as secretary of briefs. Among the chief favorites of the Pope is Cardinal Girolamo, *promajorduomo*, and uncle of the young prelate, Monsignor Marcantonio Colonna, *maggiorduomo;* but he gives himself no trouble respecting anything that does not affect his own particular wishes. The secretary of accounts, Monsignor Antonio Rota, is known to the Pope, to the Sacred College at large, and above all to the congregations *coram sanctissimo*, as a man of the most refined policy and most subtle powers of thought, than whom no better could be found when the adjustment of some foreign difficulty is demanded, or some trait of sagacity is required; but although his utility is so well understood that he is admitted into all congregations and appears in despite of his gout, yet he has no more important matter confided to his control than those of his office, and the casualties arising from it."

No. 165

Girolamo Zulian Relasione di Roma, 15 Decembre, 1783. [Report from Rome by Girolamo Zulian, Dec. 15, 1783.]

Toward the close of the republic, there was seen to be a falling off in the disposition which had formerly existed toward this kind of political activity.

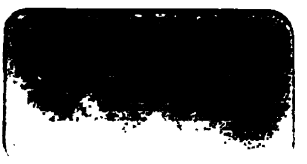
The reports became shorter. The observations they present are not to be compared with those of the older writers for penetration and comprehensiveness.

Zulian, whose report is the last that I have seen, no longer discusses questions of policy, of foreign affairs, or the personal qualities of the pontiff Pius VI. He confines himself entirely to certain leading features of the internal administration.

He informs us that the papal treasury exhibited a considerable deficit, which was further increased by the extraordinary expenditure, the building of the sacristy of St. Peter's, and the labors proceeding in the Pontine marshes, which together had perhaps already cost 2,000,000 scudi. Attempts were made to meet this deficiency by anticipation of the revenue, and by the creation of a paper currency. There was, besides, much money sent out of the country. "The hemp, silks, and woollens exported from the State do not compensate for the salt-fish, lead, drugs, and great variety of manufactures imported, more particularly from Germany and France. The principal means of balancing the commerce of the nation ought to be the corn-trade; but the necessity for regulat-

ing it by artificial arrangements, that Rome may always be assured of a supply of corn at low prices, renders that trade a poor and often losing one. From these causes agriculture is depressed, and there often happen dearths of such a kind as to make it needful that corn should be purchased at high prices from foreign countries. It is thus the general opinion that this trade, upon the whole, produces very little profit to the nation. The State is in debt to almost every country with which it is connected; to which must in great measure be attributed that rapid outpouring of money which depresses its credit, causes its bills to be always at a discount, and aggravates the poverty of the papacy. It is the common belief that Rome is more profitably connected with the exchange of Venice than with any other, on account of the various kinds of merchandise which the pontifical States furnish to those of your Serenity."

The measures adopted for the relief of the country by Pius VI are well known. They are discussed in this report, but with no very great depth of thought.

Zulian remarks that Pius VI had rendered the cardinals yet more insignificant than they previously were. On the return of the pontiff from Vienna, he had put off the Sacred College with obscure and insufficient notices. It is true that he may be said to have had but very little to relate; but the fact is true. The Secretary of State, Pallavicini, an excellent and distinguished man, was incapable of effecting much in the way of business, because he was continually out of health. The author is of opinion that Rezzonico was the person whose influence was most powerful with the pontiff.

THE END.